

*Workers of All Countries, Unite!*

INTERNATIONAL  
MEETING  
OF  
COMMUNIST  
AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This book is a record of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, June 5-17, 1969. All materials are being published with the consent of the Parties attending the Meeting.

The first part of this volume contains the official documents of the Meeting, and the second part contains the complete text of the speeches of delegation heads in the order they were delivered.



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ADOPTED BY  
THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES

## **COMMUNIQUE**

### **on the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties**

An International Meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969. Participants in the Meeting see it as a big event in unfolding the struggle against imperialism, in achieving anti-imperialist united action by the broadest masses of the people throughout the world, as an important stage in cementing the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

Delegations of the following Communist and Workers' Parties participated in the Meeting: Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of East Pakistan, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist

Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela and two Parties working underground whose names are not mentioned for considerations of security. Delegations of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Left Party — Communists of Sweden were present at the Meeting as observers, and set out their positions.

The Meeting adopted a Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." Expressing themselves also in favour of cementing the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces, the delegations of the Communist Parties of Australia, Italy, San Marino and Reunion declared themselves in full accord only with that section of the Document that sets forth the joint programme of struggle against imperialism, while the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party did not support the Main Document.

The participants in the Meeting discussed the question of observing the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, and warmly and enthusiastically approved the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin".

The Meeting addressed the peoples of the world in an appeal, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" It warmly welcomed the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Meeting issued an "Appeal in Defence of Peace". It adopted a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggression and statements of solidarity with Communists and democrats exposed to brutal repressions and waging a selfless struggle in difficult conditions against reactionary dictatorial regimes supported by international imperialism.

The Meeting took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity, and was assured extensive publicity. The principle of the equality of all Parties and collective methods of work were strictly observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the Meeting.

The participants in the Meeting expressed their readiness further to develop ties among the Communist and Workers' Parties. They reaffirmed the desirability of bilateral and regional meetings, and of international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties when necessary, for the purpose of exchanging opinion and experience and for collective discussion and elaboration of topical political and theoretical questions, problems of struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

\* \* \*

It has been decided to send the proceedings of the Meeting also to Communist and Workers' Parties that did not take part in the work of the Meeting.

The participants in the Meeting are deeply convinced that its results accord with the interests of each Communist Party and of the international communist movement as a whole.

**TASKS AT THE PRESENT STAGE  
OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
IMPERIALISM AND UNITED ACTION  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
AND ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES**

**Adopted by  
the International Meeting  
of Communist and Workers' Parties,  
Moscow, June 17, 1969**

The Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterised by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

*The existing situation demands united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.*

The Meeting discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. As a result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism, the participants in the Meeting reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

**I**

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is world-wide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war thanks to the growing economic, political and military might,



and the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the international proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism; to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed on one-third of the globe, has scored new successes in the world-wide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstringing the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. US imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working-class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagoguery, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working-class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms

trade; the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by international financial organisations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military-political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organisations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention, savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against socialism, against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermonuclear conflict. However, US imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a missile-nuclear war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.

However, the contradiction between the imperialist “policy of strength” and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. *Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind’s development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.*

The war in Vietnam is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism’s aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam US imperialism, the most powerful of the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance. The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of US imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of Southeast Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, and test the strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which it has brought into play, US

imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the farsighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever-growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation of the United States. It has turned ever broader masses of people, new social strata and political forces against imperialism and speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the *Middle East* a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperialism, that of the US above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain its positions in the Middle East. This it has failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including Zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace-loving peoples, and the UN decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel. The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, and to recover the occupied territories, for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming diverse forms and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary Cuba. It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and in flagrant contravention of international law tries to blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, progressive forces of Latin America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism in the American continent.

In *Europe* the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggres

sion and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organisation and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neo-nazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist programme of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world.

The *Mediterranean* countries occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. US imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people. The US 6th Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the colonels' junta.

*Southeast Asia and the Far East* are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the Southwestern Pacific and the Indian Ocean by US armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and non-aligned states in this area. The US imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. The US imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressure India into abandoning her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, accomplished by reactionary circles, who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousands of Communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of *African* countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen

its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques, to the fascist and racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the *Latin American* countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence.

To promote this policy the US imperialists put forward the Alliance for Progress programme and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organisation of American States and the Inter-American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter-American Peace Forces" and have arrogated the right to military intervention against any Latin American country as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama. The US imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerilla movement in some Latin American countries. However, the policy of US imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It fails to stabilise reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the governments to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces". The Alliance for Progress programme has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves in that continent.

This policy of imperialist aggression which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students, from the broadest masses irrespective of their political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against US aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant actions of the democratic forces against US imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing the US military bases and the renunciation of treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself—which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.

In Western Europe the movement against the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalisation of relations and the development of co-operation between

states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany, too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strongpoints of aggression are becoming more articulate.

The Latin American peoples are fighting against oppression and brazen interference of US imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers, the actions of peasants, students and other strata show that broad masses throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The Communist and Workers' Parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these peoples are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and contribute to the general offensive against imperialism.

*The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements.* The US monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West German imperialism is increasing its economic strength, building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neo-colonialism and expansion in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite the weakening of British imperialism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neo-colonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. On the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a US arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and take part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force

and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania, and refuses to recognise their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.

Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion.

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia—CENTO and SEATO—are beginning to crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets US imperialism's plans for hegemony.

Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, reckoning with the new relationship of class forces in the world, the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realise the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of post-war development and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognised. A number of countries have recognised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China despite US pressure.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp and strive to deepen and utilise them in the interest of peace and progress.

Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time, together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present-day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state-monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state-stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programmes, the drawing up of economic development programmes on a country-wide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export.

However, state-monopoly regulation, exercised in forms and on a scale which meet the interests of monopoly capital and are aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries, periods of rapid industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to remake Nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long-standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership", capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

The instability of the capitalist system has increased. Socio-political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working masses are becoming aware of the necessity of deep-going and decisive changes.

This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the Communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and a considerable section of the intellectuals and students, on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Italy, the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big political battles and the electoral successes of the Left-wing forces strongly



shook the policy of the Centre-Left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to stabilise capitalism.

In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures; despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and broad social circles are joining the anti-Franco opposition.

In Great Britain, major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in defence of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by the Labour Government.

Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other social segments have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries and also in West Berlin. The growth of the democratic movement has also been reflected in the election achievements of the Communists and other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic front governments with the participation of Communists have been formed in some states of India. In Finland, the Communists take part in the government.

Moreover, the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettos. Scores of American cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police, which took a great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.

In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam war.

Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people, students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the Vietnam war, military conscription, racism, and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life" is being discredited in the eyes of the world.

Everywhere the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to create the illusion that everything the working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature, capitalism resorts to theoretical whitewash ("people's capitalism," the "welfare state", the "affluent society", etc.). The revolutionary working-class movement exposes these concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this ideology.

The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of imperialism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which

snuffed out the lives of tens of millions of people. It has created a gigantic military machine which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear world war which would annihilate hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.

Imperialism gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the hardship and suffering of hundreds of millions of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result, growing masses of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism.

*The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.*

## II

*The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union.*

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in several other countries—in Europe and Asia—the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising fourteen states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress and opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis-free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of people in the administration of society, for all-round development of the individual

and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and unity of will and action of the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of their social organisations, extension of the rights of the individual, irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all-round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of world-wide significance.

Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields and the full utilisation of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organisation of production, and the active participation of workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule.

To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the broad masses led by the working class and its Communist vanguard.

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.

The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of social relations and the all-round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism.

One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing co-operation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims and of the Marxist-Leninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labour and voluntary co-operation between them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of 'exporting counter-revolution, and in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.

The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces.

The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal co-operation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the socio-economic structure of its member-countries and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that the existing difficulties will be overcome and that the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

*In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement.* The present period is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of the broad masses of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democratic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the Right and "Left" opportunists, the Communist and Workers' Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote among the broad masses awareness of the need for socialism.

In the new situation, the need for working-class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist Parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defence of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favour of co-operation with the Socialists and Social Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this co-operation. Communists are likewise in favour of co-operation with other democratic parties and organisations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path,

it is, of course, necessary for the Socialist parties and other political organisations favouring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organisations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The Communist policy of united action by all the Parties of the working class and the trade unions draws growing support. This policy of unity affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganised or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working-class unity.

Domination by finance capital and the realisation of "agrarian programmes" by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever larger sections of the small and middle farmers. Lately, the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers is one of the basic prerequisites of the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power.

Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large masses of the middle strata are coming forward in defence of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age, when science is becoming a direct productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, different groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media and for the development of public education in the interests of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals as well as their growing co-operation reduce the social

foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal contradictions and promote the mobilisation of broad masses of people for the struggle against monopolies and imperialism.

The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries.

Action by young people reflects the deep-going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial workers, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and Communist and other democratic organisations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the right to organise and share actively in the affairs of educational centres but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people actively participate in major mass actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas, which could influence young people, and seeking to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defence of their interests. Only close unity with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.

An important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, a maternity protection programme and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The example of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world.

Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working-class movement and broad masses of religious people. The Catholic Church and some other religious organisations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their age-long concepts and existing structures. Positive co-operation and joint action between Commu-

nists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neo-colonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced that in this way—through broad contacts and joint action—the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far-reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, Communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. *In the past decade the role of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow.* In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many *Asian and African* countries the national liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other.

The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social progress of the peoples in this strategically important and oil-rich area, evokes the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of



intrigues and plots against this movement, and resorting to wars and aggressive actions.

To repel these actions, defeat these plots, and safeguard all gains, the deepening of the social and economic changes, the progressive national fronts, and the democratic freedoms for the masses and for the activity of the progressive national forces are, among other things, of great significance.

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and, on the other, imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism. In a number of young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasant masses and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy, including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these problems involves far-reaching socio-economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of outdated feudal and prefeudal relations, liquidation of oppression by foreign monopolies, radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary Parties and the founding of such Parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the peoples of these countries and the neo-colonialists, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective co-operation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardising the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility toward states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organise counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilise anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neo-colonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity the Communist and Workers' Parties are calling for.

Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement, the social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries demand close co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism, and persecution of Communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Most of the *Latin American* countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged, is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, US imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still fighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundists. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a great mass of landless peasants. Struggles are being waged for democratic demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which constitute a very negative factor in the historical development on the continent.

The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world

militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism.

The proletariat and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development. The struggle of the broad masses for their economic and political demands, and for their revolutionary aims assumes diverse forms. The popular movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle, the fighting spirit of the working class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the rural masses are aroused. The foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance are thus being laid.

Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle against exploitation and the poverty of the masses, against imperialist oppression makes forward-looking religious circles sympathise with progressive aspirations. Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries.

*It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.*

### III

The social and political situation in the world today makes it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the offensive against it. This insistently demands concrete practical steps and actions on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major problems worrying mankind today, the problems of the peace and the security of nations.

*The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Meeting, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all Communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism, to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.*

1. A primary objective of united action is to give all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people. The Meeting calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel US imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Co-ordinated

measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom- and peace-loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Meeting calls for activity to assure a successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is perfectly realisable on the basis of the 10 points proposed by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

2. *The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.* A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace-loving countries, public organisations and mass movements.

3. *The defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems,* which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their social, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defence against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tension and creating hotbeds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the socio-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world-wide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system, and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the

revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of co-operation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialist policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt aimed by them at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension, which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

4. *To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons* and to enforce the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time, it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. *The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.*

It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons, which have been extensively used by the US forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military-industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace-loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important tasks of a more specific or more regional nature whose aim is to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all Communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before, the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist-imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states is an obstacle to co-operation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect among all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The Meeting emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO.

The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that the imperialist states put an end to flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons over foreign territories, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security in this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The Conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967 charted a concrete programme of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and to work for the international legal recognition of the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neo-nazi organisations. Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological co-operation among the European countries and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of the inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally. These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful coexistence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of détente and peace. To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organisation of a broad congress of European peoples, which would prepare for, and facilitate the holding of, a conference of states, is the most important of all these peace initiatives.

5. *The Meeting calls on world public opinion to display unflinching and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are constant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism—the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the entire Korean people. The Meeting calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan at present under United States military occupation. It remains the duty of Communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.*

*We Communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression,*

against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world. In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent demand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of a complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

6. *Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America* for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the arms race on these continents and to preserve and create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.

*The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms.* We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neo-colonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.

One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and as a result of far-reaching democratic and revolutionary changes. To solve this problem it is necessary to mobilise and unite all the progressive forces of each country and develop mutually advantageous ties between them and with the socialist countries.

7. *We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff pro-fascist sorties.* Fascism is intensifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neo-fascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal, fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagoguery about liberalisation in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neo-nazis have laid open claim to power. Neo-fascist forces are also becoming more active in other countries. Neo-fascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance

from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.'

The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism, for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary colonels' junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism.

8. We Communists again call on all honest men in the world to unite their efforts in the struggle against the *man-hating ideology and practices of racialism*. We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most ignominious phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in occupied territory and in Israel, against racial and national discrimination, against Zionism, and anti-Semitism, all of which are fanned by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to mislead the masses politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realise that eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

9. The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens, *to democratise every aspect of social life*. A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the international arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against Communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail. We Communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities. We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and language, and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination.

We Communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of imperialist aggression, abolish colonialism and neo-colonialism once and for all and uproot fascism and racial oppression without resolute struggle against the power of monopoly capital, for democratic demands which, once won, would weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations of its rule. Such a struggle would create favourable conditions for achieving the ultimate goals of the working-class movement.

*The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the*



*socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.*

The Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of imperialism with greater vigour and to make public opinion more alive to the aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.

The participants in the Meeting call on all organisations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals, women, on various groups and social strata with different political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organisations to pool their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defence of peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of co-operation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

#### IV

The participants in the Meeting consider that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the Parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*

The participants in the Meeting reaffirm their common view that relations between the fraternal Parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradesly co-operation between the fraternal Parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such co-operation and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles and these forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite their efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All Parties have equal rights. As there is no leading centre of the international

communist movement, voluntary co-ordination of the actions of Parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint actions aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary exchange of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen internationalist revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The participants in the Meeting proclaim their Parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

The participants in the Meeting are convinced that the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal Parties and on the extent of their co-operation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible. Marxists-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Communist Parties—the Parties of the working class and all working people—are the standardbearers of genuine national interests unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests. The winning of power by the working class and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time, the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal Parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great historical victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious

difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives and interests, on the striving of each Party to find a solution to existing problems which would meet both national and international interests and the Communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of Communists for cohesion on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The Meeting is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of co-operation among the Communist Parties, by extending inter-Party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena. It is an internationalist duty of each Party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all Parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.

The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and political role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the world revolutionary process should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, Communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their struggle and the conditions for victory. To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, Communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working-class movement and among the broad masses, including young people; they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against Right- and Left-opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

*Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.*

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence, the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The participants in the Meeting support all the Communist Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of Communists and other

democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and some other countries. We proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The participants regard this Meeting as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and co-operation between all Communist Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present Meeting.

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The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

*Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!*

## CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

### Address of the International Meeting

On the eve of the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth the thoughts of this Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties turn to the undying genius of our revolutionary age.

Lenin's name has come to symbolise the victory of the Great October Revolution and those immense revolutionary advances which have radically changed the face of society on earth and signify the turning of mankind to socialism and communism.

Lenin was an eminent man of thought who developed in every aspect the science which Marx and Engels established: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of communist society.

Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party, the first proletarian party of a new type, he led the world's first socialist revolution to victory and founded the first proletarian state in history, Soviet socialist democracy.

Lenin unflinchingly fought imperialism and reaction, he upheld unity in action of all sections of the working people in battle against the common class enemy; he was a thoroughgoing internationalist, he championed equality, peace and friendship among nations, he wrathfully denounced any manifestation of racialism and chauvinism; he was the friend of all oppressed nations and opened the way to victory in the struggle against colonialism, for the peoples' independence and freedom, for their right to determine their own destiny.

The acknowledged leader of the world working class, Lenin saw in the proletariat the leading force able to carry out the historic task of overthrowing capitalism and bringing about the socialist transformation of society. It was he who evolved the theory of the alliance between the working class and peasantry. Upholding unity of the working-class movement, Lenin was irreconcilably opposed to opportunism in all its forms.

Generations of Communists, wholly dedicated to the working class, to the people and the socialist cause, have grown up under the influence of Leninism. Lenin's life and work, his supreme qualities as a revolutionary, a comrade and a human being, will forever by their example inspire millions of revolutionary fighters throughout the world.

It is under the banner of Leninism that the revolutionary movement in most countries has risen to a new height, Communist Parties have been formed and have grown strong, and the international communist movement has become a truly world-wide political force, the most influential political force of today.

All the experience of world socialism and of the working class and national liberation movements has confirmed the world significance of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age.

Today we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent, because it is true. Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in specific conditions permit scientific answers to be found to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they are active.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to this great international teaching, holds the promise of further successes of the communist movement.

Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society. Communists will always be true to the creative spirit of Leninism.

The approaching Lenin centenary is an historic date of world significance. The Communist and Workers' Parties meet it in a situation of increasing revolutionary activity and will mark it by stepping up political and ideological work among the masses and by extending and strengthening their ranks. They are exerting every effort to rouse the working people's revolutionary energies to struggle against imperialism, for the splendid ideals of socialism.

The participants in this International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties address to all Communists, to all fighters for the socialist transformation of society and to all champions of progress and peace this call for a worthy celebration of the centenary of great Lenin's birth. Study Lenin's works! There you shall find an inexhaustible fund of inspiration for struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace. Acquaintance with Lenin's works will help the rising generation to see more clearly the revolutionary prospects of our era. Spread more widely knowledge of the achievements of Leninism, of the successes of the socialist countries, Communist Parties and all revolutionary forces!

Working people in all countries, peoples of the world!

In the name of the triumph of Lenin's ideals, we call upon you to join actively in the great and noble battle of the working class for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

Let us raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world!

Long live Leninism!

*Moscow, June 17, 1969*

## INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM AND PEACE FOR VIETNAM!

### Appeal of the International Meeting

The International Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties sends ardent greetings to the fraternal people of Vietnam and wholeheartedly congratulates them on their historic successes in the struggle against US aggression.

We send special greetings to the vanguard of the Vietnamese people—the Working People's Party of Vietnam and its Central Committee—and to the great patriot and internationalist Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding figure of the international communist movement. The Working People's Party of Vietnam is the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle against US imperialist aggression. It consistently defends the national interests and the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

We send warm greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV), the lawful representative of the population of South Vietnam and tested organiser and leader of the heroic resistance against US aggression. The NLFSV's Political Programme is the basis for uniting the entire South Vietnamese population in its just struggle for liberation.

The International Meeting unconditionally supports the 10-point programme—"Principles and Main Content of a General Settlement of the South Vietnam Problem as a Contribution to the Restoration of Peace in Vietnam"—put forward on May 8, 1969 by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This programme proceeds from the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and from the present situation in Vietnam. It is based on the Political Programme and 5-point stand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and coincides with the 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The proposed settlement of the South Vietnam problem fully accords with the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the interests of world peace. It guarantees the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and lasting peace in Vietnam and also accords with the interests of the other peoples of Indochina.

*In fighting to defend their homeland the Vietnamese people exercise the sacred and inviolable right of all peoples to self-defence.*

Their struggle for freedom and independence evokes the deep respect and admiration of all nations. Their staunchness, heroism and confidence are an

example and inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the liberation of peoples from exploitation and oppression. By defending their homeland, the Vietnamese people simultaneously fulfil their internationalist duty and serve the noble cause of world peace. In this most just struggle of the Vietnamese people we have been and shall be firmly linked in solidarity with them.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression is a key component of the world-wide battle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and those of reaction.

By undertaking armed intervention in Vietnam the imperialist forces of the USA made an attempt to destroy one of the outposts of socialism in Asia, bar the road of the peoples of Indochina to peace, freedom and progress, strike a blow at the revolutionary national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and test the solidarity of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces.

These plans of US imperialism are doomed to failure.

With massive support from socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union, as well as from all peace-loving peoples in the world, the Vietnamese people have demonstrated to the USA, the most powerful force of imperialism, that its might is not limitless.

The barbarous crimes of the US interventionists against the Vietnamese people, the use of biological, chemical and other means of mass annihilation, which is nothing less than genocide, outrage the conscience of mankind. This has revealed to all the peoples the true, anti-human essence of imperialism.

All this has led to the growing political and moral isolation of the aggressor among broad strata, including ruling circles of some capitalist countries. In the USA itself growing sections of the population are opposing the dirty war in Vietnam, the consequences of which are shaking American society.

The epic struggle of the Vietnamese people is a decisive factor in the movement of the peoples against imperialism and is also manifested in the militant actions of the youth and students.

Although the aggressors have set a huge war machine in motion, they were compelled to cease unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to quadrilateral negotiations with the equal participation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In South Vietnam the people's liberation armed forces are uninterruptedly dealing heavy blows at the US interventionists and their puppets. People's power has been established in by far the greater part of its territory. The bankrupt puppet regime is kept in power solely by the bayonets of US imperialism.

These are major successes of the heroic Vietnamese people, the world socialist system, the international communist and working-class movement and all other peace-loving and progressive forces.

The successful struggle of Vietnam mirrors the changes in the international balance of power and the growing might of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation on a global scale.

The broad movement in support of Vietnam against US aggression strikingly and concretely shows the striving of the international communist movement, as



well as of all other anti-imperialist forces, for cohesion and unity of action in the fight against imperialism, which is the common enemy of mankind.

*The struggle of the Vietnamese patriots shows that a people which consistently fights imperialism for freedom and independence and has on its side the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries and the peace-loving forces of the whole world is invincible.*

*The stronger the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—the greater will be their successes.*

*The more resolutely the Communist and Workers' Parties uphold the freedom of peoples and head the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, the broader and more effective the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples.*

Despite their heavy defeats, the militarist circles of the USA have not yet renounced their aggressive, neo-colonialist plans with regard to Vietnam and continue their attempts to secure a military settlement of the Vietnam problem. They persist in following the dangerous road of escalating the military conflict, as evidenced by the increasing bombing of Laotian territory and constant acts of provocation against neutral Cambodia.

The US government and its representatives in Paris stubbornly refuse to conduct businesslike and realistic talks on the just demands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, particularly the demand for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of US troops and other participants in the aggression in South Vietnam. Instead, they seek to mislead world public opinion by demagogic manoeuvring and to secure through pressure success at the negotiations which they were denied on the battlefield.

They evade the basic issue of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of US and satellite troops from South Vietnam and insist on what they term as a reciprocal withdrawal of troops. With this the aggressor is put on the same level as the victim of aggression. However, US imperialism will never succeed in concealing the fact that it has unleashed and stubbornly continues the aggression in Vietnam.

The US intervention in Vietnam is a permanent threat to world peace and a direct challenge to all peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the international communist and working-class movement will continue to render the Vietnamese people all the assistance they require until the final triumph of their just cause. They thereby make a large contribution towards the cause of world peace, the cause of freedom and socialism.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphatically declares that a just settlement of the Vietnam problem can only be secured by guaranteeing the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people.

Today when the struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered an important stage, when thanks to the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam all the necessary conditions have been created for a just political settlement, we demand:

the United States must renounce its obstructionist stand at the quadrilateral conference in Paris;

the United States must forthwith cease its acts of aggression in Vietnam and completely and unconditionally withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam;

the United States must recognise the right of the population of South Vietnam to decide their internal affairs by themselves without foreign interference;

the United States must end all actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

the United States must cease its interference and aggression in Laos and its violations of the territorial integrity of Cambodia, recognise her frontiers, abandon its aggressive aims with regard to the states of Southeast and East Asia and strictly abide by the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.

We demand that Thailand, New Zealand and Australia, the South Korean puppet regime and also the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan end their open or veiled participation in the US aggression in Vietnam!

On behalf of the many millions of Communists we appeal to all men of goodwill who cherish peace, justice and the freedom and independence of nations:

to protest with greater determination throughout the world against the criminal war waged by US imperialism in Vietnam!

to take a still more active part in the international movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people!

to demand the withdrawal of US and satellite troops from Vietnam!

to demand the prompt peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem on the basis of ensuring the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people!

to support the 10 points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

We call for the immediate initiation of further, still more powerful, varied and co-ordinated action by the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression!

Boycott transportation of troops, weapons and supplies for the interventionists and their satellites!

Let us turn July 20, the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, into an international day of solidarity with Vietnam, a day of struggle to stop US aggression!

Honour and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting with dedication for freedom and independence!

Hold higher the banner of international solidarity!

Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

*Moscow, June 10, 1969*

## **TELEGRAM**

### **of the International Meeting to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam**

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, convened in Moscow, warmly welcomes the creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The 75 Parties represented at the Meeting regard this event as a new and important stage of the heroic struggle for liberation waged by the Vietnamese people. They assure the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people of their invariable support for their struggle for final victory.

*Moscow, June 12, 1969*

## APPEAL IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

Adopted by  
the International Meeting  
of Communist and Workers' Parties,  
June 16, 1969

We representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow for the International Meeting call upon all peoples of the world, regardless of their convictions and political views, to act jointly to defend and consolidate the peace.

A struggle is being waged for the greatest cause of all—the future of mankind. In the first half of this century two world wars claimed more than 70 million human lives and wiped thousands of thriving towns and rural communities from the face of the earth. The sinister atomic mushroom over Hiroshima is a tragic warning of the possible consequences of a third world war should imperialism succeed in starting it.

Today, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent within minutes and lay waste vast territories, a world conflict would spell the death of hundreds of millions of people and the destruction and incineration of the treasures of world civilisation and culture.

Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments on the freedom of nations—all have their roots in the policies of imperialism.

It is imperialism, US imperialism in particular, that is stepping up the arms race, increasing international tensions, and sparking off conflicts and local wars in various parts of the globe. Sworn enemy of the freedom of nations, US imperialism seeks by all possible means to suppress the national liberation movement, organises reactionary coups and installs and maintains anti-popular regimes.

For many years the US imperialists have been waging an aggressive war in Vietnam employing the most barbarous means.

As a result of the Israeli aggression against Arab peoples, a dangerous breeding ground of tension remains in the Middle East, which may at any time kindle the flames of war.

The provocative intrigues of imperialism against Cuba, off the shores of Korea and against many Asian, African and Latin American states are creating a constant threat to peace.

Bellicose West German imperialism is gaining strength and neo-nazism is rearing its head in the heart of Europe. Relying on the aggressive NATO bloc and acting in close alliance with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Bonn,

who have not drawn the necessary lessons from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, are pursuing a policy of revanche, eagerly reaching out for nuclear weapons and threatening the security of all European peoples. Military bases placed at the disposal of the US imperialists in various NATO countries and in Spain are a threat to peace.

The policy of aggression and war, pursued for the profits of monopoly capital, intensifies, in the capitalist countries themselves, the exploitation of the masses, kindles racial discrimination, cultivates brute force, leads to the curtailing of democratic freedoms and jeopardises the vital interests of the people. The militarisation of the economy devours huge material resources, presses down the standard of living and places a heavy burden on the shoulders of working people. Imperialism is responsible for channeling the greatest achievements of science and technology, which throw open new vistas to humanity, for purposes of destruction, while at the same time hundreds of millions of people suffer from hunger and poverty.

That is why the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for progress and democracy, for deliverance from alien domination, from colonialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship.

Today lasting peace is no longer a utopia—it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international co-operation. The consistent peace policy of the first socialist country—the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the intensification of the working people's struggle in the capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, and action by broad circles of world democratic opinion and by peace fighters remove the fatal inevitability of another world war and create a real possibility for effectuating the striving of the peoples for peace.

Imperialism is no longer able arbitrarily to decide the destinies of the world. The US aggressors have been compelled to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to negotiations. A Treaty banning nuclear tests on land, under water and in outer space has been concluded, and a Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has been signed. This means that when the peoples act vigorously and unitedly they can achieve concrete results.

Although the threat of military conflicts remains as long as imperialism exists, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a realistic matter in our days. But peaceful coexistence demands a constant and persevering struggle of the masses against imperialism, against its positions of strength policy.

The struggle for peace embraces peace initiatives by the socialist countries, the victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South Vietnam, anti-war demonstrations in the cities of Europe and America, the Japanese people's struggle against US military bases. The cause of peace is served by the actions of the working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, resistance of the Latin American peoples to the dictatorship of military juntas, the anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa, and the Negro people's struggle for their rights in the USA. Every participant in this struggle, whether he works at a factory bench, tills the soil or labours in a laboratory, contributes to the common cause of upholding peace.

## WE ADDRESS OUR APPEAL

to working people—factory workers, peasants, intellectuals, to workers in science and culture, to all who want to save and multiply the fruits of labour and of the creative endeavours of mankind;

to mothers and fathers, who are concerned over their children's future;

to young people and students striving to realise lofty plans and visions and dedicate their strength and energy to furthering the prosperity of their countries;

to parliamentarians, statesmen and political leaders evincing anxiety for the destinies of their peoples;

to political parties, trade unions, and mass organisations and movements;

to religious communities and associations, to people of different creeds;

to participants in the peace movement and anti-war campaigns;

to all men and women:

to demand an end to US aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of US troops, respect for the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people, and independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam;

to secure the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution;

to work for the complete eradication of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the attainment of independence by all the oppressed peoples, for the ending of the wars of the Portuguese colonialists, for the uprooting of disgraceful racialism in South Africa and wherever else it is manifest, and the abolition of corrupt regimes serving foreign monopolies;

to exert greater effort in the struggle for the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social system, for the relaxation of world tensions, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by negotiation, against the encroachments of the imperialists on the independence and sovereignty of the peoples, for their right to determine their own future, and for the promotion of broad co-operation between countries on a basis of equality.

We appeal to all who suffered and remember the horrors of the last world war, to all the champions of peace in Europe, including peace-loving social forces in West Germany:

let us block the road to the policy of territorial claims pursued by the FRG and its striving to obtain nuclear weapons; let us compel the forces of neo-nazism to retreat!

Recognition of the real situation which has arisen in Europe as a result of the Second World War, the inviolability of existing frontiers and recognition of the German Democratic Republic are the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace on the European continent.

Let us launch a struggle for the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe and the elimination of the world's division into military groupings, for the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding between nations. The road to this would be paved by an All-European Conference of states which has been proposed by the Budapest Conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Peace on earth cannot rest on a "balance of fear". Lasting peace is inconceivable without a cessation of the arms race.

It is imperative to secure the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the globe, the banning of all nuclear tests, the speediest possible enforcement of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the participation of all countries in this treaty, the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles.

It is imperative to demand the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory, the release of countries from the aggressive military pacts forced on them and the imposition of an effective international ban on all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is necessary to work, consistently and perseveringly, towards general and complete disarmament.

In face of all trials we Communists have preserved our boundless devotion to Lenin's ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Today, as before, we shall struggle for these lofty aims of the whole of mankind together with all who oppose the policy of militarism, aggression and war. For these aims we are ready to develop contacts and co-operate with the most diverse public and political forces.

The unity of all progressive, peace-loving forces is the demand of the day. United we shall ensure the triumph of the sacred cause of world peace.

## STATEMENT of the International Meeting

Two years ago Israel launched an open aggression against the UAR, Jordan and Syria. Since then, the Israeli ruling circles, supported by the imperialists, above all by the US imperialists, world reaction and Zionist circles, continue to occupy Arab territories seized as a result of the aggression, refusing to fulfil the UN decisions, including those of the Security Council; they are enforcing their expansionist and annexationist policy, perpetrating acts of repression against the Arab population in the occupied areas, and incessantly committing fresh military provocations.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties resolutely condemns Israel's continued aggression, which is a gross violation of the national rights of the Arab peoples, including the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, a gross violation of the UN Charter, which condemns aggression.

In their just struggle against aggression the Arab peoples have the effective support of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union. In this struggle they are backed by the world communist movement, the national liberation forces and ever growing sections of the public in the capitalist countries.

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties holds that peace and tranquility in this area can be established only provided Israeli troops are withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories and the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 is fully implemented.

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties appeals to all progressive forces throughout the world to increase their effective support for, and enhance their solidarity with, the Arab peoples in their just struggle.

*Moscow, June 7, 1969*



## STATEMENT of the International Meeting

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow are deeply indignant at the fresh wave of terror, brutal court persecution, mass arrests and torture of Greek Communists, democrats and other opponents of the junta.

The dictatorial regime forced on the Greek people by the reactionary military with the assistance of the US imperialists and the aggressive NATO bloc is savagely persecuting the democratic forces of Greece, above all Communists, consistent champions of their country's freedom, independence and happy future.

The participants in the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties express their fraternal solidarity with the Communists and democrats of Greece who are fighting the military fascist dictatorship. The Meeting calls upon the broad masses of working people, democratic and progressive forces in all countries to resolutely demand an end to the repressions and the immediate release of all political prisoners in Greece.

*Moscow, June 12, 1969*

## ADDRESS

### of the International Meeting to Indonesian Communists

On behalf of millions of Communists, we participants in the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties send fraternal revolutionary greetings to our Indonesian comrades.

Having proclaimed anti-communism as the foundation of their policy, the reactionary forces of Indonesia in alliance with world reaction have brutally put to death leaders of the Communist Party and massacred hundreds of thousands of Communists and other patriots, and subjected their families to repression and persecution. This is the fourth year of unceasing bloodbath in Indonesia. Thousands of patriots are in prison or concentration camps, or exiled to certain death in the foulest parts of the country. The present rulers of Indonesia have banned the ideas of scientific socialism. They seek to exclude from Indonesian political life everybody who cherishes the democratic gains of the people. The crimes of the military dictatorship in Indonesia and its anti-national policy are wrathfully denounced by the whole of progressive mankind.

The communist movement lives on in Indonesia despite the police terror. Under the extraordinarily difficult conditions of underground activity many Indonesian Communists are fighting to restore the Communist Party of Indonesia and uphold the interests of the working people. They courageously defend the country's national independence against the inroads of imperialism, which makes use of the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the Indonesian ruling circles.

The international Meeting pays homage to Indonesian Communists who fell victim to the bloody terror and expresses its internationalist solidarity with those who are continuing the struggle. The Meeting believes in the future of the fraternal Party, that it will overcome the difficulties of the present period. We are convinced that by firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the Indonesian Communists, in alliance with other progressive democratic forces of Indonesia, will lead their people to the triumph of the bright ideals of genuine national independence, progress and socialism.

*Moscow, June 14, 1969*

## STATEMENT of the International Meeting

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow received with anger and indignation news of fresh wholesale arrests and brutal killings of Communists, democrats and other patriots in Haiti.

Comrades Gerald Brisson, Daniel Sansaricq, Gerard Wadestrandt, Jacques Jeannot and other prominent Communist leaders, were murdered some days ago. The life of Comrade Joseph Roney, General Secretary, Central Committee, United Party of Haitian Communists, seized by Duvalier's cutthroats, is in danger.

In twelve years Duvalier's tyrannical regime, maintaining power solely with the support of the American monopolies, has turned the country into a concentration camp. Savage persecutions, tortures, death sentences, anti-popular legislation and, in particular, repeal of the right of asylum—all this is designed to suppress the resistance of the Haitian patriots. The Duvalier regime aims the main blow against the members of the United Party of Haitian Communists, courageous fighters for the freedom, independence and bright future of their country.

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declares its fraternal solidarity with the Communists and democrats of Haiti, daily risking their lives in the selfless underground struggle against tyranny.

The Meeting calls on the toiling masses, the democratic and progressive forces of all countries, to demand resolutely an end to the terror, the slaying and persecution of Haitian Communists and other patriots.

The memory of the heroes who laid down their lives in the fight against tyranny, for the freedom and independence of their country, for socialism, shall live for ever!

We demand freedom for Comrade Joseph Roney!

We demand freedom for all political prisoners in Haiti!

*Moscow, June 16, 1969*

SPEECHES  
BY HEADS OF DELEGATIONS  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES

## OPENING SPEECH BY LEONID ILYICH BREZHNEV

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU and all Soviet Communists, to extend heartfelt greetings to the delegations of the fraternal Parties who have come to take part in the International Meeting. Through you we warmly greet millions of like-minded men and fellow-fighters in all countries, on all continents who, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, champion the interests of the working class and all working people, and carry on the struggle against imperialism, for socialism, for peace, democracy and national independence.

Representatives of 75 Parties are taking part in our Meeting.

It is no exaggeration to say that the attention of the whole world is now centred on this hall. Our numerous friends are closely following our work. Theirs is an understandable interest. It is determined above all by the role of the communist movement as the most influential international force of our day. It is determined by the pressing nature of the problems which we are going to discuss and on which we are to work out a common stand.

The progress of the Meeting will also be closely watched by our class enemies—the imperialists of all countries and their menials. That is not surprising. They fear our unity, and will, of course, try to do everything they can to minimise the importance of the Meeting, to throw a false light on its progress and results. We can be quite sure that the greater the will for unity of action, for cohesion displayed by our Meeting, the stronger the blow that it will inflict on the imperialist calculations.

The main question on the agenda is of vital importance to all the peoples. It can be settled fully and successfully only through a united effort by the Communists, the working class, and the broadest masses of working people in every corner of the world. The very fact that this Meeting has been called is evidence that Communists understand their high responsibility for the future of the world and social progress, and that they are resolved to do their duty to the international working class and to the peoples.

Communists have always been and are in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, for victory of the cause of socialism, democracy and social progress.

Their unity, the pooling of their efforts have been and remain an important condition of success in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, and an important requisite for fresh victories of socialism.

As we begin discussion of the tasks before us we realise that there is much important work to be done. For this, good conditions have now been created, as the Meeting was preceded by long and thorough preparation. In a comradesly, democratic atmosphere, the representatives of many fraternal Parties had a detailed discussion of a wide range of political and organisational questions, and worked out the draft documents. The great positive significance of the preparatory work lies in the fact that it has enabled each Party to obtain a better knowledge of the problems which are being tackled by the various contingents of the communist movement, and to co-ordinate their stand on the basic urgent questions of the anti-imperialist struggle. The fruitfulness of international co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties has been demonstrated in practice once again.

We highly appreciate the contribution of all the fraternal Parties taking part in the preparatory work at its various stages. We are sure that the spirit of comradeship and internationalism, the will for unity of the communist movement, which was strongly manifested in the course of the preparatory work, will also determine the whole atmosphere at this Meeting.

Our Party and the whole Soviet people highly value the confidence you have shown in deciding to hold the international forum of Communists in Moscow, our capital. We wish to assure you, comrades, that in fulfilling our Central Committee's instructions, the CPSU delegation will, for its part, do everything it can to make the work of this Meeting successful and fruitful.

We hope, too, that the delegations of the fraternal Parties will be able to use their stay in the USSR to acquaint themselves with the life and work of the Soviet people, and to meet our country's working people.

The Central Committee of the CPSU expresses confidence that the Meeting will be an important stage in mobilising all revolutionary, liberation and progressive forces of our day for the struggle against imperialism, and will make a big contribution to the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

## JESUS FARIA

General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Venezuela

Dear Comrades,

I take great pleasure in conveying to you revolutionary greetings on behalf of the Communists and Communist Youth of Venezuela.

The political situation in our country in the sixties is a historical process rich in important events. The working class and people of Venezuela are fighting staunchly and courageously against their internal enemies and US imperialism.

Our people's fight against the pro-imperialist governments of Betancourt and Leoni has added brilliant chapters to the history of our revolution.

### I

You know that world imperialism, especially the US monopolies, has made deep inroads into the Venezuelan economy. The imperialists exploit our world-renowned oil resources and our rich deposits of iron ore. Foreign investment in our country is enormous and the US monopolies derive an annual 40 per cent in profit from the capital invested in the oil industry. This scandalous plunder of Venezuela's oil resources explains in a way the sharp social and political struggles in our country, as well as the marked degradation of parties and rulers who forget about their political programmes and promises as soon as they find themselves in power.

The ruthless exploitation of Venezuela by the US and other monopolies angers its patriots. The submission of the country's rulers to the foreign exploiters objectively helps to unite the most diverse revolutionary and progressive-minded people, as is evident, in particular, from the failure of Rockefeller's attempt to visit Caracas. Whenever patriotic sentiment leads to joint action against foreign domination, it does not take the people long to win the upper hand.

Rockefeller, the most privileged exploiter of the working class and the riches of Venezuela, a man sent by Nixon to impose new onerous terms on our people, was unable to visit Lima and La Paz. Nor could he go to Caracas. The reason for all this was that the peoples of Latin America united to keep him

out. Rockefeller's personal fiasco was also a fiasco for President Nixon and his predatory policy in Latin America, whose peoples are going through a period of powerful upsurge in their fight for independence and freedom.

The youth of Venezuela—over 70 per cent of the population are under thirty years—are firmly opposed to the imperialists and strongly insist on a progressive policy on the part of the state.

We Venezuelan Communists, operating in difficult conditions, have been waging big battles in every sector.

Thanks to resolute and staunch resistance to the dictators, we have secured the release of thousands of our imprisoned comrades and the legalisation of the Communist Party. In this struggle we have made mistakes and scored gains, as is usually the case in fighting a powerful enemy. However, we must tell the spokesmen of the Communist Parties present here that the CPV as a political force carries considerable weight with the working class and other classes and progressive social strata of the country. Our enemies announced the abolition of the CPV more than once, but our Party proved indestructible because it is closely linked with the people.

Today the CPV is fighting to regain lost positions and reorganise on a nation 1 scale. We are concentrating on the task of winning more members among the working class, on the Marxist-Leninist training of our comrades, on the application of the principles of proletarian internationalism, on the class struggle. We are doing all this on the basis of sustained struggle against imperialism, for national independence, against the national oligarchy.

The tactic of rallying our own forces and of winning allies, if only for separate actions, exemplified by the successful popular movement which kept Rockefeller out of Venezuela, is the main aspect of the home policy of our Party.'

Before closing this part of my speech, I wish to use this opportunity to express once again our deep gratitude to the brother Parties for the many-sided solidarity they showed us in the dark years of the most brutal repression. We Venezuelan Communists do appreciate in full measure the vast significance of proletarian solidarity.

## II

Comrades, the CPV wholeheartedly congratulates the Preparatory Committee on the valuable work it has carried out in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to it by the Communist Parties. Its patient effort has been crowned with results beneficial to all Marxists-Leninists.

The Central Committee of the CPV is aware of the difficulties which the world communist movement is passing through. After the Second World War, as a result of the historic victory of the Soviet armed forces over German fascism, the working class triumphed in a number of countries standing at the most diverse levels of material and cultural development. In each of them the approach to age-old problems had to be different in one way or another. Thus our communist movement came up against complications arising from considerable growing pains. Its growth has substantially changed the balance of world forces in favour of socialism.



Lastly, and regrettably, some contingents of our movement were faced with problems that have yet to be solved in a satisfactory manner. An indication of this is the absence of some of the invited brother Parties from this important communist conference.

Nevertheless, and despite the absence of these Parties, the fact that so many Marxist-Leninist Parties have agreed to meet for a discussion of the most urgent problems agitating the working people all over the world, and that we have come here to seek and find ways and means of reaching agreement and extending our joint struggle against our common enemy, is highly important for Communists and the international working class. For this Meeting is paving the way for a future world conference that will be attended by both us and those who are absent today. The quest for ways of establishing closer links and achieving unity should become a necessary objective of the world communist movement.

A frank, comradely discussion of ideological matters, like the one we are beginning today, will be very useful for both Communists and the entire national liberation movement, for both the brother Parties in power and those operating in the conditions of brutal capitalist oppression.

### III

The world communist movement needs a platform for fighting against imperialism. The basis of this platform is united action by Communists fighting in different latitudes and different conditions against one and the same chief enemy.

As the anti-imperialist struggle goes on, action by the masses is a requisite of the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which does not restrict the peoples' right to use in class battles any form of struggle according to the level achieved by the proletariat concerned.

It is necessary to fight unrelentingly, demanding respect for human rights in every corner of the globe, win guaranteed civil rights, secure the release of and freedom for political prisoners.

Great importance attaches from this point of view to the effective and permanent solidarity of all Communist Parties and popular movements of the world with the peoples of Spain and Brazil, Portugal and Haiti, Greece and Paraguay, Indonesia, Guatemala and Panama, with all peoples living under frightful political oppression.

A task of tremendous importance today is militant support for the Peruvian people, who are resisting the brazen policy of the US government. It is also as necessary as ever for all the peoples of the world to continue their fraternal support of socialist Cuba.

The armed struggle of African peoples against Portuguese colonialism—in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique—the struggle against the infamy of racial oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia, against neo-colonialism in any form, as well as the Arab peoples' resistance to imperialist aggression deserve our warm sympathy.

Besides, we must remember that while one and a half centuries have passed since most Latin American countries won freedom from Spanish rule, the sores

of colonialism are still visible on the American continent. Not long ago the people of Curaçao, who have close geographical, economic and historical ties with Venezuela, set an example of courageous resistance to colonial rule.

What is needed first and foremost, however, is to extend all-out assistance on a world scale to the Vietnamese people's victorious fight—a fight unexampled in history—against the wanton aggression launched by the US government. In Vietnam, imperialism is digging its own grave. The freedom-loving peoples of the world must not slacken their solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

From this high rostrum we send heartfelt greetings from the Communists and other progressives of our country to the fighters in North and South Vietnam. We firmly pledge ourselves to do all in our power to give them the requisite moral and material support.

The Central Committee of the CPV subscribes to the thesis that the militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries and all contingents of the working-class and national liberation movement with every people fighting for independence and freedom, against imperialism must be strengthened.

The CC CPV declares without qualification for the broadest possible unity of action of all the forces fighting against imperialism on a world scale.

Accordingly, we are prepared to make our modest contribution to attaining maximum understanding between the Communist and Workers' Parties, and to fulfilling the common tasks of all Marxists-Leninists wherever they may be.

#### IV

We agree that relations between the Communist Parties should be based on proletarian internationalism. Strict adherence to this fundamental principle promotes unity, increases the strength of Communists and makes for more harmonious development of their relations and mutual assistance.

We agree that the effect of the political activity of each Communist Party depends on that Party's achievements in its own country, the achievements of brother Parties and the extent of co-operation between the various contingents.

We regard the national and international responsibility of every Communist Party as an indivisible whole. Marxists-Leninists never separate patriotism from proletarian internationalism. At the same time they reject both national narrow-mindedness and underestimation of national peculiarities.

Naturally, the CC CPV deplors the existence of ideological and political contradictions in the world communist movement. But we are not pessimists.

We think true Communists will always find a way of working together. We are faced with the very serious fact that imperialism profits by our disputes. This is what really worries us, just as it worries, to the best of our knowledge, our brothers in other countries. We trust that the debate begun here will help us chart the course of the struggle for the independence of the oppressed countries, for the freedom of the peoples enslaved by capitalism.

The Preparatory Committee of this Meeting has worked out a draft that has already won the support of numerous Parties. We can say that some differences have been overcome while others persist and may not be fully settled at this

Meeting. Be that as it may, they have been specified and reduced, which will make it easier to discuss them in the future. Besides, developments usually come to our aid in situations of this kind. Much depends on proper application of the principles of internationalism, which guide our activity. The working class of the world expects of us sincere efforts for unity. This hope of the working class is fully justified as far as the Communists are concerned. This is proved by the revolutionary road we Communists have travelled in our respective sectors of the fight against imperialism.

Comrades, the CC CPV has approved of an international political line aimed at maintaining and fostering friendship and solidarity with all Communist and Workers' Parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, equality and mutual respect and finds it necessary to strive continuously for greater cohesion of all contingents of the world communist movement.

The CPV does not make friendship and solidarity with its brothers in other countries conditional on whether or not they approve of its activity in its own country. On the contrary, we are willing to listen carefully to constructive criticism of our mistakes by brother Parties in the course of bilateral or multi-lateral meetings. We are ready to work in this spirit, along these political lines.

## V

Comrades, the CC CPV is grateful for the invitation to attend this great International Meeting of Communists. Its members have studied the Document entitled "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces".

The CC CPV has sent to this Meeting a delegation of four members of the Political Bureau, whom it has explicitly instructed to sign this Document.

The CC CPV will continue to take a collective stand on the political and ideological problems discussed on an international scale and to seek unity of action with other fraternal Parties, with the entire progressive movement of the world, with all forces opposed to imperialism.

Our international policy is based on Lenin's recommendation to hold frank discussions, achieve international solidarity, respect the principles of Marxism and be loyal to the cause of the world proletariat.

Comrades, on behalf of the Party and the Communist Youth of our country we wish the best of success to the work begun in Moscow, capital of the first socialist state—a state founded by Lenin, the eminent teacher of freedom fighters.

Paying tribute to Lenin on the 100th anniversary of his birth, we promise to work with devotion for the fulfilment of the tasks facing the world communist movement today.

We fraternally greet all the delegations present here and thank the comrades from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, especially its Central Committee, for the warm welcome they have given us and the facilities they have provided to make our deliberations fruitful.

I salute you, comrades.

## AARNE SAARINEN

Chairman,  
Communist Party of Finland

Esteemed Representatives of the Fraternal Parties,  
Comrades,

For me it is a big honour to convey to you, representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, the fraternal greetings of the Communist Party of Finland. Our Party has always attached importance to the co-operation and solidarity of Communist Parties. An inseparable part of the world communist movement, that most influential social and political movement of our time, the Finnish Party is conscious of its responsibility to the working class of its own country and, being a Party adhering to proletarian internationalism, also of its responsibility in the struggle for the common interests of the international working class.

At this Meeting, as in all our work, we wish to achieve results that would promote our mutual solidarity and our comradely united action.

We have long stressed the need for a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. We thought it necessary because, as we saw it, it was high time to discuss and work out in common an appraisal of the international situation and define the common tasks in the fight for peace, the freedom and independence of the peoples, democracy and socialism. The Meeting, and the preparations for it, have enabled us to benefit in our common interest from the multifarious and rich experience of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in different countries, working in different conditions.

We are all concerned over the impairment of the unity of the world communist movement. Very different views, contradictions and conflicting opinions exist these days among the Communist Parties over many important ideological and political questions.

The Communist Parties work in very different conditions; the historical traditions of the struggle are different. Due to the different situations in each country, due to their different stages of social development, the topical questions and immediate aims facing them are different as well. For this reason, some differences in the views and in the work of the Parties are natural. However, we should bear in mind the general laws of the social struggle, the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

As our Party sees it, the need to examine the true nature and content of the differences and of their causes is compulsive, as is the need to achieve unanimity on the essential and fundamental issues. What this requires is a deep-going elaboration of the problems on the basis of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, a serious and open fraternal discussion and exchange of opinions, an analysis and appraisal of the changes in the different countries and throughout the world. For this we require an unprejudiced open-minded approach. It will take time and patience. We cannot expect the existing problems to be resolved easily, quickly, at one go.

Like the other fraternal Parties, we stress, too, that in the existing situation there is more of that which unites the Communist Parties than of that which divides them. Basically, in substance, the Communist Parties are close to each other, they have a common aim: carrying through the socialist revolution and building socialist society; they have a common, living theory—Marxism-Leninism, and a common need for mutual solidarity, for greater proletarian internationalism. They have a common enemy—national and international monopoly capital, reaction and imperialism, of which US imperialism is the main force.

We are certain that the unity of the world communist movement can be achieved on this common basis.

At the same time, we must not isolate ourselves or stand aloof. Our Party agrees with many of the fraternal Parties that everything possible should be done to invigorate joint action by our movement. Such joint action will best develop in struggles aimed at achieving the common, vital and urgent goals.

No task is more important today than that of uniting our forces for the fight against imperialism, for counteracting its dangerous aggressive policy. The international situation, the interests of all people, of all mankind, require us to do so. In these circumstances, it will be quite proper and justified to say that the theme of our Meeting, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces", expresses our most vital historical task that concerns and unites all of us.

The world communist movement bears an extremely big responsibility for the success of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is the organic link that joins together the main forces of that struggle: the socialist world system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement.

To consolidate the economic, political, as well as military power of the socialist world system is at once to impair imperialist positions. The consistently peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has greatly augmented the influence of socialism on the peoples of the world. We have every reason to say that socialism has become the decisive factor in man's progress. Our Party is in accord with the collective conclusion drawn by the Communist Parties that the forces of peace are strong enough to curb the aggressiveness of imperialism, to prevent a third world war and assure freedom and independence for the peoples.

Yet it would be a big mistake to underestimate the strength of imperialism and the danger of its policy. Imperialism is bent on preserving its positions where it is still able to dominate and exploit other peoples. It is bent on regaining

areas it has lost, intervening in the internal affairs of the peoples and supporting reaction wherever it can.

The Vietnam war waged by the United States and its allies for many years is an obvious and glaring example of imperialism's aggressive policy. At the same time, it is evidence of its limited possibilities. The heroic Vietnamese people has been able to defend itself successfully with the support of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world. The aggressors were compelled to agree to negotiations. The 10-point programme recently advanced by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, we hold, offers a realistic way of ending the imperialist aggression. We support it completely. The imperialists must be made to acknowledge the right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs.

The Middle East situation is also a result of imperialist aggressiveness. Imperialism supports the expansionist policy of Israel's ruling circles despite the UN Security Council resolution, envisaging an end to the aggression and demanding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories. In Africa, Asia and Latin America the imperialists interfere in different ways in the internal affairs of the peoples. And in Europe they keep up the tension. A roadblock must be put to their aggressive policy.

Our Central Committee holds that the draft of the Main Document circulated among the Central Committees of all Parties after the March conference of the Preparatory Committee, coincides basically with the point of view of our Party. We suggested a few amendments and additions in the course of the preparations, and note with satisfaction that a considerable number of our remarks is reflected in one way or another in the draft under review. Our delegation has closely studied the draft and the amendments introduced by the Preparatory Committee at its last sitting. We find that the draft is now better and that in places the wording has become sharper and more lucid. Our delegation holds that in its present state, the draft is a good basis for discussion at this Meeting.

Understandably, the draft of a document produced by the collective effort and consultation of more than 70 Parties, cannot conform in all respects to the standpoint of each Party. It was our aim to produce a document that would reflect the common attitude of the Parties on the main issues, expressing that on which all of us agree. We, for our part, chiefly submitted amendments that would accurately reflect those appraisals and conclusions that our Party arrived at in relation to the international situation and to our tasks in the fight against world imperialism.

We stress the need for doing everything to achieve greater unity. This Meeting may become an important turning point for our movement in the effort to restore united action. Therefore, while working further on the draft of the Main Document at this Meeting, the most important task is to make it serve the unity of our forces as effectively as possible, so that the contribution of all Parties should merge with the greatest effect in a single powerful action against imperialism.

The principles governing relations between Parties have, we hold, been correctly defined in the draft and constitute the basis, the point of departure,

for cementing the ranks of the world communist movement in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Preparatory Committee has also worked out drafts of three other documents—the Appeal in Defence of Peace, the appeal “Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!” and the address on the centennial of Lenin’s birth. We consider these documents indispensable. Our delegation recommends that they be adopted.

The Communist Party of Finland sees its class struggle as part of the great united struggle of Communist and Workers’ Parties. We look upon the international successes of the movement as our own, and upon the failures as our own difficulties. We, too, wish to contribute by our work to the great united struggle of the Communists.

Our political work of recent years was oriented on creating a front of the working-class movement and other democratic forces against big capital and political reaction, on consolidating the peaceful foreign policy of our country, improving the living conditions of the working people and achieving broader democratic rights. We hold these central political aims before us in all our activity in the working-class movement, the democratic mass organisations, the parliament and even the government, in which representatives of our Party have been participating for more than three years.

The cabinet consists of representatives of three working-class parties and two bourgeois parties of the Centre. The share held by the Communists and People’s Democrats totals one-fifth, while four-fifths of the ministries are headed by Social Democrats and representatives of the bourgeoisie. For nearly three years, the capitalist economy has been in the grip of a depression, and the increasing unemployment is now the main concern of the government.

Experience shows that a Communist Party has to face up to new and difficult problems whenever it has to decide on whether or not to participate in the government of a capitalist country as a minority when the general political premises are not yet at hand for radical, profound and rapid changes in society.

That our Party entered the government is not the result of any direct pressure from a powerful mass movement. It is the outcome of a long process unfolding under the impact of internal and external political factors. Thus, the situation differed substantially from earlier situations in which Communist Parties entered governments in capitalist countries. This was unusual and, in a way, sudden. The decision was preceded, however, by a long political crisis. The bourgeois parties were unable to govern the country alone and the cabinets were short-lived. The united forces of the working-class movement were strong. As far back as the fifties, the unitarian policy followed by our Party caused a crisis in the Social-Democratic Party, whose leadership gravitated to the Right and adhered to anti-communist positions. This lesson warned it against assuming sole responsibility for the government or sharing it with the bourgeois parties in 1966. At the same time, our Party had long protested against the discrimination to which it was subjected.

The most noteworthy thing was, however, that the Social-Democratic leadership had gradually begun reconsidering its attitude towards co-operation with our Party, which it had formerly rejected out of hand. It had begun to reconsider

its approach to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party, the peace movement and certain international problems, such as the Vietnam war and the problem of European security. This was a new factor, highlighting a turn, albeit hesitant and incomplete, which, incidentally, it still is to this day.

The policy of the government, unsatisfactory and disappointing in many respects from the point of view of the working class, created certain difficulties for all the governing parties, ours included, for our participation had evoked more hope and greater expectations than could be realistically expected from it in the prevailing political situation. The parties comprising the government majority are not yet ready for the reforms advocated by our Party. For all this, with the present relation of political forces, with capital dominant, we cannot imagine any other government that would follow a home and foreign policy more consistent with the interests of the majority of the nation and of the working masses. That is why the opinion is widespread among Communists, among the working masses, that the present government base should be retained, while working for a government policy that would conform more closely to the interests of the people, curb the power of the capitalist monopolies, reduce unemployment by government measures aimed at accelerating industrialisation and economic growth, substantially extend economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and secure democratic changes in all areas of public life.

It is a most important achievement that the bourgeois Right wing, which represents the interests of big capital most distinctly, has been isolated from the government. We are eager to preserve this state of affairs in the home and foreign policy of our country.

At the same time, we are working for a greater militant unity of the working class. The industrial workers have become more active, and so has the Left radical movement among students and intellectuals. On the other hand, however, the Right forces are more active, too, working in concert to create a government crisis and form a government of their own choice, one that would steer rightwards in policy. In sum, the political situation in our country is becoming more acute.

By now we have concrete examples of united action in many areas. The state sector in industry is visibly expanding. Social security has grown considerably. And a democratic reform is under way in the system of education.

Our greatest and most lasting accomplishment in recent years is that we have further consolidated and energised the peaceful foreign policy of our country. The good relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, based on mutual confidence, are the main cornerstone of Finland's foreign policy. They are founded on the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Aid concluded in 1948, when our Party participated in the government for the first time. The vast majority of our people appreciate the decisive role of this Treaty, being convinced that friendly ties between our countries correspond to the vital interests of our nation.

In its 50 years, the Communist Party of Finland has pioneered the effort to build up confidence between the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union. Today, too, it is doing everything in its power to safeguard and promote co-operation between our countries. Our Party is fighting against the Rights,



who are trying to sow seeds of mistrust. It is repelling actions aimed at injuring Finnish-Soviet relations. We attach particularly great importance to a further growth of economic co-operation between our countries, because that is a matter of cardinal importance from the standpoint of our economy and of resolving the employment problem.

We are in full accord with the conclusion set out in the draft of the Main Document that safeguarding world peace is linked inseparably with the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We should like to stress the importance of that struggle. Its basic aim is to compel the imperialists to respect the sovereignty and equality of each state, big or small, to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to respect the right of the peoples to choose their own social system. Broad strata of people have come to recognise the peaceful coexistence principle. The struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is an inseparable part of the great international class struggle of our time, the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression.

The fight against war, for lasting world peace, is actively supported in our country by different sections of the population. Representatives of different political parties, public organisations, the trade-union movement, youth organisations of different parties and student organisations, take part in the united movement for peace. As we see it, a distinct change has come about in the attitude of large sections of the population in the capitalist countries. Anti-communism, like the contention that a danger of attack emanates from the Soviet Union, no longer carries the previous weight. The vast forces working for peace and the security of the peoples may be brought together in the common anti-imperialist struggle for social progress, in the drive for the freedom and independence of nations.

For the peoples of Europe and the world, the security of our continent is a matter of prime importance. We must not forget that two world wars were begun on our continent by German militarism and imperialism. Like the other peoples of the northern countries, the Finns are aware of the threat to the security of our continent created by NATO and its activities and by West German militarism, NATO's main European force. It is highly important that all states should recognise the existing borders in Europe, normalise relations with both German states, dissolve military alliances and create a system of collective security conforming with the interests of all the peoples of our continent. The Communist Party of Finland supports the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries and those set out in the document of the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist Parties.

Some time ago the government of Finland took the initiative concerning a European security conference and suggested holding it in our country. Our Party views this initiative by a government in which the Left and Centre collaborate, as highly noteworthy. We hope that it will win the broad support of the European peoples and that of the governments of the European countries, and that it will be carried into effect in the shortest possible time, consolidating peaceful development on our continent. For the same reason, our Party is also working for the complete diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

The Communists of Finland are in accord with an earlier appraisal made by our movement, namely that the forces of peace in the world are strong enough to prevent the imperialists from starting a new destructive world war. However, the peace forces will not succeed if they are divided, acting in isolation from each other. It is essential to bring together all those forces working for peace, against imperialism, for purposeful activity, creating a basis for united action.

These forces are different and they work in highly varied conditions. Their understanding of many social problems is different too. The call to battle issued by our Meeting should evoke a response among all those anti-imperialist democratic forces that champion peace and cherish freedom, human progress and the security of nations.

As a Party working in a capitalist country, we should like to stress the immense significance of the international working class in this great class struggle. After all, the working class, too, is not united in those countries. The preconditions for its unity are only ripening. However, it is evident that in recent years an appreciation of the dangers of imperialism's aggressive policy, of the need for combating it, has grown among different groups of the working class, among the members and followers of different working-class parties. There are good opportunities to rally broad strata of the working class, the trade-union movement, the followers of different working-class parties, for the great anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly battle in behalf of peace and democracy. Groups of white-collar workers belonging to the working class and the intelligentsia can be drawn into this movement to an increasing extent. The youth is increasingly conscious of the injustices implicit in capitalism and imperialism and has a stake in a fair solution of problems that concern all mankind. Ever broader strata are arriving at the conclusion that a new, socialist social system based on freedom and equality should replace the social system based on exploitation.

We, the Communist and Workers' Parties, shoulder a great responsibility for the future of all mankind. By uniting forces, we shall produce new premises for uniting broad anti-imperialist forces for joint action against imperialism's aggressive policy. We hold that the preparations for the Meeting have shown convincingly the feasibility of our central goal. And it will be facilitated by working out a common programme of struggle for the freedom of the peoples and for securing peace.

This Meeting is taking place at a time when large sections of people in different countries prepare to mark the centennial of Lenin's birth. For us, Finnish Communists, as for our entire working-class movement, Lenin's work is familiar and dear. Lenin showed a lively interest in the life of the Finnish people. He had close contacts with the revolutionary working-class movement of our country. The Finns had the privilege of affording him asylum on more than one occasion. We respect Lenin as the great leader of the international working-class movement, and we respect him for the big role he played in recognising Finland's independence over 50 years ago. That is why we are convinced that large progressive sections of our people will participate alongside the Communists in the celebrations to be organised to honour Lenin's activity in our country.

Close and intimate bonds of co-operation have existed between our Party

and Lenin's Party for all of 50 years. The Communist Party of Finland conveys fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are deeply grateful for everything the CPSU has done to create such a favourable atmosphere for the Meeting. Our Party will continue to develop close fraternal relations with the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, working for the unity of the world communist movement.

Long live the world communist movement and its unity!

## Head of Delegation, Communist Party of the Lebanon

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Communists of the Lebanon greets the delegations of brother Parties assembled here. We acknowledge the immense effort they have exerted during the past fifteen months. Our delegation particularly appreciates the efforts of the CPSU and HSWP, which have made an important contribution to the political and organisational preparations for this Meeting and have provided the best conditions for its work.

Comrades, the very fact that this Meeting has been convened is a big advance in uniting the world communist movement. It is a new victory for proletarian internationalism and a new blow at the sinister schemes of our class enemies, who had seriously hoped for the disruption of the unity of our movement and for a split in our ranks. The fruitful work of the Preparatory Committee on the eve of this Meeting reaffirmed the increased cohesion of our movement. It was a victory for the world anti-imperialist front as a whole.

The period after February 1968, when the Budapest Consultative Meeting was convened, was one of the busiest and most fruitful stages in the world communist movement in recent years. During this period sustained joint effort and comradely discussion held in a democratic spirit with all the Parties willing to participate yielded important results. Solutions were found to numerous problems which at first had seemed to be insurmountable obstacles. This is evidence of the importance of meetings of brother Parties and the need of such meetings in the future, all the more so since the international developments and the increased aggressiveness of world imperialism are demanding ever more imperatively still greater unity and co-ordinated action on the part of the Communist Parties, the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement.

Our collective work has produced the draft Main Document we now have—"Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"—and the drafts of a number of other documents.

The comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis contained in the draft Main Document reveals the general trends of world development and describes the forces operating in the world. On the strength of this analysis a scientifically

valid, objective and realistic assessment is given of the balance of world forces and of the possibilities imperialism still has. While pointing out the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, the draft Document confirms the fact that active in the world today are social and material forces which can curb imperialism provided they are consolidated.

The increased aggressiveness of imperialism, primarily of US imperialism, expressing itself more obviously in the barbarous war against the people of Vietnam, is due to the deepening general crisis of capitalism and, on the other hand, to the development of the world revolutionary process, to the offensive of the revolutionary forces, which is continuing despite difficulties and certain setbacks. Imperialism realises that the balance of forces is changing to its disadvantage. It realises that the contradiction between the imperialist system and the socialist world system, all the forces of socialism, is the fundamental contradiction of our time. Hence, to maintain or regain its positions, imperialism uses new methods so as to alter the balance of forces step by step, to fight the forces of socialism, liberation and peace. This makes imperialism and its acts of aggression very dangerous. This danger necessitates constant vigilance and combat readiness on the part of all revolutionary forces. New methods of combating the revolutionary movement are being used by imperialism on a world scale. Imperialism's offensive is spearheaded against the socialist countries, which it is trying to undermine from within, with the aid of the reactionary forces, by reviving the concepts of bourgeois nationalism and by disrupting the unity of the socialist countries. It uses local wars and takes part in them directly, as in Vietnam, or indirectly, as it did in the Middle East in 1967, when it resorted to the aid of its agents in Israel. It organises coups, assassinations and local wars in developing, newly free countries, tries to divide the labour organisations, to undermine and split the Communist Parties. The increased aggressiveness of imperialism is expressive of the intensified class struggle between imperialism and the forces of socialism, liberation and world peace which covers every sphere—economics, politics and ideology.

The main force in this international class struggle is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which contribute to this struggle more than anyone else by their economic and scientific achievements, by building up their defence potential, improving the living and cultural standards of the working people and promoting socialist democracy. This increases the impact of the socialist example on the working people of the world and curbs the forces of aggression. The political role of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the world scene and their material assistance to the liberation struggle and to the working people's fight constitute the principal factor in extending and carrying forward the world-wide struggle against imperialism. Thanks to this assistance, the US imperialists' attempt to subjugate the people of Vietnam has failed. The heroic fight of this courageous people forced the biggest and most dangerous imperialist state to begin the Paris talks.

*It follows that the struggle to strengthen and foster the unity of the socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to defend their gains, is of tremendous international significance and is an international duty of every Communist and every revolutionary of the world.*

The working class in the developed capitalist countries and its vanguard, the Communist Parties, play the main role in weakening and undermining the positions of imperialism in the focal areas of its rule.

The Communist Parties' principled and firm policy of uniting the working class and of rallying the mass of working people behind it to fight the monopolies and bring about deep-going democratic reforms is paving the way for socialism, enhancing in the minds of the masses the prestige of the Communist Parties as parties representing the interests of the nation in the sphere of social progress, in the struggle for democracy and socialism. This principled position of the brother Parties, complemented by the policy of exposing and isolating the forces and elements—including the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders—that hinder the unity of the working class and other working people, has been proved correct by life. The big victory achieved by the French comrades in the recent presidential elections and the disgraceful failure of the opportunist elements, especially of the Right Socialist leaders, show that the policy of the FCP, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is correct.

The struggle which the Communist Parties and the working class of the developed capitalist countries are carrying on against the monopolies, for deep-going democratic reforms, for socialism, is not only a national but an international task because it is being conducted against the common enemy of the socialist system and the national liberation movement. Hence the working class in the developed capitalist countries, whose fighting positions are becoming stronger thanks to the achievements of the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist national liberation movement, is contributing, for its part, to the weakening of the common enemy and is striking it a blow. This confirms the interconnection of national and international tasks.

Side by side with the socialist countries and the working class of the developed capitalist countries, the national liberation movement is stepping up the fight against imperialism. Most peoples of Asia and Africa, having won political independence and done away with direct colonial domination, are moving on to the struggle to gradually attain economic independence and to get rid of the economic, cultural and social backwardness inherited from colonialism. Thanks to the growing militancy and efficiency of the revolutionary democratic forces, including the Communist Parties, in the countries which could not guarantee by themselves the achievement of economic independence, the early establishment and development of a balanced and harmonious economy, many of the developing countries were able to set out, in a favourable international situation in which they could draw on the economic, political and military aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to effect social reforms and undermine the positions of big national capital linked with foreign monopolies. The Arab countries today are furnishing a new example of this in the form of the gains which the May revolution in the Sudan is registering.

This has imparted a new social content to the national liberation movement; it is directed against both imperialism and capitalism. And while imperialism comes out against any liberation movement, it fights with redoubled fury against the countries that have taken the road of non-capitalist development. The evolution of the Arab liberation movement is not merely a vivid illustration

of the new stage which national liberation as a whole has entered. It also discloses the brutal methods used by imperialism, particularly against the progressive countries where profound economic and social changes are taking place. The Israeli aggression of 1967, inspired by the imperialists, was aimed at strangling the Arab liberation movement which had acquired a new social content, and at overthrowing the progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria, where that new content is particularly marked. To use Israel as a bridgehead for operations aimed at conquest, as an instrument of imperialism, was in the interest of the imperialists, above all the US imperialists, who wanted to camouflage their direct responsibility for the barbarous aggression and to represent it as a racial conflict between Jews and Arabs. They had an interest in concealing the true nature of the aggression as part of the world-wide struggle of the imperialist forces and their agents against the forces of liberation, progress and socialism.

If imperialism and its tool, Israel, were unable to achieve their purpose of defeating the chief force of the Arab liberation movement, that is, overthrowing the progressive regimes, it is only because the Soviet Union and other socialist countries resolutely backed the Arab peoples. However, the imperialists and Israel succeeded in creating a dangerous situation jeopardising peace in the Middle East and throughout the world. They insist on Israel continuing to occupy the territories of the three Arab countries—the UAR, Syria and Jordan. Israel ignores the UN resolution demanding the withdrawal of its troops. It is clear that Israel would not have dared to take this stand but for the political, economic and military aid and support given it by world imperialism, first of all US imperialism. Israel refuses to carry out the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, whose execution is decisive at this stage, as we see it, for maintaining and extending the Arab liberation movement and its main force, the progressive regimes.

The United States, which is intent on undermining the Arab liberation movement, wants to implement another plan which is more in line with both its objectives and the interests of its tool, Israel. Its plan undercuts the fundamental idea of the Security Council resolution, which demands the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the territories occupied by them as a result of the June aggression. The plan provides for only a partial withdrawal, as well as for the annexation of vast areas of the UAR and Syria by Israel under the pretext of "safeguarding its frontiers".

Thus US imperialism is inciting Israel to provoke the Arab countries, so as either to force them into surrender or to drag them into another war while they are not yet fully prepared to defend themselves. US imperialism uses its reactionary agents in the Arab countries to insist on the Security Council resolution being replaced by this plan for surrender. The reactionary forces in the Lebanon were active along the same lines, and this deeply angered the people, who held mass demonstrations that the reactionaries countered with fire and sword. The people were indignant at the Lebanese reactionaries' complicity in attempts to realise the American plan in the sphere of inter-Arab politics. Numerous economic and social factors stemming from the crisis in the capitalist economy of the Lebanon—a crisis which in late years has gone deeper—made for this outburst of popular anger. This is why the bullets shot

at the demonstrators on April 23 and 24 last did not subdue the popular movement as the reactionaries would have liked but led to an acute political crisis in the country. As a result, the Lebanon still lacks a government. The economic, social and political crises experienced by the Lebanon fully reveal the consequences of the capitalist road of development—a road of economic and political dependence on neo-colonialism—for those Arab countries which follow it.

We are fighting against the policies of the Lebanese big bourgeoisie, which puts the burden of the effects of the economic crisis on the shoulders of the working people. We are fighting for the economic, social and democratic interests of the people, against the policy of submitting to the US way of settling the Mideast problem, against the forces blocking the execution of the Security Council resolution. We support the Security Council resolution calling for a political settlement of the effects of the aggression of June 5, although we consider that this problem cannot be solved so long as the Arab people of Palestine are in the plight of exiles and are denied the right to shape their destiny freely, without physical or moral coercion.

They are carrying on a legitimate fight for liberation from Israeli occupation, for the complete re-establishment of their right to self-determination. Our Party firmly supports their struggle, which is steadily developing and taking different forms and is backed by the Arab peoples and all progressive forces. We must say that in this fight we encounter Right- and Left-opportunist trends. And while the Right-wing trends, which call for an end to the class struggle and for the renunciation of the social reforms in the progressive Arab countries, have already been unmasked, the danger of Leftist trends, especially on the national question, is still grave. The salient feature of these trends is the effort to oppose the Palestine problem to the main force of the liberation movement, that is, to the progressive regimes. These trends call therefore for armed struggle as the only form of solving the Palestine problem, even if the progressive regimes should fall as a result. They take exception to the Security Council resolution on the plea that it does not radically solve the problem. In objectively evaluating the results of the appeals made by these trends, it is fair to say that they are striking a blow at the Arab national liberation movement irrespective of whether they are prompted by good or bad intentions.

Our analysis of the general situation in the world and of the conditions of our struggle makes us attach great importance to the unity of action of all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, and first of all to communist unity.

Our collective work during the preparations for the International Meeting yielded a collective Main Document which shows the way to a programme of unity of action between us and other anti-imperialist forces. We therefore support the Document in its entirety—all its four sections in their inseparable unity and logical sequence. The Central Committee of our Party has instructed us to sign the Document.

We also support the other documents submitted by the Preparatory Committee.

May the unity of the world communist movement grow stronger on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

**Long live communism!**



**JACQUES DORCILIER**  
**Head of Delegation,**  
**United Party of Haitian Communists**

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists, our delegation extends heartfelt greetings to all the fraternal Communist Parties represented at this Meeting. We also take this opportunity to express our good wishes, above all, for the complete success of our work.

As you know, during the last Consultative Meeting in May, the delegations of 70 Parties issued a joint appeal to progressive world opinion to intervene in behalf of the Haitian Communists and other patriots languishing in Duvalier's prisons, whose lives are in danger. We have seen how the world reacted to this appeal thanks to the solidarity displayed by the Communist Parties towards their comrades-in-arms in Haiti. A far-flung solidarity campaign was launched in the Soviet Union, workers denouncing the terroristic pro-imperialist Duvalier dictatorship and demanding the immediate release of the imprisoned Haitian patriots. Responding to the appeal, Communists and progressive leaders in many Latin American, European and African countries expressed in various forms their indignation over Duvalier's barbarian regime.

Mr. Serge Nessi, a representative of the International Red Cross, came to Haiti to visit political prisoners in the jails, but was refused admission by the authorities, who said the "elusive Duvalier" was the only person who could issue permission for visiting political prisoners. This simple fact is a clue to the brutality with which political prisoners are treated by the thugs now in power, and how desperately the latter try to conceal the sinister facts from the world public.

Comrades, the practical steps taken in response to the appeal of the last Preparatory Committee session reaffirm the vitality of the world communist movement and the immense influence it exercises on the various sectors of public opinion.

Allow us to take this opportunity and thank the CPSU and all the other fraternal Parties that displayed their solidarity with the struggle of the Haitian working people and their Party, standing in the van of this struggle, by their stand in behalf of the political prisoners in our country. Their actions have helped invaluablely to intensify the revolutionary movement in Haiti.

For several months, terror has reigned in Haiti. A new wave of repressions swept the country to crush the revolutionary actions of the masses launched under the leadership of the United Party of Haitian Communists. Irrespective of their social standing, numerous families are being hauled into prison at the least suspicion of collaboration with Communists. The Party's clandestine meeting places have been ravaged by squads of the regular army and Duvalier's tontons macoutes, while relatives of Communists known to the police have been put behind bars as hostages. Under the pretext of combating communism, the tontons macoutes massacre people wholesale and pillage houses in the villages. They hope to crush by fire and sword the popular resistance to the unlawful Duvalier government's policy of poverty and intimidation.

Backed by now overt now covert support of the imperialists and their agents, Duvalier's dictatorial government has clung to power for 12 years, riding roughshod over civic freedoms. Throughout these 12 years the country has lived in a state of emergency, under martial law. In 1961, as a result of a coup d'etat, Duvalier retained the presidency for a term of six years, and then usurped power for life. Since then elections have been wiped off the political slate. All mass organisations have been outlawed. Hundreds of political prisoners died due to absence of medical treatment and from inhuman torture during interrogations. Others died from hunger. In the 12 years of Duvalier's rule, 26,000 people have been executed without trial in the prisons of Fort Dimanche. Thousands of Communists and patriots of different political beliefs, including priests, languish in Duvalier's jails, among them Comrade Joseph Roney, the General Secretary of our Party.

Despite the inhuman regime, the people of Haiti have not given up the struggle against arbitrary rule and exploitation. Haitian workers employ different forms of struggle against poverty, the result of cruel capitalist exploitation and government taxation. The peasants have fought pitched battles against mass expropriations by imperialist monopolies and the chieftains of the Duvalier clique, standing up stoutly to the unceasing terror of Duvalier's cutthroats.

In this environment of violence, continuous abuse and exploitation, the United Party of Haitian Communists was the only force to rise, unfold and organise popular resistance. Our Party proved to be the only force in the country carrying deliverance to the people from imperialist and dictatorial oppression. That robbed US imperialism of its sleep and compelled it to show its true colours again as an irreconcilable enemy of all the aspirations of the people. The US imperialists condone Duvalier's undisguised mass slayings and are poised to violate Haiti's sovereignty to prevent the inhuman dictatorship from being overthrown.

The United Party of Haitian Communists has called on the masses to resist Duvalier's violence and terror with arms. For some weeks now, workers, peasants and all patriots in the north of the country have been fighting armed actions to overthrow the rotten regime of exploitation, poverty, crime and plunder that has tormented Haiti for the past 12 years.

In some towns, including Port-au-Prince, groups of armed patriots have inflicted considerable losses on the government's repressive agencies. The scale of that bitter struggle, and the response it evokes, testify to the people's firm

determination to overthrow the blood-stained dictatorship and establish a genuinely democratic system. The struggle abounds in tragic episodes. Our gallant comrades die from the bullets of Duvalier's killers. At the beginning of this week, a battalion of the president's guard attacked the new clandestine Party premises. Comrade Gerard Wadestrandt, a member of our Central Committee, Comrade Jacques Jeannot and Comrade Daniel Sansaricq, the last of a family of 18 members massacred by Duvalier's gestapo in 1965, were killed in the bitter engagement.

Today, with popular resistance at high tide, Negro soldiers of the US Army have been brought into the country to help the armed forces in Duvalier's service. The American "green berets" were shipped in as tourists, joining the local punitive force on Pentagon's orders in actions against the guerrilla movement in the north. This lifts the veil on US intervention, aimed at assisting the dictatorship, obnoxious to all progressive mankind and, above all, the people of Haiti.

The United Party of Haitian Communists and the people of Haiti are convinced that they will break down the resistance of Duvalier's anti-popular, reactionary government and the US aggressors. They are equally sure of the international solidarity of Communists and the world's proletariat, the sole guarantee of revolutionary victory for all peoples fighting imperialism.

Comrades, the United Party of Haitian Communists is happy to be able to say that it has participated actively in preparing so momentous an event as this International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The Meeting is important for many reasons.

Since the last Meeting in 1960, many of the new problems in the world revolutionary movement required a new analysis, new conclusions of concern to our entire movement. The differences that appeared in our ranks required insistently that we reaffirm the fundamental principles on which the unity of the world communist movement is based. Also, they required that all of us should rally to the struggle against any dispersal of our forces in face of the imperialists.

Besides, imperialism has changed its tactics. Surreptitiously, it attempts to export counter-revolution to the socialist countries, has redoubled its aggressive actions against the forces of progress and national liberation, as evidenced by the local wars, and actively supports dictatorial regimes. The number of military coups in newly independent countries has increased, and imperialism endeavours to pit one people against another, creating seats of international tension in a number of regions of the globe.

After the suppression of the movement in defence of the constitution in the Dominican Republic and after US Congress adopted an openly interventionist decision, the peoples of Latin America are continuously under the threat of intervention by Yankee militarism. Militant communist solidarity is now the most revolutionary task that none of our contingents should evade if they do not want to play into the hands of the enemy.

In our view, no pretext for evasion can be valid if the stake centres on strengthening our movement, securing its unity in the fight for peace, in defence of the socialist gains in the world, or on effective co-operation essential for new victories in the fight against social and national imperialist oppression

of the peoples. This Meeting testifies to our fervent wish to overcome our differences, which are secondary in face of the compulsive need for new unity in the struggle of the world proletariat.

It is an indicative fact that in preparing the Meeting we focussed our attention on the main issue: the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and unity of action by Communist and Workers' Parties, by all anti-imperialist forces. This led us to produce an historic Document, in the detailed drafting of which all our Parties participated. It reflects the needs of the present period and will serve the world proletariat as an effective weapon.

We note with satisfaction that this Document, drawn up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, is more than a programme for joint action. It provides an objective elucidation of the present international situation, the relation of forces in the international arena and the existing possibilities of the revolutionary movement at the present stage, accentuating the fundamental principles guiding the Communist Parties in their mutual relations, principles that constitute the basis for the unity and insuperable power of our movement.

Our Party holds that the Document is a big step towards cementing our ranks and advancing proletarian internationalism, making the Communist Parties the core of the world revolutionary movement. That is why we stand for adoption of this Document by the International Meeting. Our Party also stands for adopting the document on the centennial of the great Lenin's birth submitted to the Meeting, and supports the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!"

Dear comrades, the vast majority of Communist and Workers' Parties are taking part in the Meeting. The Communists and all the people of Haiti who have come to grips with the dictatorship and imperialism, note with deep satisfaction the successful unity of our movement in the great struggle for socialism under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Like all Communists the world over, the Haitian Communists show a deep interest in the results of this Meeting and are prepared to contribute to the common cause without hesitation.

In conclusion, we express our deep gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee for providing good facilities for this Meeting.

## FUAD NASSAR

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Jordanian Communist Party

Comrade Chairman, dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Jordanian Communist Party Central Committee is happy to convey fraternal greetings to the CPSU delegation, and to all delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties participating in this historic Meeting.

Our delegation has come to it firmly convinced that it will further strengthen our movement's unity. For what unites us is incomparably more important than the issues on which there are some differences.

Relations between individual detachments of our movement are based on proletarian internationalism and a community of aims. And armed with Marxism-Leninism, our movement can overcome differences and difficulties and, having thus strengthened its unity, continue its victorious advance.

This is not the first time differences and difficulties have arisen in the international communist movement; it has encountered many in its long history. But it has invariably overcome them and emerged victorious in the fight against hostile deviations and trends. We can anticipate the same now, too, all the more so, since the movement has gained in experience, maturity and strength.

Thanks to the responsible, collective and democratic way the Preparatory Committee approached its work, we have already surmounted many difficulties and resolved many differences. And we feel sure that, through united action, our movement will solve all outstanding problems and those that may arise in the course of the struggle.

Dear comrades, the draft of the Main Document submitted to this Meeting is of vast theoretical and practical value for the world communist movement and all the revolutionary peoples. It maps out our goals in the fight against imperialism at the present stage and lays a firm and enduring foundation for united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of all peoples ranged against imperialism.

The Preparatory Committee's searching analysis of the international situation is of especial importance. It clearly shows that imperialism's counter-attacks did not, and cannot, change the balance of forces in its favour.

World imperialism, and particularly its US variety, is still able to launch

counter-attacks and score some temporary successes. But it will never succeed in reversing world development, or in preventing the collapse of capitalism and the world victory of socialism.

Imperialism's mounting aggressiveness does not betoken a changed balance of forces in its favour. It merely reflects its inherent aggressive nature, its progressing weakness and the sharpening of its internal contradictions and crises.

The collapse of the US intervention in Vietnam, the failure of the Israeli aggressors, supported by American, British and West German imperialism, to achieve the main aims of their war against the Arab countries, and imperialism's inability to unleash another world war—all this is concrete confirmation of the conclusion formulated in the draft of the Main Document that the forces of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism retain their superiority in the international arena.

However, as the Main Document indicates, this does not mean that imperialism no longer offers a constant menace to peace and progress. Hence, we must strengthen unity of the socialist countries and of the international communist movement, work for united action of all peoples fighting imperialism, make maximum use of new opportunities, and launch a broad offensive on imperialism, on the forces of reaction and war.

Developments in our area conclusively prove that imperialism is becoming more aggressive, but they also show that it cannot achieve its principal aims.

By dint of heroic struggle, and thanks to the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Arab peoples were able to overthrow the colonial regimes in a large part of their territory and continue their work in building the new life. Some Arab countries have set out on the road of social progress, but imperialism is making desperate efforts to bar that road, prevent national liberation and social progress, and to do that it resorts to diverse methods, down to outright armed aggression. In the past decade the Arab countries have twice been the victim of such outright aggression—in 1956, when Britain, France and Israel attacked Egypt, and in June 1967, when Israel, inspired and supported by the US, British and West German imperialists and the world Zionist movement, launched its aggression. Its aim was to overthrow the national progressive regimes in the United Arab Republic and Syria, deal a blow at the Arab national liberation movement, and undermine Arab friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The imperialist-Israeli alliance scored a clear military success. However, the firm stand of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in siding with the Arab peoples prevented the aggressors from attaining their main goal.

The Arab peoples are continuing the struggle to wipe out the consequences of the Israeli aggression, liberate the occupied territories, uphold the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, which Israel has grossly violated since 1948. And in this, too, the Arabs have the far-reaching assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Soviet Union is giving the Arab peoples, the victims of aggression, continuous support in enhancing their ability to eliminate the consequences of the aggression. At the same time, true to its Marxist-Leninist policy of upholding the interests of the peoples and world peace, it is working towards a peaceful

settlement of the Middle East crisis in keeping with the November 1967 Security Council resolution.

The efforts of the Soviet Union, including its participation in the Four-Power consultations for a just peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis, fully accord with the interests of the Arab peoples and their movement for national and social liberation, including the interests of the Palestinian Arabs and their fight to regain their rights, in keeping with the UN resolution.

Relations of friendship and alliance between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the Arab peoples and their liberation movement, on the other, are the decisive and fundamental factor in the Arabs' struggle to retain their independence and territorial integrity, in their just fight against the Israeli-imperialist aggression, for continued progress in building the new life.

Supported by the world Zionist movement and by American, British and West German imperialism, the Israeli aggressors are escalating their provocations and armed actions against the Arab countries, notably the United Arab Republic and Jordan in flagrant defiance of the Security Council resolution and world public opinion.

The Israeli invaders are operating a premeditated policy of expansion and annexation. They are building military settlements on occupied Arab territories and using barbarous methods to expel more and more of their inhabitants.

The growing aggressiveness of Israel's rulers clearly shows that they are set on an expansionist course, and exposes their infamous role in relation to the Arab peoples and their movement for national and social liberation—the role of rabid gendarmes of world imperialism and Zionism. These Israeli actions are a menace to world peace.

Imperialist and Zionist propaganda has sought to present the conflict in our area as a clash between Arabs and Jews. That is false and stupid, for what we have in reality is a clash between the Arab peoples and their national and social liberation movement, on the one hand, and the imperialist bloc, on the other. It has turned Israel into a base of aggression against the Arab peoples, their national and progressive regimes.

The Arabs have never attacked Israel; it was Israel who was always the aggressor. In 1948, in defiance of UN resolutions, Israel occupied a large part of Arab Palestine, depriving over one million Palestinian Arabs of their homes. In 1956, in collusion with Britain and France, it attacked Egypt. In 1967 it started its dirty war against three Arab countries, and continues its aggressive and expansionist actions.

The resistance of the population of the occupied territories, and the Arab struggle against aggression and Israeli occupation, are just and legitimate and should be supported by all anti-imperialist forces, by the world communist movement in the first place.

The struggle of the Palestinian Arabs is legitimate and sacred, for its purpose is to expel the invader and regain the territory usurped by Israel in 1948 in defiance of UN resolutions; it is a fight to return exiled Palestinians to their homes and enable them to exercise their right to self-determination in their own country.

The Jordanian Communist Party will continue to fight the Israeli aggression together with the Jordanian and other Arab peoples and progressive forces. Our Party supports the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs and their legitimate resistance to the invader, for the restoration of their usurped rights.

Our delegation is deeply grateful to all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties who support the Arab peoples against imperialist-Zionist aggression. We appeal to all Parties represented here to continue their support and solidarity with the Arab peoples in their fight to eliminate the consequences of the aggression.

Our delegation is in full agreement with the draft of the Main Document submitted to this Meeting. It considers it an effective weapon of the international communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. Our Party believes that this Meeting, as the Main Document points out, marks a cardinal stage in uniting the world communist movement.

Our Party avails itself of this opportunity to express its high appraisal of the outstanding part the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee played in assuring the successful work of the Preparatory Committee, and of their consistent and resolute struggle in defence of world communist unity, of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against Right and "Left" opportunist distortions, against revisionism and dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism.

Thank you for your attention.



## ENRIQUE GIL

Member of Executive and Secretariat, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Ecuador

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador warmly and sincerely greets the delegates of Communist and Workers' Parties gathered here from all parts of the world comprehensively to discuss our tasks at the present stage of the anti-imperialist struggle and united action of Communist and Workers' Parties and other anti-imperialist forces. Ecuadorian Communists welcome convocation of this International Meeting. In it are reposed the hopes of the forces of socialism, of the international workers' and national liberation movement, the forces of democracy, progress and peace. Our Meeting is destined to play an historic role.

Gathered here are representatives of the overwhelming majority of working-class political Parties, their prominent leaders, who also head mass organisations in their respective countries. They are the most vivid embodiment of revolutionary thought, organisation and struggle. We deeply regret the absence of our General Secretary, Comrade Pedro Saad, who was to have led our delegation. He was prevented from doing so by the difficult political situation resulting from the harsh repressive measures against the students and increased repression against mass labour movements carried out by the government under US imperialist pressure.

We express our gratitude to the fraternal Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for assuming the difficult job of initiating and efficiently organising preparations for the Meeting.

We are grateful to the CPSU, and above all its Central Committee, for providing all the necessary conditions for the successful completion of this preparatory work. True to the spirit of internationalism, which is intrinsic in its policy, the CPSU has enabled us to assemble here to map out the most effective path of revolutionary struggle to put an end, once and for all, to imperialism's crimes against mankind, its policy of aggression and plunder.

We welcome the presence here of delegates from the fraternal Communist Party of Cuba—the Cuba “whose revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historical turning point and opening in this region a new phase of the revolutionary movement”.

Comrades, this Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is being held at a crucial time in human history, a time when the oncoming triumph of socialism and the radiant future of mankind, the era of human happiness, the era of Communism, can be seen more vividly.

With the further aggravation of its last, general crisis, imperialism is vainly trying to regain the initiative. The system of imperialism has weakened, but imperialist aggressiveness is increasing. Imperialism continues to commit unprecedented crimes against Vietnam; instigate Israel's aggressive ruling and militarist element against the Arab peoples; support the Bonn revenge-mongers in their drive for boundary revision. In collusion with its client reactionary regimes it is stepping up its neo-colonialist expansion in Latin America. It is murdering the finest sons of the working class, as we have seen in Argentina; brutally destroying Communist leaders and other patriots in Haiti; wreaking terror on students in our own country—and all in order to enable Nelson Rockefeller, that imperialist hawk, international oil monopoly magnate and envoy of a monopolistic, militarist state, to carry out his cynical and sinister mission to Latin America.

It was against this background that we opened our Meeting, which infuses hope in all the progressive forces of mankind and excites fury in the imperialists and reactionaries of every stripe and hue.

We must imbibe the spirit of Leninism, we must turn our thoughts to Lenin, that stalwart fighter against imperialism who was determined always to uphold the leading role of proletarian internationalism; that consistent champion of socialism, the founder of the Bolshevik Party and of the world's first socialist state; the man who penetrated to the very substance of Marxism and creatively developed it.

Comrades, we welcome the methods and forms employed in preparing this Meeting. Communist and Workers' Parties had an active share in the long preparatory work, beginning with the February Consultative Meeting in Budapest and ending with the Preparatory Committee Meeting in Moscow this May. They participated in the deliberations of the committees, working groups and sub-committees, all of which met in an atmosphere of democracy and comradeship, enabling a confrontation of views and thereby contributing to the drafting of our documents. The draft of the Main Document was composed not only by the delegations, but with the direct participation of Party Central Committees which carefully studied it and stated their views.

Our Party had an active part in this process. In presenting the Central Committee report to the 8th Party Congress last August, our General Secretary, Comrade Pedro Saad, said: "Our Party has resolutely pronounced in favour of an International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Accordingly, we have sent a delegation to the February Consultative Meeting and reaffirm our resolve to help prepare the International Meeting and take part in its proceedings... Our Party has always consistently advocated unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism... We hold that everything that harms this unity plays into the hands of the enemy of the peoples, imperialism, and undermines mass action for the world-wide victory of socialism and communism".

This line was carried further in the Congress resolution, which stresses the obligation "to exert every effort to facilitate unity of the international communist movement, faithfully to abide by our internationalist positions, and participate in the Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties".

And now we are here. Our forces are modest, but our determination is great. And we feel sure that practical application of proletarian internationalism, upon which we take a firm stand, will still further strengthen our determination.

The 8th Congress decision, reaffirmed by our Central Committee, is being carried out. At its last plenum in May, our delegation was given the following instructions: Unreservedly to approve the Document submitted to our Central Committee in its present contents, form and structure, which represent an integral whole, and endorse such changes as improve the Document without altering its substance. In pursuance of these instructions, we will sign the Main Document with a great feeling of satisfaction.

In taking this decision, our Central Committee was guided by the fact that the Document gives a correct assessment of the present international situation and the alignment of forces. Such a correct Marxist-Leninist assessment, we believe, should be the starting point in defining the joint tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the anti-imperialist forces.

We must indicate precisely what reactionary forces are endeavouring to perpetuate the conditions that make for backwardness and more poverty and misery for the people; the forces that use every available means, including the most brutal, to achieve these ends. We must indicate what forces are fighting for social progress, who can and is willing to combat reaction and open the road to peace, national independence, socialism and communism—the road to human happiness.

For our Party, which is courageously fighting imperialism and its reactionary accomplices in a part of the world US imperialism considers its private domain, it is especially important accurately to gauge the size and strength of the forces upon which our chief enemies rely, and, on the other hand, the forces we can rely upon—on whom we can count in coping with our tasks, and with whom we can act jointly in the battle to destroy the common foe.

The scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation and the alignment of forces contained in Sections One and Two of the Main Document, which our Central Committee has studied and which was further improved at the May session of the Preparatory Committee, gives a clear and precise answer to these questions.

The Document also contains a substantiated assessment of the present stage of the general crisis of imperialism, pointing out the latter's place in history and explaining its intensified aggressiveness, its crude, savage actions in an attempt to regain the initiative. Imperialism is shown as the main enemy of socialism and the main oppressor of the peoples. That is fully evidenced by its continuous provocations on the frontiers of socialist countries; its unjust aggressive war against Vietnam, against the peoples of Asia and Africa, against all the peoples of Latin America, and its positions-of-strength and brinkmanship policies.

We have already stated the view of our Party's 8th Congress that the situation

calls for unity of the international communist movement and united action with other anti-imperialist forces, and that this unity is an essential factor of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive struggle.

And unity bears valuable fruit. Its results can be seen in things big and small. Take, for instance, the struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people who, assisted by the socialist countries, fraternal Parties and other anti-imperialist forces, have shown remarkable fortitude in the face of aggression by imperialism's most powerful, brutal and bellicose state supported by other imperialist countries.

We Ecuadorian Communists have our own experience in fighting the dictatorial military junta unscrupulously imposed on the country through a deal with Ecuadorian reaction, that accomplice of the dictatorship. The solidarity shown by our comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the workers and all the people of the Land of Soviets, fraternal Parties in socialist and capitalist countries, and other anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorial forces, has been of immense help. It helped us free from prison and rescue from torture our dear leaders and other victims of the dictatorship. But solidarity was manifested also in the fraternal hospitality accorded men forced to leave the country. International solidarity was an inspiration to underground Party workers and the few Central Committee leaders who managed to escape the terror. It helped us marshal the necessary forces not only to resist the dictatorship, but, more important, to fight for its overthrow.

International solidarity helped us successfully to carry out our 8th Party Congress, which strongly influenced unity on a progressive basis, and the advance of the revolutionary mass movement. The fact that, for the first time in our Party's history, the Congress was attended by a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and by delegates from other fraternal Parties, aroused a feeling of joy and enthusiasm among Party members, progressives and wide sections of the people. The fraternal delegations visited various parts of the country and were everywhere received by the people with affection and expressions of revolutionary faith.

We apologise for dealing here with things that might seem of little relevance to the momentous task of this Meeting.

But such expressions of solidarity and proletarian internationalism are very important for a Party and people locked in constant battle with US imperialism. For the unity and solidarity of all Communists, their joint action in alliance with all anti-imperialist forces combating the militarist state and its monopolies, further stimulates the political awakening of the people and their practical participation in the mass struggle. With what new force will that struggle develop once this Document, the fighting programme outlined in Section Three, is adopted! What faith and perseverance will our Parties and peoples draw from the practical measures outlined in Section Four to strengthen our organisation and unity!

Comrades, the condition of the people in Ecuador is characterised by a further aggravation of the general economic and financial crisis, soaring living costs and a more direct and rabid attack by US imperialism as it intensifies its predatory neo-colonialist drive. The situation is further aggravated by the growing danger

that the reactionary forces, working hand in glove with imperialism, might again set up a dictatorial regime. But for all that, the people are fighting courageously: there have been more strike struggles, more cases of peasants requisitioning land, more region-wide strikes, more demands by students, women, the youth and progressive intellectuals. All of these forces are components of the multi-million world army which pins such hope on the success of our Meeting.

Proceeding from the above considerations, based on our experience and dictated by the historical requirements of our age, we consider that the priority task today is unity of the international communist movement, its joint action with other anti-imperialist forces on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist propositions of the Main Document. And from this stems our firm resolve to sign that Document. We hope that, true to the traditions of Marx and Lenin, all the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties will sign it, thereby giving voice to our will to help our Parties and peoples successfully to accomplish the main task posed by their right to life and happiness, namely, destruction of the chief foe of humanity.

Comrades, besides approving the Main Document, the delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador fully endorses the other documents submitted by the Preparatory Committee: the address on the Lenin centenary, the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", and the Appeal in Defence of Peace.

In expressing our gratitude for the reception accorded us here, we wish to add that we have come fully aware of our modest opportunities, but with limitless determination to do everything possible to advance the sacred cause of international communist unity and joint action with other anti-imperialist forces. And we regard this as a highly important task, the accomplishment of which will assure victory of the cause of all the peoples, victory in the struggle of the three principal revolutionary forces of our epoch—the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national liberation movement.

Long live unity of the international communist movement!

Long live united action of all anti-imperialist forces!

Long live the doctrine of the great Lenin!

## MACIEL CAMPOS

**Member of Political Commission and Secretariat,  
Central Committee, Paraguayan Communist Party**

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, I should like to begin my intervention with a statement that may seem formal, but is in fact of substantial and fundamental significance. We heartily appreciate the fact that the work of the Preparatory Committee and the working groups that prepared this historic International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties so thoroughly in Budapest, Berlin, Warsaw and Moscow, was unfailingly marked by exemplary collectivism in full conformance with Marxism-Leninism. The doors were open for all fraternal Parties, and the work proceeded in a spirit of fraternal and candid exchanges of opinion, on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect, and was concentrated on resolving the vital tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, on uniting the action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other anti-imperialist forces.

This fruitful work, combining the experience and collective intelligence of the Communist and Workers' Parties in line with the scientific Marxist-Leninist principles, yielded draft documents submitted for discussion to this International Meeting attended by delegates of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties, that is, the vast majority of the forward detachments comprising the world communist movement.

Representatives of the Communist Party of China are not taking part in these collective efforts. Instead of joining the common effort of uniting and rallying all Communist and Workers' Parties and other anti-imperialist forces in the fight for the common interests and aims, its present leadership is busy attacking the leaders of the world communist and working-class movement. Their stand, one of opportunism and bourgeois nationalism, is hostile to communism; they are busy organising factional and divisive activity in the ranks of the communist movement, and mounting provocations on the borders of countries belonging to the socialist community. This causes deep concern in the ranks of our Party and, no doubt, among all Communists of the world. If this had not happened, our movement and all anti-imperialist forces would have had fewer difficulties to cope with, would have advanced more successfully and rapidly, striking new smashing blows at imperialism.

On behalf of its Central Committee, the delegation of the Paraguayan Communist Party has already declared, and now renews, its unqualified support of the Main Document, the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the address of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the immortal genius of our revolutionary epoch and recognised leader of the international working class.

The draft of the Main Document contains a correct, all-sided analysis of the present international situation, an objective and accurate appraisal of the world balance of forces, an evaluation of the dangers implicit in imperialism's aggressive policy and the new expanding opportunities of the three great revolutionary forces of our time for making headway and achieving new imposing victories over imperialism, reaction and war.

The draft of the Main Document shows clearly and unequivocally the conditions essential for translating these opportunities into reality.

In that sense, the draft of the Main Document indicates forcefully that the historic confrontation between the forces of social progress and reaction, between the forces of socialism and imperialism, is growing more acute; it indicates that this confrontation extends throughout the world, bearing out the validity of the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the character, content and basic tendencies of our epoch, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism; it shows, too, that the socialist world system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and that the outbreak of a new world war has been prevented thanks to the increasing economic, political and military power and peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thanks to the actions of the world proletariat, the fighters against imperialism and the broad peace movement. The aggressive imperialist strategy is aimed, first and foremost, against the socialist countries. However, imperialism is no longer able to regain the historical initiative and turn back the development of the modern world. No longer can it decide at will upon the destinies of peoples. That is the implication of the Vietnam experience, which clearly revealed the gap between imperialism's aggressive plans and its capabilities. The present stage is marked by greater opportunities for striking fresh blows at imperialism and by fresh successes of the revolutionary and progressive forces. After indicating this, the Main Document goes on to stress the dictates of the present situation: fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, the need to fight national exclusiveness and Right and "Left" opportunist deviations in theory and policy, and to combat revisionism, dogmatism and "Left" sectarian adventurism. United action and cohesion of Communist Parties is an all-important factor for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, a guarantee that the alliance and joint action of the three great factors—the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement—will grow stronger.

Comrades, on behalf of our Central Committee our delegation declares herewith that it will be happy to sign this Marxist-Leninist Document calling for unity and cohesion and responding to the urgent demands of our epoch.

As for the call, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", our delegation holds that it is an important document that will help merge the efforts

of the peoples in a powerful and active movement of solidarity with heroic Vietnam, in the fight against the criminal US imperialist war and for peace in Vietnam through securing the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people freely to shape its own destiny.

We shall be pleased to sign this Document as well.

The same applies to the Appeal in Defence of Peace, which points out rightly that world war is no longer fatally inevitable, that effective opportunities have come to hand to realise the peoples' aspirations for peace, thanks to the consistently peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the upswing in the struggle of the working people in capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, the actions of broad democratic groups and the peace movement.

We shall be glad to sign that Document as well.

As for the Address on the centenary of the great Lenin's birth, we, as Communists, declare with deep feeling that it is a remarkable synthesis of the immortal ideas of the leader and teacher of the international working class, whose scientific character imparts world-wide significance to them. Marxists-Leninists in all countries do not doubt that Lenin's brilliant ideas are still fully valid and hold that real good work is possible only if one takes guidance in the inspired revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We shall be glad to sign this Document too.

Comrades, in conclusion I should like to say that the above-mentioned documents reflect the international situation in character, content and in the basic trends, and, at once, conform fully with the fundamental interests and demands of the struggle waged by the working class and people of Paraguay for the overthrow of Stroessner's dictatorial regime, for national liberation, social progress and peace. These documents will serve as an invaluable compass for the Paraguayan Communists and all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces of Paraguay in preparing an armed popular uprising, a process taking place under our Party's leadership, enabling them to align their national tasks with the common struggle of the Communist Parties and all the anti-imperialist, democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.

Long live united action by Communists and all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces!



## **WLADYSLAW GOMULKA**

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Polish United Workers' Party**

Comrades,

The delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party conveys warm greetings to all fraternal Parties from the Polish Communists and the Polish working class.

The period which has elapsed since the previous International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has been of extremely great importance. The principal strategic concepts of the struggle for socialism, for the liberation of nations and peace, mapped out by the world communist movement at its previous Meetings, have in the past nine years stood the test of social practice and been verified in the fire of class conflicts. At the same time social development has given birth to new political phenomena of world-wide significance and put on the agenda new international problems. We must determine our attitude towards them. This fully confirms the advisability and urgency of the present Meeting.

The Polish United Workers' Party regards the present third International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as a momentous event in the history of our movement. It is deeply convinced that its work and decisions will be a new, important factor helping to unite the forces of the world communist movement, the international working class and the national liberation movements in the struggle against imperialism.

The delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party expresses its full support for the draft documents worked out collectively by the Preparatory Committee and submitted for the approval of our Meeting.

Comrades, the historical period in which we work is an epoch of profound revolutionary transformations. Marx analysed the revolutionary periods in the history of mankind and pointed out that they are characterised by an acceleration of the development of the productive forces, a qualitative transformation of the mode of production, an aggravation of the contradictions between the productive forces and the existing relations of production, and by the existence of a revolutionary movement fighting to resolve these contradictions. All these factors are typical of the contemporary world and increasingly influence the course of events. The scientific and technological revolution qualitatively changes the techniques and methods of production. The contradiction between

capitalist production relations and the development of productive forces is growing increasingly deeper; the rule of monopolistic capital makes it impossible to utilise the achievements of human genius for the benefit of the people and of entire nations still harassed by poverty, hunger and an uncertain future. The international communist movement and the socialist world system represent a powerful force fighting to remove these contradictions and translate the great revolutionary possibilities of our times into reality.

Never in history have the great processes of social transformation run evenly. This is all the more true of the greatest of all revolutionary transformations, namely, mankind's transition from the capitalist to the socialist social formation. This transition is taking place in the process of an acute social struggle. In the course of this process, by the very nature of things, periods of rapid progress alternate with periods of relative stagnation, while the great achievements of the new system alternate with temporary setbacks in one or another sector of the struggle against capitalism.

The years that have elapsed since the last Meeting have been distinguished first and foremost by a steady growth of the forces of socialism. Parallel with this there have been centrifugal and splitting tendencies weakening socialism. But these negative phenomena have been unable to change the principal direction of the evolution of the balance of forces. The main trend of world social development during the past decade has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist prognosis formulated by our Parties in 1960. The socialist world system, the forces fighting imperialism for socialism, for the freedom of nations and peace, have determined and continue to determine the real content, the basic direction and the fundamental features of historical development.

The growth of the potential of the states of the socialist system and the highly dynamic development of our countries, which are following new roads of social development, have been fully demonstrated by the achievements of recent years. Realistic prospects exist now for considerably accelerating the rate of the economic development of the socialist states in the years to come, particularly in the most modern fields of production determining its progress. The production potential built up in the preceding period of socialist industrialisation opens up possibilities for applying more intensive forms and methods of management.

There is every indication that the 1970s will be a period in which socialist countries will enter a qualitatively new stage of development of modern production. The systematic deepening of co-operation between our countries on the basis of division of labour, specialisation and co-ordination in accordance with the important decisions passed in April last by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance should become a lever of this process, leading to the integration of socialism with the contemporary scientific and technological revolution. Essentially this is a most important task facing the states of the socialist community today.

An extremely important result of the growth of the economic, scientific and technological potential of the socialist system, achieved mainly through the dedicated work of Soviet scientists, engineers and workers, is that on a world scale the balance of military potentials is in favour of socialism, not imperialism.

Disintegration which deepened the crisis of the old society, of the capitalist world, ran parallel to the growth of the forces of the socialist system.

More than 2,000 million people are still living in the sphere dominated by capitalist relations of production. That part of the world is being torn apart by ever deeper economic, social and political contradictions. The widening gulf between the rich metropolitan countries and the new states liberated from colonial oppression deprives the capitalist system of social stability.

The imperialist powers pursue a policy of neo-colonialism and exploitation of developing countries, plunging the world into one conflict after another.

On the borderline between the 1950s and 1960s the colonial peoples witnessed the great spring of their national freedom. The solidarity of the newly formed national states emerged on the ruins of colonialism. It was inevitable that internal conflicts and the polarisation of political forces should grow acute in the new states when their peoples had to choose the road of their further development and surmount backwardness, when they had to combat not traditional and completely discredited forms of colonial rule, but more sophisticated though no less dangerous forms of colonial dependence. This does not mean, however, that the emancipation tendencies among the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have weakened. On the contrary, as the inability of capitalism to solve the social, economic and demographic problems of the developing countries is becoming ever more obvious, and the state independence of those countries is coming into conflict with neo-colonialist exploitation, the emancipation tendencies grow in strength and find expression in the anti-imperialist policy of the governments of many of the new states. The socialist world system is becoming the only natural mainstay of the countries that have won liberation from colonial oppression.

As a result of the profound changes in the international alignment of forces, imperialism has irretrievably lost the possibility of deciding the destiny of nations at will, of imposing its domination on them. It has failed to achieve any of its strategic aims, even though the aggressive policy of the United States has whipped up world tension. Neither by armed aggression nor by economic blockade did the United States succeed in crushing heroic Cuba, the first bastion of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. The Israeli aggression against the Arab states suffered a political fiasco. The anti-imperialist policy of the Arab states is consolidating and the political consciousness of the Arab nations is growing. The barbarous intervention of the United States in Vietnam has roused world public opinion against the imperialist aggressors. Today even the ruling circles in the United States realise that they cannot secure an advantageous military settlement of that war. By its unprecedented heroism, the thirty-million strong Vietnamese nation has proved that the cause of the freedom of peoples is invincible in our times.

The Polish people are heart and soul at one with the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese nation. Historical right and justice are on its side. It will emerge victorious. The 10-point programme of the National Liberation Front provides an appropriate platform for the restoration of peace in Vietnam.

The aggravation of the contradictions between the imperialist metropolises and the rest of the world as well as within the imperialist states themselves is

accompanied by deep processes connected with the crisis of capitalism's structure, processes which are, in many respects, new both in content and in form. The relative stabilisation of the developed capitalist states has been thrown out of gear, contradictions have deepened and the class struggle has acquired new strength and dynamics.

The rapidly growing concentration of capital widens the abyss between the interests of labour and capital and puts paid to the illusions of neo-capitalism. The consequences of the offensive of the monopolies turn to an ever greater extent against the interests of the proletariat, the intelligentsia and other strata of hired labour, against the most vital interests of the peasants and farmers, craftsmen, and small and medium businessmen. The heavy burden of armaments, militarisation, and uncertainty of the morrow, to which capitalism dooms the masses of manual and white-collar workers, as well as the ideological and intellectual vacuity of the so-called consumer society are giving rise to a huge wave of social protest which is embracing ever broader masses of working people, particularly the younger generation.

Uneven economic development changes also the balance of forces and gives birth to new contradictions between the imperialist states. The rapid economic expansion of Japan and West Germany, the economic stagnation of Britain and, above all, the striving of the US monopolies for economic and technological domination over the entire capitalist world sharpen the competition in the world capitalist market and engender currency crises. These economic contradictions create and intensify conflicts between political interests.

The entire course of social processes and events in the international arena confirms the correctness of the evaluation contained in the draft Main Document of our Meeting, namely, that "imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, by all revolutionary forces".

The present balance of forces between socialism and imperialism creates favourable conditions for implementing the basic tasks of the world communist movement, for the struggle to preserve and consolidate world peace, for new victories of the national liberation movements, for a further limitation of the zone of influence of imperialism and neo-colonialism, for an expansion of the influence of socialism. The translation of these potential possibilities into reality depends first and foremost on the policy of the world communist movement and the policy of socialist states, on unity of action of Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, the problem of war and peace remains the most important issue of our epoch. All the basic conflicts of our times are concentrated round the struggle to resolve this question. No one can predict the final result of this struggle, for no one can foresee the future. History, the struggle of the popular masses will decide whether the forces of socialism and peace will be able to block the road to a world war or whether the striving for aggression, which springs from the very nature of imperialism, will lead to a final test of strength between socialism and the capitalist system in the flames of war.

In their policies the socialist states have to consider both possibilities. In

face of the arms race imposed by imperialism, they are taking all measures to strengthen the defence capability of the socialist world. At the same time, they pursue a consistent policy upholding peace and peaceful relations with all countries irrespective of their social systems.

The thesis that another world war is inevitable is theoretically false and politically sterile. Acceptance of this thesis would mean abandoning the struggle for the most advantageous conditions, from the standpoint of the working masses, of all nations, for settling the basic conflict of this epoch—the conflict between socialism and capitalism. Reconciliation with the prospect of a world war under contemporary conditions would, in fact, be an expression of disbelief in the forces of the socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement; it would testify to an underestimation of our forces and an overestimation of the potentialities of imperialism. A policy based on the thesis that a world war is inevitable would fundamentally depart from the most cherished aspirations and strivings of the broadest masses in all countries. Such a policy is, therefore, unacceptable to the communist movement.

The alternative to passive reconciliation with the prospect of a world war is struggle for peaceful coexistence.

The Polish United Workers' Party consistently adheres to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. These principles were formulated in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 International Meetings and approved at the time by all Communist and Workers' Parties without exception. These principles retain their importance for the struggle of the communist movement and have been fully reaffirmed in the draft Main Document of this Meeting.

Peaceful coexistence is vital in our day. For half a century the contemporary world has been divided into two systems and no one can foretell how much time is required for socialism to win the final victory or what will be the stages of the struggle for overthrowing capitalism in individual regions of the world in subsequent periods of history.

The social and political experience of the past decade has fully confirmed the general line of the international communist movement, which considers that its historical mission is, already now, to safeguard the world against the infinite devastation and suffering of a nuclear catastrophe, before the final triumph of socialism removes the possibility of war from the life of mankind.

By implementing this line, charted in the Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the previous International Meeting, the international communist and working-class movement has scored tremendous successes. The bogey of so-called communist aggression is no longer effective. In the eyes of the peoples the socialist system and the world communist movement today constitute the force that consistently upholds peace and acts as the main obstacle to the imperialist policy of war, conquest and pillage. In the minds of hundreds of millions of people the very concept of socialism has today become a synonym of peace.

To oppose to the prospect of peaceful coexistence the thesis that there are only two possibilities in the question of a world war—"either war will lead to

revolution or revolution will prevent war"—means to shy away from the actual problems of our times. It is an obvious truth for Communists that the victory of the socialist revolution will avert war. The problem is that struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution on a world scale will most probably be a long one; it may even take entire decades. Throughout this time mankind will face the cardinal problem of war and peace. Throughout this period the revolutionary movement of the working class, which represents the most vital interests of peoples, will be confronted with the necessity of finding a concrete answer to this problem. An evasion of this question turns the calls for the socialist revolution into empty clichés because the thesis that a world war will lead to the socialist revolution is no answer. From the viewpoint of the interests of the working masses and the whole of mankind this would be the costliest, and even a catastrophic, way of putting an end to capitalism.

War is not a fatal inevitability, in the same way as peace is not a gift from the heavens. As long as imperialism exists the danger of war can only be eliminated through resolute resistance by the peoples to the aggressive policy of imperialism, through a consistent joint policy of the socialist forces.

Only a lack of understanding of the problems of modern times and of the essence of peaceful coexistence can lead to the conclusion that peaceful coexistence implies upholding the social status quo in the world and abandoning the struggle for the victory of socialism and national liberation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is aimed first and foremost at securing the renunciation of war as a method of settling conflicts between states. Implementation of its principles would signify a relaxation of international tension, the creation of a system of collective security, respect for the sovereignty of states and nations, a halt to the arms race, and establishment of the principle of settling inter-state conflicts peacefully. The triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence would, furthermore, create a solid barrier to imperialist wars of intervention aimed at establishing neo-colonialist regimes and exporting counter-revolution.

The policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems cannot change the nature of either socialism or capitalism. These diametrically opposed socio-political systems, while coexisting and even promoting a certain economic, scientific and cultural co-operation, cannot become similar in their social aspects, let alone mutually penetrate or grow into one another. The revisionist interpretation of peaceful coexistence, according to which it allegedly leads to a cessation of the ideological struggle and to a gradual "convergence" of these systems, is, therefore, profoundly erroneous and dangerous.

Under peaceful coexistence, the class struggle is and will continue to be waged both on an international scale and within individual capitalist and socialist countries. The struggle of the working class for power and the struggle of the peoples of former colonies for full independence will develop within the framework of peaceful coexistence. This struggle may assume various forms: it may be relatively peaceful, or take the shape of massive movements and action within the framework of democratic institutions, or it may be an armed struggle against foreign intervention or home reaction and counter-revolution. Peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is in no way contradictory

to the revolutionary or national liberation struggle of the peoples, regardless of the forms in which it is waged. The socialist countries neither have been nor ever will be neutral in relation to this struggle. They will support it with political and moral solidarity and with material assistance.

We must not delude ourselves, either, that imperialism will renounce its struggle against socialism under any conditions. In the present period, when the world balance of forces has upset imperialism's hopes of overthrowing socialism in individual countries through a classic armed counter-revolution supported by intervention from without, imperialist strategists will, in their efforts to undermine socialism, put the main emphasis on ideological and political subversion adapted to the actual situation in individual socialist countries.

The aim of the struggle for peaceful coexistence is to create the best possible conditions in the world for resolving the basic class conflicts of modern times and securing mankind's further development without another world war.

Comrades, in Europe the communist movement is confronted with particularly important tasks. They were defined two years ago in the joint Statement of the conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties in Karlovy Vary.

In Europe, which is inhabited by more than 600 million people, the socialist system at present holds the strongest position and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an active part in the political life of a number of capitalist countries.

The European continent remains one of the most important theatres of social, ideological and political struggle between socialism and capitalism and also of the economic competition between the two systems. Everything indicates that any war in Europe would become the fuse of another world war. This objective situation makes the struggle for the realisation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in Europe of exceptional importance and, at the same time, offers the most realistic chances for it.

There is a growing consciousness among West European peoples that only a new policy can provide a way out of the vicious circle of cold war contradictions. Europe needs a programme that would be based on peaceful coexistence and peaceful co-operation of all its states and peoples. Precisely such a programme is advanced by our Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' Parties, both those in power in socialist countries and those that lead the struggle of the working masses in capitalist countries. Our movement has enough strength and influence to give such a programme political weight and authority and to rally broad sections of the people around it.

For Europe the main point of such a programme should be the creation of an all-European system of collective security.

Of all the negative effects of imperialist policy in Europe, the revival of West German imperialism and militarism is the most dangerous one. The Federal Republic of Germany has become the leading advocate of tension in this continent. Juggling with the slogan that the Federal Republic is "an economic giant and a political midget", the protagonists of West German imperialism strive for domination over Western Europe. The leading spokesmen for the Bonn government openly demand the "unification of Western Europe" under the aegis of the FRG, and proclaim the "Europeanisation of German

policy", i. e., the subordination of the whole of Western Europe to Bonn's programme for a revision of the territorial status quo in Europe.

In spite of the fact that almost a quarter of a century has elapsed since the end of the Second World War, the government of the FRG refuses to recognise the existing frontiers established by the Potsdam agreement. Although almost twenty years have passed since the formation of the two German states, the FRG government refuses to recognise the German Democratic Republic and lays claim to sole representation of the whole German people.

The forces determining the policy of the FRG and forming the governments of that country are guided by bellicose anti-communism and revanchist chauvinism. They seek to cancel the results of the Second World War despite the real situation and the requirements of security in Europe. This policy has come up against an impasse. In West Germany the ruling circles are faced with the choice either of continuing their unrealistic, anachronistic course or seeking a new road.

We should like to see reason and realism triumph in West Germany and the policy of that country embark on a course conforming to the interests of peace and security in Europe and to the interests of the German people themselves.

We closely follow the political trends, particularly in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which represent a step forward as compared with the present stand of the FRG government. Recently we have declared that the Polish People's Republic is prepared, at any time, to sign a treaty with the FRG recognising the existing western frontiers of People's Poland as final and inviolable. But lack of political realism continues to predominate in the attitude of government circles in the FRG.

The main criterion of the real intentions of FRG policy is whether the FRG is prepared to recognise the territorial status quo in Europe, i. e., the existing frontiers, especially the frontier along the Oder and the Neisse, as inviolable and final, and whether it is prepared to recognise the GDR as a sovereign and equal German state, subscribe to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and renounce all attempts to gain possession of weapons of mass annihilation. As emphasised in the appeal issued by the Warsaw Treaty countries in Budapest last March, this would promote the development of normal inter-state relations and help ensure peace and security in Europe.

Comrades, the Communists of the whole world, the international working class, the national liberation movement, and the peoples of the socialist states place great hope in our Meeting, because they are convinced that it will map out the ways for cementing the unity of the world communist movement.

Communist and Workers' Parties—the main force of the anti-imperialist movement—are now active in nearly all countries of the world. More than ten govern the state and guide the building of the new system. The others are working for the overthrow of capitalism in their countries. Some Communist Parties act in highly developed countries entering the age of automation and electronic technology, others deal with the difficult social problems typical of backward countries with archaic modes of production and a low national income. Some Parties in the capitalist world are legal, others—and there are not a few—are compelled to work underground in conditions of police terror.

By virtue of the political experience of individual Parties acting in different



conditions, a differentiation of political views and attitudes is occurring in the communist movement on many vital problems of the revolutionary struggle, methods of building socialism and the course of action in the international arena. This differentiation of attitudes is, in a way, a by-product of the growth of our movement, the growth of its influence and strength. "One of the most profound causes that periodically give rise to differences over tactics", Lenin wrote, "is the very growth of the labour movement. If this movement is not measured by the criterion of some fantastic ideal, but is regarded as the practical movement of ordinary people, it will be clear that the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new 'recruits', the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by a temporary reversion to antiquated views and antiquated methods, and so forth" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 16, pp. 347-348).

The striving for progress, liberation and revolution is assuming more diverse forms than ever before. In this respect, the unprecedented acceleration of economic and social development in the contemporary world exercises a two-fold influence: in the long run it will inevitably lead to a universalisation of the socialist perspective, that is, the convergence of the problems faced by Communist Parties in all countries; today it accentuates and will continue to accentuate the different conditions in which our Parties operate. It is hard to foresee many of the forms of struggle: they may transcend our usual ideas, for life is richer than theoretical conceptions.

The variety of views and conceptions on individual questions, a result of specific national conditions and experiences, does not by itself impair the international unity of our movement. It may as much be a source of strength as of weakness. It will be a source of strength if it reflects the wealth of the national experience of the various Parties in implementing the common Marxist-Leninist general line. It will be a source of weakness if it breeds centrifugal and divisive tendencies. If differences arise in the ideological and political attitudes of individual Parties going beyond those objectively determined by the different conditions in which they work, leading to violations of international solidarity and undermining the united front of the anti-imperialist struggle, the source of this should be sought in a departure from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The idea of proletarian internationalism has accompanied the working-class movement since its birth. Proletarian internationalism has been the source of the ideological and political strength of the revolutionary working-class movement in all stages of its history. Thanks to internationalist solidarity our movement has won historic victories against superior forces of the class enemy.

The idea of proletarian internationalism is closely linked with the essence of the class struggle. It springs from the needs of the class struggle and expresses the profoundly humanitarian and universal significance of the historic liberative mission of the proletariat.

As capitalism developed and the forces of the working-class movement grew, the process of the class struggle became more international in character, with

proletarian internationalism gaining in importance as the ideological precondition for the unification of the working class on an international scale.

The conditions of the struggle for socialism in the world changed radically when, as a result of the victory of the Great October Revolution, the Russian proletariat broke the international chain of imperialism and founded the first socialist state in history. A new epoch began. The class struggle was fought not only within individual nations, but also between the two opposite social and political systems—the socialist and the capitalist. Guided by their class instinct, workers in all countries understood that safeguarding the Soviet Union was the common cause of the international working class, coming forward under the leadership of Communist Parties in defence of the Land of Soviets, which they rightly described as the fatherland of the proletarians of the world. At that time, this was the basic sense of proletarian internationalism. Those years of struggle have become an enduring part of the glorious traditions of our movement and we are legitimately proud of them.

The next turn in the internationalisation of the class struggle came after the Second World War with the emergence of the world socialist system in large areas of Europe and Asia. Though antagonistic class conflicts in each capitalist country continue and are becoming more acute, the main theatre of the class struggle has shifted to the world arena, the arena of struggle between the imperialist system and the system of socialist states, the whole international communist and anti-imperialist movement. The process of the class struggle is now completely international and universal.

Despite the contradictions that divide them, the policy of the imperialist states is subordinated increasingly to the demands of global strategy against socialism. Hegemony in this struggle is held by US imperialism. Anti-communism is the main content of the ideology of present-day capitalism.

In our time, the struggle waged by each Party on a national scale is part and parcel of the decisive front of struggle against imperialism on an international scale. We must oppose the global strategy of imperialism with a united internationalist front of the world communist and working-class movement, the vanguard of all the anti-imperialist forces. That is a categorical political imperative of our time. For this reason the attitude to the principles of internationalism is at present the basic criterion of the political line of every Communist Party and the international working-class movement.

These principles—and I say this on behalf of and on instructions from our Party's Central Committee—have been betrayed by the present leaders of the Communist Party of China, who have, from the positions of anti-Soviet nationalism and great-power chauvinism, violated the solidarity of the international communist movement, introducing division into the world system of socialist states and mounting a political struggle and slanderous propaganda campaign against other fraternal Parties and socialist countries. In many countries they organise Maoist splinter groups and factions which attack the Communist Parties.

The Chinese leaders have advanced territorial claims against the Soviet Union and in recent months went to the length of provoking armed incidents on the Chinese-Soviet frontier.

Our Party considers it impermissible that territorial claims should arise between socialist countries. By making such claims the Chinese leaders violate the principles of relations that should link the socialist countries. Territorial claims are fraught with the potential danger of war. The vital interests of socialism and peace require observance of the territorial status quo and the immunity of the existing frontiers in relation to all states. Any other position fosters chauvinism and hatred among nations and may involve many countries in endless insoluble border conflicts. This would do irreparable damage to the class and national liberation struggle, making it much easier for the imperialist bourgeoisie to pursue its aggressive policy.

The anti-Soviet line imposed by the Mao Tse-tung group on the Chinese People's Republic denudes the anti-imperialist declarations of Chinese leaders of all content. For one cannot fight against US imperialism and simultaneously direct blows against the Soviet Union, the main bastion of the anti-imperialist front. The most high-sounding anti-American slogans are empty words if accompanied by a hate campaign against the Soviet Union.

Nothing and nobody can declare void the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the world anti-imperialist front. This role of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state that opened up a new epoch, was predetermined by history. It was consolidated by the Soviet peoples, who built a new social system at the price of tremendous sacrifice and effort and won a historic victory over fascist tyranny in the Second World War. Thanks to this victory, which changed the balance of world forces, the way was opened up for socialist revolutions in Central European countries, in China, Korea and Vietnam.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, was the first to pave the way to socialism for mankind, furnishing priceless experience to those who took this road later. Nor are these historical achievements depreciated by the fact that errors could not be avoided on this pioneer road, a road beset by tremendous difficulties. These errors were overcome by the CPSU on its own and rectified in the historic resolutions of its 20th Congress.

The USSR is at present the main barrier to imperialist aggression, defending mankind against imperialist atomic blackmail and rendering support and aid to national liberation movements. It is the bulwark of all the peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

Whether he likes it or not, everyone who opposes the USSR grinds the axe of the US imperialists. One cannot fight against imperialism and socialism, against the United States and the Soviet Union at one and the same time any more than one can reconcile fire with water. And that cannot be obscured by the abstract pseudo-theoretical propositions of the 9th Congress of the CPC about "contradictions between the oppressed nations, on the one hand, and imperialism and social-imperialism, on the other hand, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries", etc.

The social contradictions that determine the essence of the class struggle cannot be conceived arbitrarily. Regardless of what the CPC leaders may say to the contrary, the Soviet Union remains the main centre of the socialist forces and imperialism's main adversary in the modern world. The future of humanity, the security of all the socialist states, including the People's Republic of China,

depends on the strength and power of the Soviet Union, its ability to paralyse the aggressive designs of US imperialism.

Social practice is the best teacher of every political party, every nation. The political practice of the Mao group has yielded nothing good to China. It only isolated her from the socialist world, retarded her economic development and benefited solely imperialism, facilitating its aggressive actions. This is eloquently testified to by facts. They may be ignored by the present Chinese leaders, but in the long run the Chinese Communists and the great Chinese nation are bound to draw relevant conclusions. We believe that they will know how to safeguard their revolutionary gains and preserve the socialist character of their state. On this we base our hopes and our conviction that the Chinese Communists will sooner or later reject the disastrous policy of the Mao group and bring China back into the fraternal family of socialist countries, ending the split in the world communist movement.

The best way in which our Parties can help to alleviate the negative consequences of the split and overcome it is to strengthen our internationalist unity and solidarity in the fight against imperialism.

At present, nationalism, undeniably the common denominator of all centrifugal tendencies of both the dogmatic and revisionist types, is the chief ideological threat to the unity of the world communist movement and the unity of the socialist system. Both Leftist dogmatism and revisionism rooted in social-democratic soil direct their anti-Leninist edge against the unity of the communist movement. Nationalism breeds on the counterposing of a parochial viewpoint and the narrowly conceived immediate interests of a Party to the general internationalist position expressive of the basic interests of the movement as a whole, the interests of socialism and peace. Nationalism has nothing in common with respect for the independence and national specifics of individual socialist countries and Communist Parties. To oppose the principle of independence to the principle of international solidarity contradicts the interests of the movement as a whole and the interests of each separate Party.

Every Communist Party works out its political line independently on the basis of concrete appraisal of the reality in its country, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the experience of our entire movement, whose component it is. Each Party bears a historical responsibility for its policy both to its own people and to the international working class.

If in working out the principles of the struggle for socialism in their own countries, individual Parties arrive at conclusions different from those of other Parties, this is not necessarily an infringement of the principles of internationalism. The danger to the internationalist unity of our movement arises when a certain Party elevates its specific viewpoint to an absolute, turning it into a dogma and trying to impose it on other Parties as the only line consistent with Marxism-Leninism.

No Marxist has ever questioned the proposition that individual countries will come to socialism in different ways, depending to a considerable degree on the specific character of the historical period, the specifics of the country and the balance of forces in the international arena.

In some countries a heroic guerrilla movement overthrew imperialist

domination. And it may be safely assumed that in many countries in the future, too, guerrilla struggle will be appropriate and necessary in fighting against imperialism. However, it would be wrong to elevate this form of struggle to an absolute and see it as the universal guideline for all Communist Parties.

Many fraternal Parties in the developed capitalist countries place definite hope on the possibility of a peaceful structural socio-economic reconstruction of their countries in the direction of socialism by using the parliamentary political mechanism, setting up coalitions of different political groupings, etc. Furthermore, in case this conception of socialist reconstruction is successful, some Parties envisage preserving within the framework of the socialist system some of the political institutions of the liberal-bourgeois parliamentary system, in particular, the existence of opposition parties. And it stands to reason that fraternal Parties are entitled to develop this perspective in their programme conceptions, although it has not been applied yet in historical practice. However, it would also be a mistake for these Parties to consider this viewpoint as an absolute, and, particularly, to expect the Parties in power in socialist countries to adapt their political practice to it. This would contradict the concrete historical conditions in our countries, signifying retreat from the progress in socialist democracy achieved in our countries.

The system of socialist states is the main bastion of the anti-imperialist front and any weakening of the positions of socialism in any of these countries would contain the danger of a change in the international balance of strength to our disadvantage. For this reason, safeguarding the socialist positions already gained and working for their consolidation must be an internationalist duty of the world communist movement.

Our Party is deeply convinced that by upholding proletarian internationalism, the international communist movement will gradually overcome its present difficulties. The historical aims of the international working-class struggle are identical. That which unites the Communists is incontestably stronger than what divides them.

Comrades, the unity of the world communist movement, the unity of all the socialist forces is of decisive importance for cementing all the anti-imperialist forces.

The invincible power of the anti-imperialist front fighting for peace, freedom and social progress derives from the united community of the socialist states and the international communist and working-class movement, the anti-imperialist newly independent countries and the national liberation movement, all the peace-loving socio-political forces fighting against the forces of imperialism, reaction and war. The Communists are the main force and vanguard of this anti-imperialist front.

The struggle of the international working class for social liberation, for socialism, gives birth to and strengthens the motive forces of the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples for national liberation, accompanying this struggle and merging with it in a single anti-imperialist torrent. But both these torrents—the class and national, social liberation and national liberation—develop independently. And only the class struggle, the torrent of social liberation, simultaneously has a national liberation content.

This class torrent in the struggle of the international working-class movement for social and national liberation, for socialism, merges with the struggle of mankind to prevent a new world war. Holding its own class stand in the world-wide struggle for peace, this torrent is at once the guiding force of that struggle, the only force capable of rallying and extending the struggle for peace to proportions that the imperialist forces of war cannot overcome.

Thus the essence of the international class struggle consists in the fact that it is a struggle for social emancipation, for building socialism and communism; a struggle for national liberation, for casting off the imperialist yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism; a struggle for the deliverance of mankind from the danger of a new world war, for putting all peoples on the road of brotherhood, co-operation and peace.

Therefore, it is the historical task of the communist movement to provide guidance to all the anti-imperialist forces and concentrate them in a single powerful revolutionary stream of social struggle.

This historic mission of the communist movement is not prompted by any ambitious intents, but by the objective requirements of the social struggle of our time. No other social movement can undertake our mission, because no other social movement covers the whole complex of social problems in its programme or has so broad an international social basis as the working class.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the world are the most powerful political movement of our time. It draws all peoples into the orbit of its activity. History knows of no other political movement of such magnitude. Our possibilities are immense, and so is our responsibility. Mankind's finest hopes and noblest aspirations for freedom, progress and peace are centred on our movement, and are most profoundly expressed in its socialist ideals.

We are convinced that we shall depart from this Meeting with a clearer understanding of our tasks and problems of the future, better prepared to fulfil each in his own country and internationally our common historical mission in the struggle for peace and the freedom of the peoples, for progress and the welfare of humanity.

In conclusion I should like to thank the CC CPSU for providing excellent facilities for our work and for the hospitality accorded to us.

**WALDECK ROCHET**  
**General Secretary,**  
**French Communist Party**

Comrades,

First of all the French Communist Party expresses its profound satisfaction at the convocation of this International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The need for this Meeting has been on the order of the day in our movement for some time. Since the last Meeting in 1960, important changes have taken place in the world, and new problems have arisen before the Communist Parties, the vanguard in the people's struggle for peace, national independence and socialism. It was necessary to make a collective analysis of these changes and these problems in order to determine together the main aims of the peoples' struggle against imperialism. It was also necessary to make a joint study of the means of consolidating the unity of our movement in the anti-imperialist struggle. The tasks and conditions of our epoch make this imperative.

Consequently, a great responsibility falls on our Meeting.

We are sure that the spirit of co-operation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the methods of collective work, which have already made it possible to prepare the Meeting in the best conditions, should enable us to make the Meeting a success and then go on with our work of consolidating the unity of the world communist movement.

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Comrades,

The delegation of the French Communist Party approves of the draft documents worked out by the Preparatory Committee, including the improvements made by the Committee at its last session.

It believes, in particular, that the draft Main Document on the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and on unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all the anti-imperialist forces, is an important document capable of commanding the support of Communists throughout the world, enhancing the effectiveness of their struggle and closing the ranks of the communist movement.

We should like to dwell on some of the main aspects of this draft, with which we are in full agreement.

It is quite true that the platform of our common struggle against imperialism which we are to adopt rests, on the one hand, on an analysis of imperialism at its present stage, of its policy and strategy, and on the other, on an analysis of the forces which are opposing it and which constitute the great world-wide revolutionary movement of our epoch.

Indeed, it is a characteristic of Marxist-Leninist Parties that they never invent their fighting slogans, nor do they work them out in a subjective and arbitrary manner. They put them forward on the basis of existing reality, taking account of the specific features of the existing situation, with the possibilities it opens up, with the balance of forces it reflects.

It is this scientific analysis that makes the work of the Communist Parties effective, enabling them to define goals which really meet the people's interests and the exigencies and possibilities of our time.

This analysis is necessary because that is the basis on which our Parties lead the masses to the conviction that *they need to take action themselves* in order to exert an influence on the balance of class forces. It is the basis on which our Parties show *where and how this action by the peoples should take place*.

In this respect, our Party shares the assessments formulated in the draft Main Document.

Imperialism as a world system has definitely weakened in the past ten years as compared with the socialist system, as compared with the forces of peace, independence and progress. This relative weakening is tangible both in the economic and the military spheres.

The continuing disintegration of the colonial system and the growing activity of the peoples fighting for genuine political and economic independence have dealt a heavy blow at one of the main pillars of imperialism.

The weakening of imperialism is also seen in the growth of inter-imperialist contradictions. Thus, for instance, the French monopolies and their state power have not hesitated in the recent period to come out against other imperialist countries in order to secure fulfilment of their special ambitions within the framework of an alliance which remains unchanged in terms of basic goals.

These contradictions, whose development our 1960 Meeting foresaw, should not be underestimated. They can and must be used by the socialist states, by the Communist Parties in their struggle for the national independence of peoples and against the attempts at expansion and the establishment of domination by US imperialism, for a relaxation of international tensions and for co-operation between countries with different economic and social systems.

That is precisely why we took a positive view of France's withdrawal from the NATO military organisation and have supported the steps taken by our country's government towards co-operation with the socialist countries in various fields.

The struggle our Communist Party constantly waged for the achievement of these aims, even in the most trying periods of the cold war, has played its part in the adoption of these initial measures by ensuring them popular support.

But it is also characteristic of the monopoly government that it has kept



France in the Atlantic Alliance, that it continues the nuclear arms race, regards the Federal Republic of Germany as its "preferred" ally, and displays hostility for any negotiations on disarmament or collective security in Europe.

It would indeed be wrong to assume that inter-imperialist rivalries have already become such that imperialism is no longer an aggressive world system, that it is no longer capable of confronting the world revolutionary movement with a common strategy, and that it is no longer a grave threat to peace, the independence of peoples and socialism. No matter how inter-imperialist contradictions are aggravated, the contradiction between the imperialist system and the socialist system is and will remain the main contradiction of our day.

It is, of course, true that imperialism, US imperialism in particular, now has to reckon with the risk latent for it in any aggression against the socialist countries, especially against the Soviet Union, the decisive force of the world socialist system.

But it is wrong to infer from this that imperialism has given up the idea. This is evidenced by its wild arms race, which puts an intolerable burden on the working people, and also by its stubborn rejection of any measures capable of promoting the establishment of an effective collective security system.

In an effort to ensure more favourable conditions for the attainment of these aims and to recapture lost positions, imperialism starts local conflicts, each of which is fraught with a threat to world peace. It redoubles its efforts — not without result — to keep the countries newly liberated from colonial oppression downtrodden by political and economic neo-colonialism. It organises reactionary coups d'état in countries fighting for independent development in order to keep them within its strategic orbit and under its economic domination. Taking advantage of the mistakes of this or that contingent of the anti-imperialist movement, taking advantage of its insufficient unity, in particular the insufficient unity of the Communist Parties, imperialism has managed in the recent period to inflict a number of temporary reverses on the anti-imperialist forces on various continents. We believe, as the draft Main Document says, that we cannot afford to close our eyes to these facts or fail to draw the necessary conclusions.

Nevertheless, and this the draft Main Document also emphasises with especial force, imperialism is suffering an historic defeat in the war against the heroic Vietnamese people, whom our Party here again assures of its full solidarity and active support. Thanks to the correct policy of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, thanks to the exceptional courage of the Vietnamese people, thanks to the great assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thanks, lastly, to the political and practical solidarity of the revolutionary working-class movement and the progressive forces of the world, the Vietnamese people are administering a victorious rebuff to the aggression mounted by the most powerful imperialism, US imperialism.

There is no doubt at all that US imperialism will be forced to give up its aggression, that it will be forced to allow the Vietnamese people to decide freely on its own destiny. The Vietnamese people will be victorious! Our Meeting will declare that our Communist Parties will spare no effort to help them in this.

The success of the Vietnamese people's struggle is evidence of the fact that the balance of forces on a world scale has been and will be in favour of socialism, national independence and peace, provided the anti-imperialist forces, the Communist Parties above all, display vigilance and determination, provided they unite in struggle, in order to resist imperialism and paralyse its aggressive designs.

Just as it would be wrong and harmful to picture contemporary imperialism as omnipotent and capable of deciding the issues of peace and the freedom of nations at its own discretion, so it would be wrong and dangerous to hold that the balance of forces has finally and irreversibly become such that imperialism no longer represents a constant threat to all mankind.

Both these erroneous standpoints have an equally demobilising effect. Our Party rejects the one and the other, both in its day-to-day struggle and in the decisions of its congresses.

It simultaneously notes that imperialism encounters greater difficulties and that it tries to resolve them through brutal moves, including dangerous military ventures, and also by stepping up its reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-labour policy.

That is why we hold that the draft Main Document rightly stresses the need to step up our common struggle against the aggressive actions of imperialism, for peace and national independence, for the freedom and security of nations.

In this respect, alongside our active solidarity with the Vietnamese people, prime significance attaches to the struggle for European security.

Indeed, US imperialism assigns Western Europe the principal place in its strategy of expansion and domination. It is not only trying to secure control over a considerable part of its economic potential but is also converting Western Europe into a bridgehead of its aggressive policy against the socialist countries. The Atlantic Pact with its military organisation is an embodiment of this strategy. The danger it presents is increased by the fact that the US leaders are turning the militarist and revanchist forces of West Germany into the mainstay of their struggle against the European socialist countries.

Today the expansionist aspirations of the Bonn leaders are the main source of tension in Europe. Their policy is a barrier to genuine security for all the European peoples.

One cannot help feeling deeply disturbed by the fact that these leaders, acting hand in glove with American and British ruling circles and with the connivance of our country's leaders, escalate the arms race, give a free hand to the neo-nazis and try to dictate to NATO a strategy which implies almost immediate use of nuclear weapons in the event of a conflict.

Our Party has waged, and will continue to wage, a determined struggle against this bellicose policy of the US and West German imperialists, against the Atlantic Alliance, which is an instrument of this policy and which holds out the danger of plunging the peoples of Western Europe into a tragic conflict over alien interests.

We have launched and will further extend our activity to draw the whole people into the struggle for a European collective security system in place of the antagonistic military blocs.

A natural requisite for such a system is recognition of, and respect for, the

existing frontiers in Europe, international recognition of the rights of the German Democratic Republic, closure for West Germany of any possible access to nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever, and renunciation by the Bonn leaders of all claims to represent the whole of Germany.

We are resolved actively to support the relevant measures envisaged in the draft Main Document and specifically the socialist countries' initiative calling for a conference of all European states on our continent's security.

We realise that to overcome the resistance of reactionary Western leaders and to get these measures through, the masses must be prompted to give fuller voice to their will for peace both on a national and international scale.

At the same time, we hold that until a collective security system is set up in Europe the socialist states have the right and the duty to strengthen their defences and intensify their co-operation in the struggle against imperialism.

The struggle against the imperialist forces in Europe is not only a requisite for the maintenance of peace in this part of the globe, but also a very important contribution to the struggle of all the peoples against the positions-of-strength policy pursued by imperialism, against the system of aggressive military pacts, with which it has girded our planet, against its policy of war and oppression.

Taking a broader view, only by constantly enhancing the fighting efficiency of each of the streams making up the world revolutionary process and by indefatigably working to unite in a broad front all the anti-imperialist forces, that is, the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, the working-class movement of the capitalist countries, all forces favouring social progress, democracy and peace, is it possible to drive imperialism into new retreats and secure fresh successes for all the streams of the world revolutionary movement.

\* \* \*

Comrades,

Development of the struggle of the working class and other sections of the working people in the capitalist countries is an important factor for the relative weakening of the imperialist system. The powerful working-class and democratic movement which spread in France in May and June 1968 revealed the new scope and significance of this struggle.

It was the first big clash in our country between the mass of working people and state-monopoly capitalism.

Its root cause was the deepening of the antagonism between the monopolies and their power, on the one hand, and the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people, on the other.

Events since 1960 have confirmed the correctness of our Parties' assessment of state-monopoly capitalism: in recent years the policy pursued by the monopolies and their state has been growing ever more reactionary and anti-social. In the last ten years, production and labour productivity in France have increased very substantially, while by May 1968 the purchasing power of wages was on the whole the same. Four million working people were absolutely unable to make both ends meet. The average working week has been and remains the longest in Europe. The workers' gains, such as social security, are threatened and curtailed.

Politically, the monopolies increasingly seek to abolish democracy, to exclude any form of mass participation in and control of state affairs, to restrict trade union rights, substitute for the traditional representative institutions structures and agencies suitable to big capital and ensuring the prevalence of its private interests over those of the working masses and the nation as a whole. The regime of personal power is a concentrated expression of this policy.

What was characteristic of the movement in May and June 1968, with its nine million strikers, was that in addition to advancing its immediate economic demands, it directed a blow against the domination of national life by the monopolies and their state power. It sought deep-going democratic change in the social, economic and political spheres. It showed that the ideas of socialism have been accepted by broad sections of the working people.

The May-June 1968 movement also showed that it is possible to draw into the struggle against the monopolies and their power, on the side of the working class, fresh social strata, specifically workers by brain, whose numbers are steadily growing.

The scientific and technological revolution has led to an increase in the number of workers by brain, specifically teachers, research workers, engineers and technicians. In our country their number has increased by almost half in 10 years. At the same time, there has been a rapid growth of the student body. Since science is increasingly becoming a direct productive force, ever greater numbers of workers by brain are directly drawn into industry. The overwhelming majority of them are now exploited wage workers. Their creative aspirations run up against the avaricious policy of the monopolies.

Although they do not arrive spontaneously at a clear understanding of the aims and methods of the revolutionary movement, so that the Communists have, in consequence, to carry on extensive educational and organising work among them, the main thing is that there is an objective basis for solidarity and united action by these working people and the working class, including struggle for economic and social change leading to socialism. That is why more and more of them side with the working class in the economic and political struggle.

In this struggle, young workers and a section of the students have displayed great militancy. Young workers, who are hardest hit by unemployment, low wages and inadequate vocational training, are in the frontline of the battles for economic demands, for social progress, against capitalism and imperialism, for socialism.

For their part, the students have ceased to belong to the *jeunesse dorée*. Most of them come from the petty and middle bourgeoisie and suffer from the economic difficulties of these strata caused by monopoly oppression. They also come up against the obsolete system of education and methods of instruction. This brings them into the revolutionary struggle of the working people.

The majority of young French people have tremendous revolutionary potentialities. Our Party shows understanding of the young people and trusts them. It attaches special importance to extending its activity among various youth sections, including students.

Since the protest against the retrograde nature of the structure and system of

university education was chronologically the initial point of the May-June movement, some have drawn the hasty conclusion that the revolutionary role of the working class has weakened.

Actually, the powerful May-June movement in France had been prepared by the ceaseless 10-year struggle of the working class, the incessant battle which our Party has waged since the first day against the Gaullist power serving the monopolies and against its policy. Moreover, it was precisely when the working people had joined in the struggle in a massive and organised way that the movement against the regime of personal power and for a new democracy attained its full strength.

The force and scale of the working-class actions in the spring of 1968, and the proletariat's ability to rally the other social strata suffering from monopoly oppression showed that it is indeed the principal revolutionary force of our time.

The unity and strength of the working-class movement, in which our Party and the General Confederation of Labour played the decisive part, compelled the big employers and the government to satisfy important demands of millions of working people, ranging from wage rises to recognition of trade union rights at enterprises. But it was impossible to put an end to monopoly rule and substitute for it an advanced democratic system representing the interests of the working people and other non-monopoly strata.

Contrary to the assertions of the proponents of Leftist tendencies, the balance of class forces made it impossible to put on the order of the day the instant establishment of socialist power. On the other hand, it was possible to oust the Gaullist power and set up a regime of advanced democracy opening the path to socialism. What was lacking for putting this very real possibility into practice was unity of the workers and the democratic forces.

Our Communist Party spared no effort to achieve firm agreement of the Left Parties and major trade unions on the basis of a common programme of democratic change making possible a genuine alliance of the working class and other anti-monopoly social groups in town and country in the struggle for a democratic alternative opening the path to socialism.

The socialist leaders obstinately rejected this. In secret, they even agreed to adventurist combinations inspired by anti-communism.

This situation was exploited by the Gaullist power. Cashing in on irresponsible acts of violence by Leftist groupings, it worked out a plan designed to involve the labour movement, notably the Communist Party, in a sanguinary clash with the police and the army. The required forces were put on combat alert.

Because of the absence of a strong alliance of workers and democratic forces, the big reactionary bourgeoisie could have put down the working-class struggle for a long time and established a military dictatorship.

Fully aware of its responsibility to the working class, our Party upset the calculations of its class adversary.

It succeeded in securing for the working people a sizable complex of economic and social benefits, retaining and consolidating the conditions for continuing the political battle for democracy and socialism.

Our Party's authority has increased. Many working people, both workers by hand and by brain, most of them young people, have joined its ranks. Hundreds of new local Party branches have been set up. For its part, the General Confederation of Labour has increased its membership by 400,000.

The policy the Party pursued in 1968 proved to be correct. Less than a year later, the working class and democratic forces inflicted a heavy defeat on the Gaullist power: the "non" won in the referendum-plebiscite on April 27 of this year through which de Gaulle wanted to make the people ratify his policy and support his regime.

The victory of the "non", and de Gaulle's resignation have revealed the magnitude of the urge for change among the working people. They provided fresh evidence of the rapid growth of conditions for the common struggle of all the social sections whom the monopolies are harming or threatening.

That is why our Party, loyal to the policy defined by its congresses and the Central Committee Manifesto, set out to unite all workers and democratic groups on the basis of a new political programme worked out jointly and providing for profound political, economic and social transformations aimed at substituting for the reactionary rule of the monopolies a democratic coalition government with communist participation.

The opportunist policy of the Socialist Party leaders made impossible an alliance of Left-wing forces in the current presidential campaign.

That is why our Party put forward its own candidate, Jacques Duclos, and turned this campaign into a stage of its struggle for an alliance of workers and democratic forces. Our Party scored an important success by winning almost 5 million votes, i.e., over 21 per cent. It showed itself to be a major force in the democratic renovation of our country, a spokesman articulating the urge of the working class and democrats for unity, a great Party of socialism. This success will have a highly positive effect on the continuation of our struggle.

In the conditions prevailing in our country and the world today, following the spurt forward made by the struggle of the working classes in May and June 1968, the task before us is to mobilise the masses of people in a struggle of unprecedented magnitude against the policy of the monopolies and their rule.

In view of the depth and acuteness of capitalist contradictions, the development of such battles can lead to the isolation of the big reactionary bourgeoisie and impose radical democratic change, confronting the masses, before long, with the issue of transition to socialism.

As for the French Communist Party, it is fully prepared to avail itself of these possibilities. Therein lies the significance of the Manifesto for advanced democracy, and for a socialist France, which it issued last December.

At the same time, our Party is working for a French policy orientation that would be consistent with national interests and the interests of peace, which presupposes France's withdrawal from the Atlantic Alliance, mutually advantageous co-operation with all countries, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in particular, action to establish a European collective security system, and support of the just struggle of the national liberation movement.

*We do not separate the national and the international aspects of the class struggle, nor our Party's national responsibility and its international duty.*

We have carried on a just and irreconcilable class struggle against the Gaullist rule of the monopolies and we shall continue to fight against attempts at a reactionary replacement of Gaullist policy. At the same time we have stood and will stand for an independent French policy, against our country's participation in the Atlantic Alliance under US leadership, against her integration in a Little Europe of trusts, that is, the EEC, against the alliance with the West German militarists, and against the colonial status imposed on the overseas "departments" and territories.

*Our Party is the most consistent spokesman in France for this policy of independence and peace. On it are pinned the hopes of those who in our country and throughout the world want to see an active French contribution to peaceful coexistence, European security, co-operation with the socialist countries and the struggle of the peoples against imperialism.*

\* \* \*

Comrades,

In this past period our Party has fought at home and in the international arena, displaying a maximum of vigilance in face of two trends bent on distorting our teaching and our struggle: these are, on the one hand, Right-wing opportunism, and on the other, "Left"-wing opportunism.

The Right-wing opportunists deny the need for effective struggle for socialism. They virtually confine themselves to some changes in the policy of the bourgeoisie and in the make-up of the government, being reluctant to fight against big capital and for strengthening the positions of the working people. Like the British Labour leaders, they are always prepared to conduct a policy suiting the big bourgeoisie on all essential issues and to compromise with it at the expense of the working class. *At every decisive juncture there is evidence of the fact that their main line is one of class collaboration with the big bourgeoisie, with imperialism, US imperialism in particular.*

In the recent period, the stand of the Social-Democratic leaders in France has fully borne out the accuracy of the assessment which is given in the draft Main Document. Scorning the unity of workers and democratic forces, they prevented the large-scale movement in May and June 1968 from replacing the Gaullist regime by a democratic regime paving the way to socialism. During the presidential election on June 1 the reactionary candidates could have been defeated by a common Left-wing candidate nominated on the basis of a democratic government programme worked out together with our Party, but the Socialist Party leaders rejected our proposals for united action and nominated a separatist candidate suitable for the reactionaries. Their call to vote for the reactionary candidate Poher, who enjoys Kiesinger's support, was a logical result of this disastrous policy. These leaders, who systematically refuse to fight together with the Communists for the interests of the working class and its allies, in fact stubbornly strive for an alliance with that section of the reactionaries who are designated as "centrists" and try to edge their way into the administration of state affairs to promote the interests of big capital. *They bear the full burden of responsibility for the split of the democratic and workers' forces.*

Ever greater numbers of working people and democrats in our country reject

this policy. The Social Democrats in France are in the throes of a grave crisis. Evidence of this is the June 1 defeat of the Socialist Party, which won only 5 per cent of the votes. This proves that a considerable section of the Socialist working people disapprove of the splitting policies of their leaders.

In these conditions our Party emphasises with greater firmness than ever before *that the purpose of a united front, the purpose of an alliance of workers and democratic forces, is not to have the working class taken in tow by the bourgeoisie, for the sake of an unprincipled alliance, but to draw ever greater masses of people into action against the monopolies and their regime, into the fight for a new democracy and for socialism.*

Despite the new difficulties that have arisen on the way to unity, our Party, which has grown stronger as a result of its June 1 success, will intensify its efforts to win Socialist working people for unity, because militant unity of the working class is essential for the victory of socialism.

With equal energy and a desire to direct the working people's struggle along the correct path, our Party carries on the struggle against Left-wing opportunism.

The facts show the correctness of the definition of "Left"-wing opportunism by Lenin, who described it as "*petty-bourgeois revolutionism, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter and, in all essential matters, does not measure up to the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 32).

"Left"-wing opportunism, naturally, finds a favourable soil whenever the class struggle grows acute and whenever the protest against the crimes of capitalism spreads to ever wider sections of society lacking experience in struggle.

The Left-wing deviation, which is characteristic of the groupings belonging to Maoism and Trotskyism, is wishful thinking which turns impatience into a strategy. It denies the connection between economic and political struggle, between the struggle for democracy and for socialism. It opposes the alliance between the working class and other social groups suffering from big capital. It makes up to young people in an effort to convince them, as Trotsky tried to do, that young people are the salt of the earth, and tries to substitute a so-called conflict of generations for the struggle of classes. The Left deviation does not aim its main blows at the bourgeoisie but at the proletarian party, the Communist Party, setting petty-bourgeois anarchism against the Party's organisation based on democratic centralism. Likewise, while issuing loud proclamations against imperialism, it is distinguished mainly by its unbridled anti-Sovietism. In short, while playing with ultra-revolutionary catchwords, "Left"-wing opportunism plays into the hands of reaction and imperialism by conducting a provocative policy and never ceasing in its efforts to split the working-class and revolutionary movement, and the anti-imperialist forces.

It is indicative that the French bourgeoisie and its propaganda loudly advertise the various Leftist groupings, especially those who call themselves Trotskyite and Maoist. The reactionaries, the imperialist circles apparently assume that the Maoist line of struggle against scientific socialism, against



Communist Parties and against the Soviet Union, is a valuable aid in their own struggle against the world revolutionary movement.

In this connection our Party cannot close its eyes to the decisions of the recent congress of the Communist Party of China, notably its new Constitution. It sees them as a marked intensification of the anti-Leninist, anti-Soviet and splitting policy of the Chinese leaders. This policy, which they are trying to foist on us by every means, is causing enormous harm to the common struggle against imperialism.

Our Party, a great, truly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, will continue its resolute struggle against "Left"-wing opportunism and adventurism, which could have only tragic results.

At the same time, we shall make a most thorough distinction at home between the impatience of many young people, which is most frequently commensurate with their desire to fight against the capitalist system—impatience which sometimes assumes forms we are obliged to criticise—on the one hand, and on the other, the disastrous activity of Maoist or Trotskyite groupings, which make provocative use of the spontaneous militancy and revolutionary zeal of young people.

Experience has shown that through persistent explanatory work based at once on a deep understanding of the needs of young people, and resolute exposure of the erroneous concepts of the Leftist groups the militancy of young workers and students can be directed along a correct path, drawing them into the real revolutionary struggle alongside the working class and its Communist vanguard.

The draft Main Document notes correctly that both "Left"-wing and Right-wing opportunism underestimate the existing possibilities for involving the broadest masses in the struggle against imperialism, and for social progress, democracy and socialism. Their other common feature is that they cast doubt on the leading role of the Communist Party.

Needless to say, Communists lay no claim to monopolising revolutionary aspirations or the anti-imperialist struggle. It is a sign of the times that broad masses of people who are not Communists strive, as we do, for a radical transformation of society, and join in the struggle against imperialism.

*Communists make maximum efforts to unite the struggle of all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces for the achievement of aims promoting the struggle for the peoples' liberation.*

*Thanks to their doctrine, their methods of struggle and their organisation, the Communist Parties are great revolutionary parties of our epoch, the most advanced, most powerful and most consistent anti-imperialist force.*

That is why we oppose any attempts to belittle the leading role of the Communist Party.

*As for us, we cannot obscure our Party's true face before the working people. On the contrary, we have been doing everything to give them a clear view of the distinctive features of the Communist Party, of its principled attitude, its policy fully serving the working class, the whole nation, friendship between nations.*

Nor can we regard our Communist Parties as anti-imperialist forces which are "like any others". As the draft Main Document puts it very well, we offer

our hand to all those who have a real desire to fight against imperialism, and for independence and peace. We are prepared to co-operate with these forces on equal terms, in a truly democratic spirit. *But that does not at all relieve the Communist Parties of their special responsibility, because they are parties of the working class, i. e., a class which is the decisive social force of our age, the most consistent revolutionary class, which has built the socialist system, a system playing the decisive role in the common struggle against imperialism. Our Parties' scientifically based doctrine and Leninist organisation enable them to act as the main force in the peoples' liberation struggle.*

That is why the task of consolidating the unity of the international communist movement, far from hampering unity among the broadest anti-imperialist forces, is, on the contrary, a necessary basis for a broad united anti-imperialist front which has to be set up.

In accordance with the draft Main Document our Party believes, therefore, that it is the internationalist duty of the Communist Parties to bend, every effort for the unity of our movement.

There undoubtedly exists an objective basis for such unity: the working-class movement is in essence internationalist, the Communist Parties have common aims, and our epoch is marked by the internationalisation of revolutionary processes.

In addition, the Communists of the world evince a deep desire for unity.

*However, this unity will not come of itself. It demands constant and resolute struggle, and persistent efforts to overcome the differences which may arise on any particular issue.*

We believe that the draft Main Document substantially enriches our movement's views on this question.

The draft correctly emphasises that the unity of our movement and its enhancement are guaranteed by the application of the principles which, in their aggregate, govern the relations between our Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our Party stands squarely in favour of the principle of each Communist Party's sovereignty as well as the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Parties are independent and have equal rights. As has been repeatedly said, there can be no "dominant" or "subordinate" Parties, and there are none; there can be no "centre" or "centres" directing the activity of the Communist Parties, and there are none.

Every Party determines and must determine its policy and forms of activity in complete independence, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and with due regard for national conditions.

At the same time, proletarian internationalism is a component of the doctrine and struggle of every Communist Party. There is no doubt that our Party's main international task is to secure the success of the working people's struggle in France. But this does not mean that we refuse to take account of the common interests of the whole international revolutionary working-class movement. Our Party, which has always displayed the most active solidarity with the peoples building socialism, with the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, which plays the decisive role in the struggle for peace and socialism, solidarity

with the peoples fighting against the colonial yoke, solidarity with the Parties and fighters who are victims of reactionary, imperialist repression—our Party firmly adheres to proletarian internationalism. It will continue to develop and consolidate its ties of friendship and fraternal co-operation with the brother Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, equality and independence, on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

There is no doubt at all that our Communist Parties have to operate in various conditions of struggle and tackle the most diverse problems. But this diversity should not mean division, just as the requisite independence of each Party should not lead to isolation or nationalism.

Differences on this or that issue should under no circumstances gain the upper hand over what unites all our Parties. These differences should in no case hamper the joint struggle for our common aims. Differences can and must be overcome through an exchange of experience and a comparison of ideas, through bilateral or multilateral meetings, through international conferences and, above all, through co-operation in the common struggle against imperialism.

In this context, the application of the principles set forth in the draft Main Document and the very fact that our Meeting is being held should enable us to go a long way towards greater unity in our movement.

*The preparation of the Meeting, the collective methods of preparing and holding the Meeting, have created good conditions for greater unity; they have promoted mutual understanding and have given each Party an opportunity of using the invaluable contribution made by the joint discussion of problems and the common struggle of the international communist movement as a whole,*

Comrades,

Adoption of the Meeting documents will help us make further advances towards cohesion and raise our unity to a higher level in the spirit indicated in the draft Main Document.

That is exactly what is expected of our Meeting by the Communists of the world, because they see it as an earnest of their greater fighting efficiency, an earnest of success in the people's struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence and democracy, for socialism, for communism.

Long live the unity of the international working-class and communist movement!

## **EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU**

**General Secretary,  
Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus**

Dear Comrades,

This International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is a big victory for the world communist and working-class movement. It is the outcome of persevering collective efforts by all Parties present, the outcome of equal and comradely co-operation based on the common ideals and lofty humanistic aims of our movement.

It is our duty to thank all those who helped prepare and convene this Meeting and made such a good job of it. In particular, we thank the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which contributed actively to the success of the preparatory work, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which extended its hospitality to us and provided such good facilities for both the Preparatory Committee and the Meeting itself.

This Meeting, gathered on the eve of the centennial of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the greatest revolutionary of all time, responds to the insistent demand of our time, to the need for cementing the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties, securing united action, and uniting and rallying all anti-imperialist forces fighting on all the five continents for peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism.

At this decisive hour in history, in this period of deep-going revolutionary changes on all continents, in all spheres of life, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the vanguard of all the progressive forces, shoulder big tasks and heavy responsibilities. Beyond question, the Communist and Workers' Parties are the biggest political force that ever existed, and it is up to them to accomplish the most decisive changes ever known to man in his long history.

None of us doubt the fact that co-operation by Communist Parties is the most salient factor in uniting the world's anti-imperialist forces. That is why communist unity and the co-operation and mutual understanding of the vanguard forces of mankind are our main and most urgent concern. Our common ideals, common tasks and common scientific outlook—all this enables us, makes it essential for us, to produce a general appraisal of the situation, to chart a common line of struggle and secure fraternal co-operation and solidarity among our Parties. No other movement in the world has such good precondi-

tions for unity and for uniting progressives of all nations on the basis of a common programme for joint action.

Our countries are at different stages of development and have to deal with completely different problems. There are representatives here of Parties that stand at the head of socialist countries and there are comrades who work underground at home, because their Parties are persecuted by colonialist or fascist reaction. Yet all of us represent peoples with common interests and common aims, all of us represent Parties that are the vanguard of the working people, linked unbreakably with each other by our international solidarity in the fight for man's better future. That is why we sit together as brothers in complete equality and an unprecedentedly creative atmosphere.

In recent years, imperialism and neo-fascism have intensified their anti-Sovietism, slandering and making the most absurd accusations against the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. But what else can be expected from them? They are mainly bent on isolating the national liberation movement and the working-class Parties from the socialist camp and its vanguard, the Soviet Union. Thereby they hope to undermine the anti-imperialist struggle and preserve the system of enslaving and exploiting the peoples. But anti-Sovietism, no matter how refined, is still, in substance, the same thing as anti-communism, serving imperialist ends.

One of the "arguments" used by the imperialists and neo-fascists against the working-class Parties, chiefly in the capitalist countries, says that they are not independent in relation to the CPSU, that to some extent the CPSU "imposes" its will upon them. That, of course, is a lie and outright calumny. However, due to the way it is presented, some people believe it.

Our Party, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, represents the working class of a small country. We have had close relations with the CPSU for many years but have never felt what the enemies of communism impute to the Soviet Party. On the contrary, we are convinced in the absolute equality of our relations, an equality that also marks the work of this Meeting.

In all fairness, however, we must note that despite this equality, our responsibility is not equal in degree. One cannot compare the degree of responsibility borne by our Party with the immense historical responsibility shouldered by the CPSU for the outcome of the international struggle between the two systems, for the future of the international working-class and anti-imperialist movement, for the future of world peace and socialism.

As the Party of a small country, we wish to express our respect and satisfaction over the fact that the principles of equality, mutual respect and mutual understanding among the fraternal Parties of big and small countries were closely observed in all the preparatory stages of the Document, which we shall ultimately approve.

Since we work in entirely different conditions and deal with different concrete problems, it is natural that we solve them in different ways and approach them from different angles.

The main thing is, however, that our movement has a common outlook, a common scientific appreciation of social phenomena and the main political processes of our epoch, common aims and common struggle. All this links us

closely, because it is basic for all of us. What is more, all know that the working-class movement derives its strength from international solidarity, from the unity and co-operation of all progressives, the socialist system, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement. This indisputable fact impels our will and effort to achieve the international unity of our movement and all progressive forces of the world. This granite basis on which we should cement unity, must be pure, free from all distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory and proletarian internationalism.

The 1957 and 1960 Meetings invigorated co-operation among our Parties. They equipped us with a profound analysis of the international situation and the basic social and political phenomena of our epoch, and worked out a common platform of action.

However, life does not stand still. It poses new problems. Alongside the consolidation of the socialist system, alongside the growth of the working-class and national liberation movements in many countries, there have been retreats and setbacks in some of them. We saw differences and disagreements arise in the ranks of the communist movement, on the one hand, and an increased imperialist aggressiveness, on the other, aimed at changing the world balance of forces and hindering man's progress. That is what made the present Meeting necessary, in order to cement the unity of the world communist and working-class movement and enliven joint action by the world's anti-imperialist forces.

The Preparatory Committee has accomplished much serious work for this end. As a result of persevering collective efforts and equal comradely co-operation by all Parties, the Preparatory Committee drafted the Main Document of the Meeting, containing all the basic factors that unite our Parties in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

The Main Document contains a scientific appraisal of the present international situation and the balance of forces in the world of today; it gives a profound analysis of the problems posed by the present-day struggle against imperialism, for united action by the world communist and anti-imperialist movement. That is why it is an important guide to joint action for the broad democratic and anti-imperialist movement throughout the world, as well as for our Parties. The unity of the world communist movement, the cohesion of all the progressive militants of our time, will gain considerably from this united action.

Dear comrades, for man's progress fighting imperialism is the main task of our day. It is only proper, therefore, that this Meeting of vanguard working-class Parties centres its work on the problem of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Despite partial difficulties and setbacks, the anti-imperialist front of the peoples has not grown any weaker in the past ten years. On the contrary, it has grown stronger and broader. The partial and temporary imperialist successes have not altered the international relation of strength, the general world situation or the character of our epoch, because the peoples are persevering in their determined struggle against slavery, racialism and fascism, for national independence, human rights and democratic freedoms.

Imperialism has not improved its positions in the world over the past ten years. On the contrary, it is clearer than ever that whatever efforts it may make,

it cannot be the decisive factor in the destiny of the peoples in our epoch nor hold undivided sway in the world. The unexampled heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has undone the political and military prestige of the USA, the world's principal imperialist power. The persevering struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of their land seized by Israel shows that imperialism can no longer achieve its aims with ease and rule the destiny of small peoples.

The world-wide anti-imperialist camp embracing all the progressive forces of our time headed by the socialist countries and the powerful Soviet Union, can frustrate the aggressive imperialist ventures, prevent a thermonuclear war, and pave the way for the freedom and progress of all nations. For this it is necessary to secure joint action and unity of all peoples in the common fight for peace, freedom and progress, nipping in the bud all the criminal imperialist designs.

The nine years since the 1960 Meeting were the first nine years of independence for our country. Yet the peace-loving and progressive people of Cyprus could not make full use of this period for peacefully developing their country. The imperialists, who retain military bases and other privileges limiting the independence of the Republic of Cyprus, endeavoured to turn our island into NATO's military appendage and a staging area for their strategic designs in the Middle East and Mediterranean.

The Cyprus government declared that it would follow an independent policy and that its purpose was to turn our island into a golden bridge of rapprochement among the peoples of the three neighbouring continents. Our Party consistently supported this foreign policy, and especially the line of developing economic and political ties with the socialist countries that had helped us during our national liberation struggle.

However, this alarmed world imperialism, especially the US imperialists, who were nursing plans to hitch Cyprus to the aggressive NATO bloc and make it a war base and bridgehead against mainly the neighbouring Arab states.

The imperialist plot to subvert and enslave the Republic of Cyprus centred on an attempt to split the Cypriot people by various pressures and interventions. Having failed to split the people by an anti-communist campaign, for which the US imperialists allocated \$20 million, the imperialists resorted to subversion and to fanning national strife between the Greek and Turkish communities.

Cyprus escaped imperialist NATO thralldom thanks to two important factors: firstly, the intrinsic unity of the people, to which our Party, which understood and firmly opposed the imperialist danger, contributed decisively, and, secondly, the solidarity and support of the socialist and developing countries. The Soviet diplomatic, political and military support in the critical period of 1964-1967 was decisive.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude, the gratitude of our Party and people, for this extensive aid and support.

The imperialists have not abandoned their subversive activity against Cyprus. They are hatching new plans for partitioning our island and placing it under NATO control, for which end they employ new forms of subversion. They are trying to impose their own, imperialist solution of the Cyprus question with the help of the fascist junta in Athens and the reactionary chauvinists in Ankara,

aiming to turn the island into a military base against the Arab peoples and the socialist countries.

From this international rostrum of Communist and Workers' Parties we firmly denounce the perfidious subversive imperialist plans and declare that the Cypriot people will apply all their energy to achieving a solution securing Cyprus's independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity, demilitarisation, while fully assuring the rights and interests of the Turkish population.

At the same time, we call on all Parties to express their solidarity and support for the difficult struggle of the Cypriot people. Cyprus's independence, neutrality and demilitarisation is a highly positive factor in the struggle of the peoples of the Mediterranean and Middle East for national independence, peace and social progress. We are convinced that the solution of the Middle East problem on the basis of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, will also exercise a beneficial influence on the struggle of the Cypriot people.

It is obvious from the Cypriot example that in our time, with the existing balance of forces, a small country, too, can be successful in maintaining its independence if its national liberation forces attain anti-imperialist unity and if it has the aid and support of the socialist countries and the international anti-imperialist camp. This opportunity, lacking in the epoch of imperialism's world domination, is a result of the change in the international balance of forces after the emergence of the socialist world system and the disintegration of the colonial system.

At present, at the time of the scientific and technological revolution, the opportunities for the economic, political and social progress of all peoples are truly boundless.

To achieve progress, we must unite all progressive, anti-imperialist forces and raise to a new level the fight for the solution of the vital problems of our time, in order to deliver our planet once and for all from the inhuman blight of colonialism, to block neo-colonialist policy, to repulse the reckless imperialist designs and avert the danger of a devastating thermonuclear war.

The Main Document is a broad united action platform for aims based on a realistic and scientific appraisal of our epoch. As we see it, Section Three is a scientific action programme, a splendid guide to action for the international working-class movement and all anti-imperialist forces. From beginning to end the Main Document is imbued with the spirit of militant international solidarity and co-operation of all peoples in the fight for a better future. That is why we support it unequivocally and shall apply all our efforts to translating it into practice.

Our Meeting is the right kind of milestone in the common effort of strengthening the unity of the world communist movement. We hold that it will be the start for a further expansion and strengthening of ties and of international co-operation among our Parties. Greater co-operation and comradely exchanges of opinion and experience will help us overcome our differences in questions of tactics, in appraising some of the problems, and will enrich our own experience.

None of us should underrate the decisive and beneficial influence which the



unity of the world communist and working-class movement will exercise on the peoples' fight against imperialism and reaction.

We are impelled to cement our unity by the interests of our peoples, the interests of all nations fighting for freedom, democracy, peace and progress. The struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people, the colonial African peoples, the long-suffering Greek nation, the Arabs and many other peoples, requires us to unite all progressive and anti-imperialist forces in a single, powerful world-wide front for a decisive offensive that will deliver our peoples from imperialist domination. Our every effort to cement the unity and cohesion of the world communist and working-class movement is an invaluable contribution to the peoples' struggle for national freedom, peace, democracy, progress and socialism.

From this official rostrum of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, we promise that our Party will do its utmost to help cement the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement, unite the anti-imperialist forces of the world, and promote the international solidarity of the peoples.

**LAURIE AARONS**  
**National Secretary,**  
**Communist Party of Australia**

We welcome this Meeting as a high forum for a free and serious exchange of views on our common struggle against imperialism. We take part with a keen desire to exchange views and particularly to learn from other Parties' experiences. We are deeply conscious of the contribution which different sections of the international movement and especially the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are making to the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism.

We state our determination to work for closer unity of our movement, for united action against imperialism, and our desire for fraternal relations with all Communist and Workers' Parties, no matter what differences we may have.

Our leadership has endorsed in principle the Third Section of the Document before us. In doing so, we are motivated by a will for united action and by our general endorsement of its aims to develop anti-imperialist unity and struggle at this historic moment. Yet we also have reservations about some concepts stated in this section. We feel that some things are not said that should be said; some others are qualified in ways they should not be. We will submit some amendments to Section Three about the most important issues.

At the same time we adhere to the anti-imperialist action programme as stated in Section Three, and pledge our energy and comradesly co-operation in fighting for this programme. We re-submit the proposal that this part of the Document should be separated from the rest, so that all Parties could sign it and thus make a unanimous affirmation of our unity around the most urgent anti-imperialist tasks. The remainder of the Document, seeking to enunciate a general line for the international communist movement, could then be signed by those Parties which endorse it. The Australian Communist Party cannot sign the Document as a whole, since it cannot accept some principles as stated and because what we believe are some fundamental issues and principles are omitted.

Stated briefly, these are our main criticisms of the Document:

1. While setting out to lay down in effect a general line for the international movement, it does not make a deep and objective analysis of some new features of the present stage of the complicated process of social development and struggle. Some of these are: the scientific and technological revolution in its

world impact (upon the developed capitalist countries, the socialist countries and the Third World countries); the significance of the new revolutionary potentials, particularly among the young generations; the problems of socialist development and of relations between socialist countries.

2. The Document ignores some important developments in the relations between socialist countries which have a negative impact on our movement. These relations are described unrealistically and in an idealised way in some passages of the draft.

3. The Document makes a superficial and sometimes contradictory analysis of the imperialist world system and the international situation. This could hinder the maximum mobilisation of the anti-imperialist forces and stop us from turning to maximum advantage the ideological and moral crisis of imperialism, reflecting its deep general crisis.

4. Relations between Parties are again described only in formal principles which, worthy as they are, in fact are not always honoured. This description neither reflects the reality nor helps to reach a new stage of relations between Parties, and within the movement as a whole. We also consider that the Document's description of the Communist Parties' leading role does not take into account all the conditions of struggle for winning and maintaining the working people's support for the Communist Parties.

5. Some formulations in the Document are so vague and suggestive that they could be interpreted in different ways, including possible endorsement of some recent new concepts with which we do not agree (such as those concerning relations between socialist countries).

Our delegation wishes to expand these comments to make clearer what we mean.

The scientific and technological revolution is a decisive reality, even if it is only at its first stage. Its essential feature is precisely an exponential growth in knowledge and technological innovation, with revolutionary effects upon society. Marxism-Leninism must strive to keep up with this onward rush, analysing its deep revolutionary significance for all societies in the world today, to deepen our theoretical understanding of the revolutionary process. This requires an open and forward-looking generalisation and a scientific daring in open theoretical and political debate and contention with other world outlooks. In this connection, we support our Belgian comrades' proposals for study and exchange of views on modern world developments by our movement.

These social developments demand new ideas of revolutionary strategy in the developed capitalist countries. These concern the whole range of social forces which are potentially revolutionary — the working class, which is itself changing and enlarging, youth and students, the intellectuals. A revolutionary strategy must also advance new types of social demands which are at once economic, political and moral. In particular, one thinks of the depth and vigour of new democratic demands and forms of action which challenge every aspect and mode of monopoly capitalist domination: the state itself, including its function of deciding foreign policy and making war; the bureaucratic control and manipulation of human beings as workers in huge depersonalised enterprises and structures, of students in schools and universities; the manipulation of human

beings as citizens in society, and by the mass media apparatus for control of ideas.

Our Party is grappling with these theoretical and political questions as they affect Australia, trying to develop a theoretical programme to meet this changing situation. Some recent experiences tend to confirm and enrich our concepts. Last month, a mighty mass workers' struggle erupted in Australia. A million industrial workers walked off their jobs in protest against the undemocratic and repressive anti-union legislation which has been in force for the last 20 years. This was essentially a political struggle of a democratic character, sweeping into action half the industrial workers in the nation, in the biggest strike movement of the last 80 years.

We think this movement also expressed the deep frustrations and the human aspirations of the working class, arising from their affirmation of human dignity and their demand for a human orientation of the whole society, an orientation impossible in conditions of monopoly capitalist society. In our opinion, articulation of a radical programme of trade union demands and action is a vital component of our revolutionary strategy, a working-class challenge to the whole state-monopoly structure of ownership, distribution and control. Our Party, which has a considerable influence in the workers' movement, made the first call for a decisive confrontation of the anti-union legislation last January.

We believe that a new stage for working-class advance has been reached, in which the old reformism has reached an impasse and in which a new turn to the left is possible. Even if this must begin at a certain level of industrial demands, it also has important political potentials in the struggle for working-class unity. An important new feature of Australian unionism, which also reflects deep social changes, is the growth of white collar unions which are turning to militant actions and reaching for unity with the industrial unions. We see these developments as an answer, in life, to theories that the working class has lost its revolutionary potential.

Then there is the qualitatively new radical student and youth movement which is developing in Australia as elsewhere. There are problems here asking for an exchange of views. How is this powerful force to be united with the working class? Why do these movements not always turn to the Communist Parties? One can criticise or rebuke some trends in them, yet this is not the real answer. In our view, we have to work patiently for worker-student co-operation — and there are trends developing in this way in Australia — and to enter a dialogue on theories and strategies precisely in the course of common actions.

Another great problem of the world impact of the scientific and technological revolution is the huge gap between the developed nations and the Third World, a gap which grows annually. This is a tremendous world problem — the most urgent and tragic aspect of the human condition today — and a dynamic of the anti-imperialist struggle. This is the social essence of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The huge obstacle to changing this world division is, of course, imperialism, with its economic domination and exploitation, its global political and military strategies.

It is also a great issue of conscience for revolutionary forces in the West, demanding of the Communists a powerful lead for co-ordinated action with the

national liberation movements and the efforts of the socialist countries to help the new nations. Here, our responsibility is to support the national liberation movements, for these are the internal force for social transformation in the Third World. At the same time, we should elaborate an anti-imperialist action programme within the imperialist countries themselves, struggling for new policies that oppose the dynamics of imperialist exploitation.

In Australia, we have some heavy responsibilities for anti-imperialist action, which we are trying to meet. First is the struggle against the Vietnam war and the projected Australian part in the United States' programme for domination of Southeast Asia. Besides this, we are called upon to support the developing national liberation movement in New Guinea and to support the struggle of our own aboriginal people for independent development and equal rights. In both these fields there are quite important new developments.

Struggle against the Vietnam war is a decisive issue of Australian politics. Big demonstrations and continued strong opposition against the war are a new feature of political life. Never before has an aggressive war caused such national division.

The Vietnam war has awakened the social conscience of new masses and social forces in Australia. This should continue as a movement of conscience against imperialism and its consequences, exploitation, hunger and wars of domination. Its revolutionary implications, in the West as in the Third World, can be noted in the fact that in many countries radical youth of diverging viewpoints express their opposition to imperialism by acknowledging the inspiration of such Communist heroes as Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro.

Today, new possibilities exist for anti-imperialist action and revolutionary advance. Communists everywhere have to make a clear, sober, searching and self-critical examination of their theoretical and practical work in meeting this challenge. Australian Communists are trying to do this. We believe some advances have been made, although much more remains to be done to build a mass party and extend its influence into diverse spheres of society. We believe this Meeting should stimulate the further development of creative Marxist thinking.

From this standpoint, we suggest for consideration a criticism of the draft Document. In our view it does not make an inspiring call to the peoples everywhere for anti-imperialist and revolutionary action. And we feel that this is not just a question of style or language. It is connected with deeper problems of our movement, including the complex process of development of socialist societies.

We feel that this arises because the Document does not face up to theoretical and policy questions that are posed sharply today by problems of relations between socialist countries, and also the development of socialist democracy.

At present, the established capitalist social order is increasingly under challenge by ever-growing numbers of people, particularly the youth.

Young people, especially, are critical of the hypocrisy of capitalist society, of its false values and double standards, of the gap between words and deeds. They are increasingly conscious of the manipulation of society by those in power, of the shams of bourgeois democracy.

All this provides socialism with an historic opportunity to present a clear and attractive alternative.

This directly affects and concerns Communists everywhere. An expansion of democracy in the socialist countries would have a significant impact on the development of the democratic and revolutionary movement in the Western countries.

Concretely, we believe that this Meeting should declare its full and unequivocal support for national independence, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs for all nations, whether great or small, and whatever their social system. We support the amendment already proposed in the Preparatory Commission by the Italian comrades which states this clearly. This would demonstrate the moral superiority of socialism, guaranteeing fulfilment of Marx's prediction that the new society will establish relations between nations that correspond to human relations between people. This problem is posed before us by the events of August 1968 and their consequences.

If we say openly that the August 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia was wrong, it is not because we want to intervene in the internal affairs of the Parties which made the decision. If we say the continued presence of troops is wrong, it is not because we seek to intervene in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovakian Party, nor to comment upon its policies. We have spoken up, and speak up before this Meeting, out of a deep and heartfelt commitment to the socialist cause and to our understanding of Communist principles and ideals.

We have said, and we say again, that the intervention harmed our cause, the struggle for a socialist world. Its impact was deep, its consequences far-reaching. They will not be easily overcome; this will be all the more difficult so long as unequal relations continue. Others may disagree; we hope our debate can develop on the level of principle and theory.

Internationalism cannot be separated from a regard for rights of all nations, great or small.

In our view, internationalism cannot be identified with the state interests of any socialist country. This is all the more important when contradictions and even antagonisms arise between socialist states. Then, we must say that it is not possible to decide the issues by an appeal to internationalism.

Permit us to state again our belief that the Document should clearly condemn all anti-semitism, wherever it may exist, and this without any reservations or qualifications.

This Meeting has a responsibility to take every possible initiative towards restoring unity of the movement, whatever the difficulties and no matter how negative any past, present or future reactions may be. In this connection we have proposed an amendment to the Document, which would state our support for the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its territory of Taiwan, illegally occupied by US imperialism by force. And we propose here a statement condemning US imperialist policies against China and in this area of Asia and the Pacific. These proposals are made in the interests of the fight against imperialism, with the aim of taking some initiative for moving towards a common stand by all components of our movement.

These are the views we submit for consideration by this important gathering.

We conclude by restating our determination to exert every effort to strengthen our Party's work for peace, freedom and socialism. We reaffirm our desire for closer relations with all Communist and Workers' Parties, our wish for a continuation of the dialogue on the issues we differ on, while placing at the forefront our unity in action.

We wish to thank all responsible for the preparation of this Meeting — the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and in particular the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the hospitality and good conditions provided for our work. And through the CPSU we thank the Soviet people, whose socialist labours make this possible.

## **GILBERTO VIEIRA**

**General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Colombia**

Comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Colombia and all Colombian Communists—those fighting in the Andes and those fighting for working-class unity in proletarian centres—we convey fraternal greetings to all representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties assembled here. We convey fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, whose hospitality is a fresh demonstration of its dedicated internationalism, and to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which from the very start made such a valuable contribution to the preparation for this Meeting, and to the fraternal Parties which, due to special circumstances, are not represented here—above all to the heroic Working People's Party of Vietnam.

Our Party shared in all the preparatory sessions. It believes that the preparation and conduct of this Meeting represent a big step forward in applying the communist methods of collective leadership, and mark an important stage in the effort for international communist unity, which this Meeting will elevate to a new and higher plane.

After careful study, our Party approved the draft of the Main Document and the statements on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the struggle for world peace, and solidarity with embattled Vietnam. In our view, the Main Document gives a Marxist-Leninist generalisation of the chief aspects of the present world situation and its development trends. We would have preferred a document of more profound ideological content, notably on issues relating to imperialism's designs against the socialist countries and international reactionary manoeuvres against the movement for national liberation. The accent in such a document should be on the need for ideological struggle within our movement, conducted in a comradely atmosphere and pursuing constructive aims. But we have taken into account existing difficulties and consider that the documents before us are effective instruments in advancing our joint struggle.

It is nearly ten years since the 1960 Meeting. The lessons of this crowded decade fully confirm our 1960 prognostication of the nature of our epoch and its leading force, the socialist system. However, it is evident that imperialism and its leading force, US monopoly capital, is working out a global policy spearheaded against the socialist countries and the world revolutionary move-



ment. It is the duty of this Meeting to develop and more deeply analyse the experience of the past ten years, prognosticate the battles that lie ahead and inspire the masses for struggle.

In this respect, the draft of the Main Document renders a valuable service by its terse analysis of the revolutionary process in Latin America. It rightly shows that this has been a period of consolidation for the glorious revolution in Cuba, the first country on our continent to be laying the foundations of socialism. On the other hand, it has been a period marked by the failure of the vaunted reform plan envisaged by the Alliance for Progress. We can now see a new wave of anti-imperialist struggle rising throughout the continent. One of its more recent expressions is the adamant popular opposition to the US government's rapacious policies. The stormy protests that brought on the ignominious failure of the Rockefeller mission are symptomatic of the revolutionary processes now emerging and spreading throughout the continent. This new stage of Latin America's anti-imperialist struggle has found forceful expression in Peru, where we have a very peculiar phenomenon that highlights its scope and implications. For what we have is a military government standing up for the national interest against the North American monopolies. We proclaim the Colombian people's resolute and mounting solidarity with the people of Peru and their Communist Party!

This International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties will stimulate the movement in our countries, which lie in the immediate hinterland of US imperialism and, with the unfolding of major class battles, are now becoming a scene of anti-imperialist struggle. At this Meeting the great internationalist aims of the communist movement are merging with the urgent task of extending the struggle for national liberation in each country. And our Meeting is living evidence that internationalism is not separated by a Chinese Wall from the patriotic interests of each people.

Imperialism and the reactionary forces in our countries are taking advantage of the differences that have arisen in the international communist movement to step up their offensive. It is being conducted on a wide front, using all available methods, from outright military aggression to ceaseless ideological attacks. It adroitly combines repression with social demagoguery and bourgeois reformism. It follows a dual pattern: instilling the idea that revolution in our countries is impossible, and conducting systematic propaganda with the avowed purpose of splitting the revolutionary movement, and in this it is being helped by diverse divisive elements. One aspect of this imperialist policy is the exploitation of certain anarchist and ultra-Left tendencies that have cropped up in the revolutionary camp and rely heavily on anti-Soviet calumny.

Anti-Sovietism remains a big-calibre weapon of imperialist propaganda. The imperialists are certainly aware that the Land of Lenin and the Leninist Party play the decisive role in the struggle between socialism and monopoly capitalism. They have no illusions on that score and are running a sustained propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union. This fact, openly admitted even by enemy propaganda, is ignored in certain theses we are asked to discuss. There have been statements to the effect that as the socialist camp develops solidarity with the Soviet Union ceases to be an essential factor in defending socialism.

There is full clarity in our Party that the Soviet Union is the chief force in the great confrontation of our time. The boundary between socialism and imperialism runs through the great front on which the socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union, continues its offensive.

Of course, there cannot be a single centre, or leading and led Parties. At the present time there cannot be a centralised world leadership of the communist movement. But neither can the Communist and Workers' Parties be parts of a polycentric mechanism. For regional centres, covering continents or specific areas of the world, would come up against the same obstacles that ruled out the possibility of a single centre. But this certainly does not mean that the international communist movement is doomed to division. There is no single leading centre, but bilateral and multilateral meetings of our Parties, complemented by co-ordination of solidarity campaigns and concerted action, provide a general orientation helping all Communists analyse major issues, the systematic study of which each Party must continue.

The dialogue during the preparations for this Meeting showed that a normal exchange of views was possible on problems on which Communist Parties hold differing opinions. We favour such a fraternal dialogue based on mutual respect, the fundamental pre-condition for achieving positive results.

We highly appreciate the arguments the Main Document adduces in support of fraternal unity of the three anti-imperialist streams: the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, and the struggle of the working class in developed capitalist countries. We also appreciate the effort to analyse the new level of the modern liberation movement in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries and bring out its distinctive features in Asian, African and Latin American countries. For, obviously, the struggle now unfolding in Latin America has not only many similarities, but also essential differences compared with the struggle of the fraternal Afro-Asian peoples.

The draft of the Main Document rejects the erroneous thesis, now enjoying some currency, which in different ways seeks to counterpose the underdeveloped to the so-called developed world. Moreover, the latter is defined as composed of the super-exploiter imperialist powers and the developed socialist countries. This schematic and false theory disregards the class character of the two mutually-opposed systems and the generous assistance the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering peoples fighting to break out of imperialist oppression.

We appreciate the good intentions of the comrades who object to "name-calling" and "labels" with regard to one or another Party. But this general recommendation can also be interpreted as interference in the independent policy of any Communist or Workers' Party which, to its great regret, sometimes finds itself compelled to counter encroachments on its unity. A concrete example: are we not justified in defending ourselves when the present leadership of the Chinese Communist Party publicly maligns our Party, and have we no right to call these attacks slanderous? The capitalist press in Colombia widely publicised the charges levelled against the CPSU at the recent 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Are we expected to remain silent in the face of charges, such as that contained in the main report to the Chinese

Congress, that the CPSU has converted the world's first socialist state founded by Lenin into a "*dismal fascist state of bourgeois dictatorship*"? Some possibly will choose to ignore such outrageous assertions. But in keeping with our political line, we usually openly criticise such anti-Soviet slander and expose its true aims. To sanction a ban on what has been described as "labels" and "name-calling" could mean vetoing necessary principled struggle.

There have been appeals here for unity with a Party not represented at our Meeting. In common with other Parties we Latin American Communists have done everything possible to bring about unity. The response to our efforts was aggressive intensification of splitting activities, absolutely unfounded attacks on the Communist Parties and specifically this Meeting. We therefore believe it would be more correct to address these appeals to Peking.

Comrades, as a component of the revolutionary process that is shaking the world, the Colombian people continue to hew their way to freedom, employing their tried tactics of combining various forms of struggle. This tactics is the very essence of our Party's policy of using all methods at our disposal to meet concrete situations. Our Party's 10th Congress declared that the Colombian revolution will not be a peaceful one. But our Party also believes that its most important task in the present situation is to achieve unity of the working class, and the January strikes showed that we are making headway.

The guerrilla struggle in Colombia continues. It is the answer to the preventive war against the peasant movement, a war planned by the US military mission. But there are also strikes and a spreading movement in support of the economic demands of blue-collar and white-collar workers, peasants, students and teachers. To carry the fight into the legislative machinery of the ruling classes, we take part in elections, though they are held on the basis of the anti-democratic two-party parity system. In this way we are building the forces needed to win national liberation, for, with the present structural crisis, we can foresee early political bankruptcy of the present system.

The Party instructed our delegation to facilitate unity of the international communist movement. The long struggle, armed and peaceful, in industrial centres and rural areas, universities and prisons, makes it incumbent on us to unite all efforts in the battle against imperialism. United action will help us resolve all differences and creatively analyse the situation on the basis of our militant ideology, Marxism-Leninism. With this deep conviction, the Communist Party of Colombia, which approves the documents of this Meeting, will popularise among our people the tasks formulated here as the basis of our struggle for national liberation, socialism and the final defeat of imperialism.

**SALVADOR CAYETANO CARPIO**  
**General Secretary, Central Committee,**  
**Communist Party of Salvador**

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Salvador, we greet all the fraternal Parties represented here. This Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is an outstanding event in the history of the international communist movement. It responds to the aspirations of progressive mankind and deals a mighty blow at imperialism. It is proof of the communist movement's awareness of its responsibility as the guiding force of the peoples' revolutionary struggle.

By stimulating unity of the international communist movement and of the anti-imperialist and progressive forces the world over, by orienting communist activity on effective support of the revolutionary struggle, our Meeting is accomplishing a task of inestimable import for the destinies of mankind. That is why our Communist Party wholeheartedly supported the convocation of this Meeting, shared in all phases of its preparation and instructed its delegation to make a maximum contribution to strengthening the communist movement on the basis of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is highly significant that the Meeting is being held as we approach the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, founder of a new type of party, the Communist Party, and of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in history and the bulwark of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces in the fight for a happy future for mankind, for socialism and communism. We believe that the proceedings of this Meeting should be worthy of the centenary of the leader of the world proletariat, whose teachings are the firm foundation of international communist unity, the source of our movement's indestructible strength in its world-wide struggle for final victory over all the enemies of the working class.

The vast importance of the Meeting lies in the fact that it will mark a turning point in the achievement of world communist unity. And united action against imperialism will increasingly strengthen cohesion of the communist movement and will more clearly indicate the ways and means of finally resolving the differences which in recent years have impeded concerted effort in our difficult struggle.

Our Meeting has a very special meaning for peoples who have not yet broken out of imperialist oppression. Its call for the merger of the three basic revolutionary forces into a single stream against our common foe will do much to support the peoples' fight for national emancipation.

Our Party had a part in preparing the materials submitted to this Meeting and is therefore in a position fully to appreciate its vast importance. It has instructed our delegation to sign the Main Document in its entirety and the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin", the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!".

Of course, it would be too much to expect the documents, the result of collective work by a large number of Parties, to reflect all the thoughts and suggestions each of the participating Parties would like to see in them. There have been suggestions to approve only Section Three of the Main Document. But we ask ourselves: How will the people understand a bald programme without a theoretical substantiation? If we were to follow that course, would we be discharging our communist duty to the masses? We must first of all disclose to them all the brutality of imperialism, instil a feeling of hatred for imperialism and an urge to fight it. We could not do that by presenting merely a cut-and-dried platform, devoid of vitality, energy and enthusiasm. The proposal to curtail the Document is wholly unacceptable to our Party because the Document represents an integral, harmonious and indivisible whole. It is the result of more than a year's intensive work by seventy fraternal Parties. It is the common denominator of united action in the fight against imperialism. It paves the way to strengthening the cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and to uniting the entire anti-imperialist movement. Full equality in an atmosphere of genuine democracy enabled every Party to set out its views and consider the views of others, uphold its ideas and assess the ideas of others. The result of that work is the draft Main Document, that excellent weapon of revolutionary struggle. We wholeheartedly approve all its sections and urge other fraternal Parties enthusiastically to adopt it.

For the people of Salvador, for all the peoples of the world, the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is a great stimulus in their revolutionary struggle. The people of Salvador are engaged in an incessant fight against the economic, political and social stranglehold of US imperialism, which is supported by the oligarchy and the anti-democratic militarist regime. The US monopolies are making ever deeper inroads into our industry, trade, banking and agriculture. One of their penetration weapons, both in Salvador and other parts of Central America, is the Common Market and Central American economic integration. This enables them to control industry, stifle national capital and directly exploit our working class. And all this, of course, has a direct impact on the class struggle, which is not confined to national capital, but with every passing day it is more and more directed against the US monopolies, which, either directly or jointly with the oligarchy, through mixed jointstock companies, are draining the lifeblood of our workers and peasants.

The US imperialists are tightening their grip on the government's internal and economic policy, which is geared to plans closely linked with US

monopoly interests. Through these plans, and with the help of their experts and commissions, they are able to control many government agencies.

The imperialists have managed to integrate the armed forces of Central American countries within the so-called Central American Defence Council, the express purpose of which is to give the imperialists a combat-ready force for use against popular movements in any part of the area. The police forces, too, are under direct imperialist control. The CIA has set up the "White Hand" and "Order" fascist organisations, which engineer the assassination of Communists and other patriots. In the recent period CIA hirelings murdered a number of our comrades. The list includes Saul Santiago Contreras, Oscar Gilberto Martinez and Juan Alberto Vasquez Carcomo, brutally done to death by the police and fascist thugs. The homes of Communists and other patriots and the offices of democratic organisations are often fired at or bombed.

The Salvador people, like those of other Central American countries, are uniting more closely to fight their common enemy. For isolation and lack of co-ordination make it much more difficult to break the fetters of imperialism and the oligarchy. The heroic armed anti-imperialist struggle of the fraternal Guatemalan people is also our struggle, and the same applies to the courageous struggle of the fraternal peoples of Costa Rica, Panama, Nicaragua and Honduras. The need, we believe, is for more co-ordination in the battle against US imperialism.

The people of Salvador and their main motive force, the working class, know that after more than 37 years of rule by a military pro-oligarchy and pro-imperialist dictatorship, they must resort to every means dictated by the situation to further the fight against imperialism. The working class is steadily organising and mobilising its forces to back up its pressing economic, political and social demands. This is raising the workers' class consciousness, their organisation and revolutionary resolve. It should be perfectly clear that in the conditions created by the enemies of our independent development, our people can assume power only by armed struggle closely linked with other forms of political struggle. The Communist Party of Salvador is exerting every effort to lead the masses, it directs their fight for immediate demands and prepares them for the decisive battle for liberation.

Our Communists highly appreciate the Main Document's stress on the vast importance of the Cuban revolution, which opened a new stage in Latin American history. Our Party regards the Cuban revolution as a beacon illuminating our countries' path into the future, as a source of inspiration for revolutionaries throughout the continent. And we Salvador Communists consider joint defence of the Cuban revolution against US imperialist provocations and aggressive designs to be one of our principal internationalist duties, a priority duty of the peoples everywhere. That this is emphasised in the Document is of exceptional importance.

We wish to say that our views on questions relating to Czechoslovakia differ fundamentally from what has been said here by the Australian comrade. This is so perhaps because we feel the burden of US imperialist exploitation. However, we believe that this Meeting should not discuss the timely assistance

fraternal socialist countries rendered another socialist country. The Czechoslovak comrades have asked all fraternal Parties not to harm the normalisation process in their country by premature discussion, and it is our duty to respect the will and concrete request of this fraternal Party.

In conclusion, comrades, we think that real unity should be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and that it will be forged in the struggle against Right and "Left" deviations. On the other hand, it should be perfectly clear that anti-Sovietism is the marsh into which flow both anti-Leninist streams that harm the unity of the international communist movement. We wish to emphasise that our Party has from the very start come out against the Leftist tendencies of the Mao Tse-tung group, which has now become a source of aggressive provocations against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and many Communist and Workers' Parties. To all practical purposes, it has abandoned the anti-imperialist struggle; in fact, it objectively helps the imperialists by its attempts to obstruct united action of the international communist movement and the world progressive forces. However, we feel sure that the great Chinese people will soon again be standing on our side of the barricades in the fight against the common enemy.

Comrades, in the name of communist unity we once more sincerely urge all the fraternal Parties to approve the documents of this Meeting. On behalf of the Communist Party of Salvador, the Young Communist League, progressive women's organisations, progressive intellectuals and the entire Salvador people, we warmly greet this historic Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It opens up new prospects to the revolutionary struggle of the people for national liberation, socialism, social progress and world peace. Under the banner of proletarian internationalism, true to the watchword of the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of All Lands, Unite!", let us march forward to unity of the communist movement and of all the progressive forces of the world!

## **LEONID ILYICH BREZHNEV**

**General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Dear Comrades,

The principal item on the agenda of our Meeting is the question of the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and of unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces. From our point of view, the essence of the problems covered by this agenda is clearly formulated in the draft of the Main Document. The CC CPSU considers that the draft, as well as the other documents which we shall have to examine, conforms to the present-day tasks of the communist movement.

We are convinced, comrades, that our Meeting, at which most of the Communist Parties of the world are represented, will play a major role in stimulating the actions of the fighters against imperialism. It will contribute towards uniting the entire world front of the forces championing peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

At the same time, we are confident that the work of this Meeting and the joint struggle for the aims which it will chart will help to surmount the difficulties that have emerged in the communist movement and strengthen its unity on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

All this will still further enhance the prestige and influence Communists enjoy among the broad masses of working people and all progressive forces in the world.

### **I**

#### **THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE**

Comrades, a little under nine years have passed since representatives of the Communist Parties of all continents last gathered in order jointly to map out the further course of their revolutionary struggle. This has been an extremely important and eventful period. To us Communists it has brought many successes and opened up further possibilities for achieving the great aims of our movement. At the same time, this period has brought serious problems and complications.



We have very closely followed the speeches made here in which the comrades touched on a number of major issues of the anti-imperialist struggle. We have been instructed by the Central Committee of the CPSU to expound here, in the light of the basic task to which the Meeting is devoted, our Party's viewpoint on some problems of international development over the past few years.

All of us are unanimous that *as a social system imperialism has been and remains the chief obstacle to mankind's historically inevitable advance to the triumph of freedom, peace and democracy.*

The peoples are presenting a grim bill to imperialism. Through its fault the vital problems that face mankind in acute form remain unresolved though they could be successfully settled already today. Imperialism has been and remains the chief adversary not only of the communist movement but of all fighters for the rights of the working people, for the deliverance of the peoples from social and national oppression.

The social substance of imperialism and its place in history are clear to us Communists. However, to chart a concrete programme of anti-imperialist struggle it is not enough to have a correct understanding of the essence and nature of imperialism. It is also necessary to make a close analysis of the new phenomena and deep-going processes taking place in the capitalist world. The Leninist theory of imperialism provides the key to an understanding of the specific features distinguishing imperialism at its present stage of development.

What may be said of the features of imperialism over the past decade? Wherein lie its strength and weakness in our day and, the main thing, what makes it a menace to the peoples?

The growth of socialism's might, the abolition of colonial regimes, and pressure by the working-class movement increasingly influence the inner processes and policies of imperialism. Many important features of modern imperialism can be explained by the fact that it is compelled to adapt itself to new conditions, to the conditions of struggle between the two systems.

First and foremost, we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the imperialism of our day still has a powerful and highly developed production mechanism. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that modern imperialism makes use also of the possibilities placed before it by the increasing fusion of the monopolies with the state apparatus. The programming and forecasting of production, state financing of technological progress and scientific research and steps aimed at achieving a certain restriction of market anarchy in the interests of the biggest monopolies are becoming more and more widespread. In some countries this is leading to a certain enhancement of the effectiveness of social production.

The economic, scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries and the class struggle are compelling capitalism to make some concessions to the working people in the social sphere. It thus seeks to camouflage the rising level of exploitation of the working people. Monopoly capitalism thereby tries to avert social and economic upheavals fraught with the greatest danger to the bourgeois system.

To meet the challenge of socialism and strengthen their positions, the imperialists are combining their efforts on an international scale and having recourse to various forms of economic integration. International monopoly associations

are being set up with the support and participation of bourgeois governments. Imperialist military and political alliances are becoming more active.

It goes without saying that today, despite all this, the ineradicable inter-imperialist contradictions remain a vital law governing capitalist society. These contradictions are made all the more acute by the circumstance that the reciprocal penetration of capital of these countries is intensifying and the interdependence of their national economies is increasing. The growth of contradictions between the imperialist powers finds expression particularly in the weakening of aggressive military blocs, chiefly NATO.

As a whole, however, under conditions of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, a certain shift of the centre of gravity of imperialism's strategy is taking place in the world arena. The policies of imperialism are being increasingly determined by the class objectives of its general struggle against world socialism, the national liberation revolutions and the working-class movement.

There is no doubt at all that imperialism will continue to look for new possibilities for prolonging its existence. We cannot ignore all this in our policy.

However, in speaking of these aspects of modern imperialism without underrating the strength and potentialities of our adversary, we consider that neither must they be overrated. The deep-rooted, truly ineradicable inner contradictions undermining capitalism, chiefly the contradiction between labour and capital, are becoming more and more acute precisely in our day. Under the onslaught of the forces of socialism and democracy its positions in the world continue to grow weaker. Today, more fully than ever before, it is exposing itself as a system of social and national inequality, oppression and violence.

Massively socialising production and centralising its management, state-monopoly capitalism is carrying to extremes the basic contradiction of the bourgeois system, the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private mode of appropriation. The unnatural character of the situation in which production complexes, some of which serve more than one country, remain the private property of a handful of millionaires and billionaires is becoming increasingly evident to the peoples. The need for replacing capitalist by socialist relations of production is becoming ever more pressing.

The further imperialism goes in its attempts to adapt itself to the situation, the deeper become its inner social and economic antagonisms. The development of capitalist economy is marked by periodic recessions. The unevenness and onesidedness of the development of individual countries is becoming more pronounced. All this cannot fail to engender serious difficulties within these countries and boost the growth of contradictions between them. This is shown by the constant budget deficits, the extremely acute outbursts of currency and financial crises, and the rising cost of living and inflation which in the 1960s have become a chronic disease in many capitalist countries. This disease is now frequently called "creeping crisis".

Imperialism's inability to deliver mankind from poverty and need, abolish unemployment and ensure the working people and small proprietors a life free of fear of the morrow is particularly striking against the background of the unparalleled potentialities being opened by the present development of science

and technology. To a steadily growing number of people it is becoming clear that capitalism neither can nor will ever admit the working people to real participation in the running of production and public affairs. It is growing more and more obvious that imperialism is leading towards an unprecedented decline of society's cultural and moral values.

The monopolies use the increased possibilities of production, science and technology for their own selfish ends—to intensify the exploitation of the people, strengthen the apparatus of violence over them and reinforce the machinery of military aggression and adventures. The social gulf between the handful of top monopolies and the huge masses of the working class and all other working people continues to grow wider. In other words, the imperialist system is a permanent and ineradicable threat to the conditions of life and the very existence of the broadest masses in the capitalist countries, where acute class conflicts break out with increasing frequency.

The trend, intrinsic to imperialism, to abolish democratic freedoms and towards the fascisation of social and political life likewise harbours a tremendous threat to the peoples. Lenin emphasised that reaction all along the line is inherent in imperialism. In the 1960s a great deal of new convincing evidence of this has come to the fore.

The influence of the so-called military-industrial complex, i.e., the alliance of the largest monopolies with the military in the state apparatus, is growing rapidly in the most developed capitalist states. This sinister alliance is increasingly pressuring the policy of many imperialist countries, making it still more reactionary and aggressive.

Where the exploiters find themselves unable to ensure the "order" required by them within the framework of bourgeois democracy, power is placed in the hands of openly terrorist regimes of the fascist type. There are many examples of this in our day. These regimes enjoy the financial and political support of the ruling circles of imperialist powers and of the top monopolies.

Today imperialism is the greatest threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of the former colonies as well. Even today, after the collapse of the foundations of imperialism's colonial system, the pillaging of the natural resources and the exploitation of the labour of the population of the weaker and less developed countries remains an inalienable feature of imperialism, although the imperialists are now compelled to act more craftily and disguise their pillage. The resistance of the peoples of the newly independent countries to the policy of neo-colonialism creates a new and important front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

One of imperialism's gravest threats to the peoples of the whole world is that of another world war.

Militarism has always been part and parcel of imperialism. But today it has acquired truly unparalleled proportions. It is the fault of imperialism that the labour of many millions of people, the brilliant achievements of the human intellect, of the talent of scientists, researchers and engineers, are used not for the benefit of mankind, for promoting progress and the remaking of life on earth, but for barbarous, reactionary purposes, for the needs of war, the greatest of calamities for the peoples. These, comrades, are not empty words but real

facts. Suffice it to say that during the past five years US military expenditures amounted to nearly 350,000 million dollars, or 20 per cent more than the total during the Second World War. Yet today the imperialist governments are drawing up new plans for building up armaments over decades to come. Implementation of these plans will be a further heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people and increase the threat of another world war.

In the 1960s alone the USA and other imperialist states have launched armed attacks on Vietnam, Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Arab countries—this list can be continued.

Combined with the stockpiling by the principal imperialist powers of weapons of mass annihilation, the policy of military gambles makes the imperialism of our day a constant menace to world peace, a threat to the lives of many millions of people, to the existence of whole nations. For that reason the struggle against imperialism is at the same time a struggle to deliver mankind from the threat of a world thermonuclear war. One of the cardinal tasks of the international communist movement is to head the struggle of the peoples for a lasting peace, and today, far from diminishing, the importance of this task constantly grows.

We hold that it would be a gross error to underrate the threat of war created by imperialism, above all US imperialism, the main force of world reaction. Millions of people must be made to understand the implications for mankind of the imperialist policy of unleashing wars, the existence of aggressive blocs, the policy aimed at revising existing state frontiers and subversive activities against the socialist countries and the progressive regimes in the young national states. Our task is to see to it that the peoples not only appreciate the enormous danger of this policy of the imperialists but also that they multiply their efforts in the struggle to frustrate those aggressive designs.

An extremely important form of the struggle against the threat of imperialism starting another world war is to organise a collective rebuff to the actions of the aggressors whenever they launch military adventures in any part of the world. The most striking example of this is the rebuff which US aggression has received in Vietnam. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the interventionists has merged with the determined and effective military and economic assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries, and with the broad popular movement of solidarity with the victims of aggression which has started in almost all countries of the world, including the USA. The result of all this is that the aggressors are failing to achieve their aims and the war started by them is turning into a demonstration of their bankruptcy.

This, comrades, vividly shows that failure awaits the aggressive actions of imperialism if the Communists of different countries act in the same direction and mobilise the popular masses for an active struggle.

Today imperialism is opposed by mighty forces, which are conducting uninterrupted offensives against it. Allow me to deal with some problems of the struggle of the main revolutionary contingents of modern times against imperialism.

Comrades, all of us base ourselves on the fact that *the world socialist system is the leading revolutionary force and the mainstay of the anti-imperialist movement. The sharper the confrontation between the new and the old world, the greater becomes*

*the importance of utilising all the potentialities of the new social system, strengthening the might of the socialist countries and broadly and all-sidedly co-ordinating their efforts.*

The 1960s will occupy a special place in the history of world socialism. It was in this decade that many fraternal countries completed the foundations of socialism and went over to the building of developed socialist society. As it matures the socialist system more and more fully reveals the advantages of its economic, social and political organisation and its inherent genuine democracy. All this is a tangible and weighty contribution to our common cause, the cause of consolidating the anti-imperialist front.

It is from this same angle that we examine a problem of paramount importance, that of strengthening the unity of the socialist states. One cannot fail to see that despite certain difficulties a healthy process of the consolidation of the socialist countries is under way, a process which finds concrete embodiment in the promotion of their all-round co-operation.

Co-operation of this kind is a key factor in the development of each socialist country. At the same time, and this must be specially underscored, it is a powerful weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle and gives redoubled strength to all the fighters for peace and socialism.

In many ways the situation on the front of the anti-imperialist struggle is now determined by the course of the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. It may be said with gratification that in this sphere the socialist countries have scored many achievements. If we take, for instance, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we shall find that during the past ten years their national income has increased 93 per cent, while in the developed capitalist states the national income rose 63 per cent in the same period. Occupying 18 per cent of the world's territory and having only 10 per cent of the world's population, the CMEA countries now account for approximately one-third of the world's industrial product. On this foundation the people's standard of living is rising and increasing possibilities are opening for further successful economic, scientific and cultural development.

Parallel with this, economic co-operation between socialist countries is deepening and improving. In this sphere, as in the economic development of separate countries, the main accent today is on the qualitative aspect, on promoting the effectiveness of social production and economic relations. This task is served by the economic reforms being carried out in the European socialist countries. The same aim is pursued by the comprehensive long-term programme of further socialist integration, whose main lines were defined at a special CMEA session held recently in Moscow.

Much has to be done to achieve these purposes. But we are on the right path and we are confident that by progressing along this path the community of fraternal countries will hasten the victory over capitalism in the economic sphere. The implementation of this task conforms not only to the interests of the socialist countries themselves but also to those of the world revolutionary struggle as a whole.

Co-operation among socialist countries in foreign policy is an important factor of the anti-imperialist struggle. As practice has shown, this co-operation

increases the influence exerted by socialism on the course of world development and enhances socialism's role in the struggle against imperialism.

Special mention must be made of the work carried out in this respect within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, that reliable instrument of the defence of socialism and peace. Over a number of years the Political Consultative Committee of that organisation has scrutinised key problems of international life, problems directly linked up with the strengthening of peace and the promotion of peaceful co-operation between peoples, with the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism. On a number of issues this joint work has helped our countries to secure considerable successes, which have strengthened the international positions of socialism and the cause of peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The struggle of socialist countries against imperialism is not only economic, ideological and political. Imperialism, which has been and remains aggressive by nature, constantly enlarges its military machine and, as the events in Vietnam have shown, is prepared to put it to use. Strength, and not a little strength at that, is needed to defend socialist gains. That is why, like other fraternal Parties, the CPSU ceaselessly concerns itself with ensuring the steady growth of the socialist states' defence might and with promoting close co-operation among them in the sphere of defence. This year important decisions have been taken to improve the control of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces. Co-ordination between the armed forces of the allied countries is being systematically perfected and their combat skill is growing. The armies of the Warsaw Treaty and other socialist countries are being equipped with the most up-to-date armaments.

In this way, comrades, by collective effort the mighty weapon of the defence of the socialist states is forged in persevering struggle against the world of imperialism. It is, at the same time, a weapon of freedom for those who are waging an armed struggle against imperialism. Our strength is the bulwark of peace for everyone combating the threat of another world war. By defending socialism and peace we defend the future of mankind.

Active relations between ruling Communist Parties are the nucleus, the cornerstone for promoting many-sided co-operation among socialist states. In recent years the contacts between the leaderships of our Parties have acquired a more operative, comradesly and business-like character. Practically all problems of any essential significance which are of common interest are discussed collectively. Naturally, this helps to work out the most effective solutions, averts possible mistakes and deepens understanding between us.

The Communist Parties of socialist countries are carrying out responsible tasks. Bearing aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communists and the peoples of the fraternal countries are multiplying their achievements in economic, scientific and cultural development, in evolving new forms of genuine rule by the people. The importance of this work, which creates the prototype of the future life of all mankind, is truly hard to overestimate.

We support and shall continue to support our friends of the socialist countries who are contending with difficult conditions—the Vietnamese comrades, who have for several years been directing the historic battle against the US aggressors; the Communists of Cuba, who are courageously building socialism in

a situation marked by unceasing subversive activities, economic blockade and political pressure by US imperialism; the Korean Party of Labour, which has to repulse unremitting provocations by the US imperialists and their Seoul puppets. We invariably support and closely co-operate with the German Democratic Republic, which directly confronts German revanchism.

Allow me wholeheartedly to wish further successes to the Communists of all fraternal socialist countries who by their efforts strengthen the common front of our struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, the achievements of world socialism are indisputable. At the same time, it is common knowledge that in the development of the world socialist system there are difficulties as well. Permit me to dwell on this question in somewhat greater detail.

Lenin emphasised that the road to socialism "will never be straight, it will be incredibly involved" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 130). The CPSU, which had to be the first to blaze the road to socialism, knows from its own experience that this is not an easy road. After all, this road involves a fundamental break with many age-old traditions affecting the interests of all classes and social groups, the creation of an absolutely new type of social relations and the bringing up of people with a new psychology, a new world outlook. It involves, especially where relations between states are concerned, the surmounting of age-old national strife and distrust.

Life itself and the practice of socialist transformations have shown that the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the socialisation of the means of production only create the objective prerequisites, the objective possibilities for resolving all these problems. The way these possibilities are realised in practice depends chiefly on the ruling Communist Parties, on their ability to resolve in a Marxist, in a Leninist way the complex problems posed by life. This ability does not come at once. It comes as a result of generalising the practical experience of the people, as a result of thought and an analysis of the traversed road and of possible prospects.

But it is not only a matter of the objective complexity of the very process of building socialism and new relations between socialist countries. Many of the difficulties which these countries encounter in the course of their development are closely linked with imperialism's constant striving to pressure the socialist world, to exert economic, political and ideological pressure on it. The attempts of the imperialists to undermine the positions of socialism from within and inject elements of discord and alienation into relations between socialist countries do not cease for a single day. Wherever vigilance is blunted, where Communists underestimate the need for a class approach to social phenomena, the intrigues of the imperialists lead to definite results—to the activation of Right-opportunist and even openly anti-socialist elements and to the intensification of nationalistic sentiments.

However, none of the difficulties arising during the building of socialism in one country or another have been able to or can cancel the general principles underlying socialist development. The practice of the socialist countries has reaffirmed the significance of the ideas of Marx and Lenin that the development of socialist society proceeds on the basis of general laws, that in one form or

another the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., state leadership of the building of socialism by the working class, is inevitable during the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The whole experience of the political struggle proves again and again that the victory of the trend towards consolidating fraternal relations between socialist states and the progress of the socialist system itself are indissolubly linked with the strengthening of the leading role of the Communist Parties in the building of socialism and communism. Our Party highly values the determined struggle which the Communists of fraternal countries wage against any attempts to weaken the leading role of the Communist Parties, replace socialist democracy with political liberalism of the bourgeois type and erode the positions of socialism. To be as firm as Lenin in defending and upholding the principles of socialism is a lesson life itself teaches us.

We fully subscribe to the provision formulated in the draft of the Main Document that the main direction in cementing the socialist system is steadfastly to implement the principles of socialist internationalism, correctly combine the national and international tasks of socialist countries and promote fraternal mutual assistance and support between them on the basis of consistent observance of the equality of all socialist countries, of their sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in their internal affairs.

World socialism absorbs all the wealth and diversity of the revolutionary traditions and experience deriving from the creative activity of the working people of different countries. In this connection we should like to say that our Party constantly studies that experience and utilises everything of value that may be applied in the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union, everything that really helps to strengthen the socialist system and embodies the general laws of socialist construction, which have been tested by international experience.

Nobody can deny that the ruling Communist Parties have accomplished and are engaged in extensive work of historic significance. Naturally, it cannot be said that ways of resolving all problems have been found and that we know all and are able to do all. Life does not stand still. In place of resolved problems others arise, which are linked with the need for a further improvement of socialist social relations. Like other Communist Parties of socialist countries, the CPSU seeks to resolve these problems creatively, in good time and consistently in line with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the concrete conditions of its own country and the international situation.

By working for a further strengthening of fraternal relations between sovereign and equal socialist states and mobilising the working people for fresh achievements in the building of socialism and communism, the Communist Parties directing the building of the new society fulfil their duty to their own peoples and their internationalist duty to the working class of the whole world.

Comrades, *one of the decisive sectors of the anti-imperialist struggle lies, naturally, in the capitalist countries themselves.* The blows which the revolutionary forces are dealing imperialism in its very citadels are highly important for the whole of world development. The 1960s have introduced many new elements on this front of struggle as well.

The sharpening of the class struggle in the capitalist world is an inexorable fact.



Suffice it to say that from 1960 to 1968 a total of over 300 million persons took part in strike struggles, as compared with 150 million over the preceding 14 years. This fact alone gives the lie to the assertions about a weakening of the working class's fighting spirit.

It is important, comrades, to emphasise yet another specific feature of this period. Not long ago there were countries in the capitalist world which the bourgeoisie regarded as havens of what they called "social peace"; there are no longer any such countries today. Everywhere the working people are fighting for their vital interests—from the United States, where there were almost 5,000 strikes last year, to Japan, where the working people's "spring offensive" that same year involved 14 million persons; from France, where almost 10 million were on strike in May and June 1968, and Italy, where 18 million took part in the general strike in February 1969, to Uruguay and Chile, where massive strikes and demonstrations by working people flare up again and again.

Of very great importance is the fact that the strikers have ever more frequently succeeded in imposing their demands on the capitalists. This lends the working people confidence in their strength, and stimulates the further development and extension of the front of struggle. The working class sees for itself that though the bourgeoisie goes on mounting counter-attacks, its strength is far from what it used to be.

Under the changing world balance of forces and the sharpening of the class struggle in the bourgeois countries, capitalism has to resort to new means and methods of struggle which in many ways appear even to clash with the conventional "classic" features of the capitalist system. In an effort to reinforce their social hinterland areas, the capitalists combine methods of suppression with partial satisfaction of the working people's demands—a method which Lenin said was one of "concessions of the unessential while retaining the essential" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 64)—sowing the illusion that the working class can achieve its aspirations through agreements with the employers, without a revolutionary transformation of society, within the framework of the capitalist system.

Quite a few people in many capitalist countries fall captive to these illusions. It is, after all, a fact, for instance, that at election time a sizable section of the workers cast their votes for capitalist candidates and their placemen. But for all the machinations of the capitalists, the social struggles in the 1960s showed signs of shifts in favour of the revolutionary forces whose importance it is hard to exaggerate.

In this situation Communists face new problems and tasks whose successful solution will largely predetermine the further development of the struggle for the working-class cause.

First of all, as many fraternal Parties have correctly noted, the communist movement must draw conclusions from the incontestable fact that in the capitalist world there is a sharp increase of massive popular pressure for social change. And it is characteristic that the class struggle is intertwining ever closer with action by working people against the imperialists' military gambles, against the resurgence of fascism, for the safeguarding and extension of democratic freedoms, and for national independence.

The antagonism between imperialism, which intensifies social oppression

and rejects democracy, and the masses, who are fighting for their vital rights and striving for freedom and democracy, is growing sharper. In some countries popular discontent is so great that sometimes as little as a spark is enough to set off a powerful social explosion. Such explosions are becoming ever more frequent, also in the United States, where the most acute social contradictions, the struggle against the war in Vietnam and the fight for Negro civil rights, are tangled in a tight knot. It is a long time since imperialism has been confronted with such violent forms of social protest and with general democratic action of the present scale and pitch. Ever more frequently broad masses of peasants, intellectuals, white-collar workers, students and urban middle strata actively join with the working class in this struggle.

In these conditions, it is inevitable that elements of surprise and spontaneity should arise in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle in the advanced capitalist countries. Experience shows that in such a situation special importance attaches to the problem of relations between the working class and its allies. This is a question both of jointly taking various concrete political actions and of planning long-term co-operation on a mutually acceptable basis.

As the draft Main Document correctly says, the requisites are emerging for uniting all democratic trends in a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role of the monopolies in the economy of countries, putting an end to big capital rule and carrying out fundamental transformations which would ensure favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism.

The working class is the leading force of the alliance. It is the only class capable of leading this alliance to victory, and of raising the struggle to a new level, securing the complete abolition of the power of capital and the triumph of socialism. No other class, no other social stratum of society is as organised and strong. The numerical strength of the working-class is enormous. Its revolutionary experience is exceptionally rich. Its ideological, cultural and spiritual level has been rising from year to year. The political and moral prestige enjoyed by it in society has grown immeasurably.

While intensifying their work in the midst of the working class, including the rather sizable section of it which is not unionised, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries devote much attention to their activity in the most diverse mass organisations to which workers belong—co-operatives, sports clubs, and democratic circles of religious bodies taking part in the struggle for peace—in short, wherever there are large numbers of working people.

Work in the midst of the peasant masses of the capitalist states continues to be of great importance. The working peasants remain the chief allies of the working class, despite the fact that their number has declined considerably in the advanced capitalist countries. The concentration of agricultural production in the hands of big entrepreneurs entails ever spreading ruin of the small and middle farmers and an aggravation of social contradictions in the countryside. In many capitalist countries the 1960s were marked by large-scale peasant strikes, with the peasants fighting for their rights more and more frequently calling for unity of action with the working class.

Many aspects of work with the intelligentsia, especially with that section of it which together with the working class is engaged in industry and is being

subjected to growing exploitation, should be seen in their new context. The professions requiring mental work are becoming more widespread. The engineering and technical intelligentsia in the capitalist countries is now being drawn not only from the bourgeoisie but also from the middle sections and in part from among the working people as well. To a considerable extent all this is changing the intelligentsia's attitude to the capitalist system and bringing its interests closer to those of the working class.

The Communist Parties must take these changes into account. Experience has shown that more extensive work with the intelligentsia makes it more active in the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is natural that the fraternal Parties now devote considerable attention to work among the young people. It is a fact that the rising generation in the capitalist countries, including the students, is in revolutionary ferment. Young people are actively coming out in opposition to imperialist wars, to the militarisation of bourgeois society, and to the attempts of the bourgeoisie to curtail the working people's democratic rights.

It is true that frequently youth actions reveal a lack of political experience and are not linked with the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. That is why these actions often lack organisation and assume politically immature forms. Extremist elements essentially hostile to communism, and sometimes direct imperialist agents try to exploit this. There is no doubt, however, that once the young fighters against imperialism have mastered the theory of scientific socialism and have acquired experience of class battles, they will do great things.

Consequently, there is every indication that the possibilities of the anti-imperialist struggle are extending. The experience of a number of fraternal Parties, which have made skilful use of these new possibilities, testifies that prospects for the activity of the Communists in capitalist countries are broad. If we take the latest developments, for example, this is borne out by one-fifth of all the votes polled in the first round of the French presidential election by Comrade Jacques Duclos, prominent French Communist Party figure and veteran of the international communist movement.

The increasing possibilities of combating imperialism accordingly increase the role of the Communist Parties and of their work among the masses. On the activity of Communists will largely depend world development in the closing third of the twentieth century. One cannot fail to see that not only the material but also the socio-political conditions are maturing for a revolutionary replacement of capitalism with the new social system, for socialist revolutions.

By closing the fighting ranks of staunch revolutionaries, carrying Marxist-Leninist ideology into the midst of the working-class masses and rallying the allies of the working class round it, Communists fulfil their historic mission in the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism.

*Comrades, the fighters for national liberation and social emancipation in the countries of Asia and Africa constitute one of the important and active contingents of the world-wide anti-imperialist front.*

The 1960s have brought considerable changes into the alignment of forces in that part of the world. In this period, 44 former colonies won independence. But more than 35 million people remain in colonial slavery. The peoples of the

last colonies are waging a heroic and, as a rule, armed struggle for their liberation. Soviet Communists fully support this just struggle.

The socialist orientation of a number of young states of Africa and Asia is an important achievement of the revolutionary forces and a heavy defeat for imperialism. These countries have scored their first successes in carrying through deep-going social and economic reforms, thereby providing fresh practical confirmation of the Leninist conclusion that in our epoch the peoples who win liberation from colonial oppression can advance along the path of social progress by-passing capitalism. One of the most important conditions which make such development possible is co-operation between the progressive young states and the socialist countries.

The states which have embarked on non-capitalist development are making a tangible contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle. It is true that these states are still few and that there are many difficulties in their development. Apart from the serious internal problems which remain, it should be borne in mind that it is above all against the progressive states of Africa and Asia that the subversive policy of imperialism on these continents is directed. But whatever the difficulties, they cannot minimise the importance of the cardinal fact that a start has been made in a fundamentally new direction for the development of the newly independent countries. And their example will carry the greater conviction the more headway the revolutionary-democratic countries make in their economic and cultural development, the fuller the advantages of non-capitalist development are revealed.

Communists regard assistance to and support of these young countries as one of the most important tasks of their foreign policy. What the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have been doing in this direction is generally known. Considerable possibilities in this respect are also open to the fraternal Parties in the developed capitalist countries.

In a number of countries of the former colonial world, as a result of inadequate organisation or of passive attitudes by the progressive forces, power was seized, after the proclamation of political independence, by reactionary elements closely linked up with imperialism. Some of these countries are ruled by military dictatorships, and a reign of terror has been instituted against all progressive forces. The imperialist states use the territories of many of these countries for their aggressive purposes, notably for military bases. The conditions of struggle for Communists and their allies in these countries are in many respects similar to the conditions of the colonial period.

However, it can probably be said that a considerable part of the states liberated from colonial dependence have not yet clearly defined their further path. An intense struggle for the future rages in these countries between the progressive forces and internal reaction supported by imperialism. The process of internal social division is deepening there. The working people are ever more actively demanding far-reaching reforms capable of providing answers to burning fundamental problems. On the other hand, the top crust of the national bourgeoisie, guided by its class interests, resists social progress and the pursuit of any consistent anti-imperialist line. An increasingly acute class struggle is unfolding on this basis.

The tasks now facing the newly independent countries are complex and diverse. It is a question of consolidating the independence they have won, securing the establishment of an independent national economy and overcoming the legacy of backwardness. All this can be achieved only through progressive social development and consistent struggle against imperialism, through an alliance with the socialist countries and the international working-class movement.

Imperialism is actively working to slow down the advance towards independence and social progress, to keep its former colonies within the framework of the capitalist system, and to retain them as objects of exploitation, even if in modified form. With their stake on nationalism and separatism, the imperialist forces are trying to weaken the developing countries from within, to range them against each other and to hamper their contacts with the socialist world.

All this is a most grave threat to the future of the young independent countries. Their peoples are gradually coming to realise that neo-colonialism is no lesser a danger than colonialism. This means that ahead lie most acute battles between the fighters for real freedom and those who would like to fetter the young national states with the chains of a new bondage. In this struggle, the formation of a sound alliance of all progressive, all anti-imperialist forces acquires crucial importance.

The central question of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa today is that of the attitude of the peasantry, which make up a majority of the population.

The peasants in that part of the world are a mighty revolutionary force, but in most cases they are an elemental force, with all the ensuing vacillations and ideological and political contradictions. Nor could it have been otherwise for the time being, because the great majority of the peasantry still lives in conditions of monstrous poverty, denial of rights and surviving feudal and sometimes even prefeudal relations.

The experience of the revolutionary movement in various parts of the world has shown that the surest way of effectively involving the peasants in the struggle against imperialism, for true social progress, is to establish a strong alliance between them and the working class. That is also the task in the zone of national liberation.

However, history has shaped the situation in such a way that in most states of Asia and Africa there is still no large-scale industry, and a working class is yet to emerge. But wherever industrial development is under way, the working-class movement has won substantial positions. The agricultural proletariat of these countries is also active in the struggle. There is no doubt that in the young national states ahead lies the broadest development of the working-class struggle against imperialism and its allies. It is the working-class movement that will ultimately play the decisive part in this area of the world too.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry will make it possible to carry the national liberation revolutions to the end, totally eliminate the legacy of colonialism, and make the movement to socialism more confident and purposeful.

A great responsibility devolves on us Communists in this sphere. Tremendous attention to the proletariat's peasant ally, and additional elaboration of some

aspects of strategy and tactics in application to the specific conditions in the former colonial countries is demanded of the communist movement.

In present-day conditions, the problem of relations between the working class and the peasantry in the former colonial countries is largely of an international nature. It is a question of consolidating the alliance of the whole international working class with the peasantry, with all the working people of the young liberated countries. This includes the strengthening of the revolutionary alliance between the national liberation movement, the young national states and the countries of the socialist community, and the promotion of the closest ties between the fighters for national liberation and the Communist Parties acting as the vanguard of the international working class.

In this context we attach great importance to contacts and ties between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary-democratic parties in the developing countries. These parties and organisations are our fellow-fighters in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress. At present, the CPSU has contacts and ties with 18 national-democratic parties, while Soviet mass organisations have connections with democratic organisations in all countries of that part of the world. We believe everything has to be done to promote closer relations between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary-democratic parties.

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Thus, comrades, a realistic assessment of the present state of affairs in the world, a comparison between the development of imperialism, on the one hand, and all the forces opposing it, on the other, warrants only one conclusion: the main lines of world development continue to be determined by the activity of the forces of revolution and socialism, of the peace forces and the national liberation movement.

Communists, of course, cannot be complacent and smug. We are well aware that ahead of us lies an intense struggle in the most diverse sectors. And the role of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class is to make sure not to lose touch with the actual conditions of this struggle, correctly define its principal stages and motive forces and rouse the masses to the battle against imperialism.

For the Communist and Workers' Parties the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for our ultimate goals, for the winning of political power by the working class in alliance with all the other contingents of the working people, for socialism. We believe that cohesion of the Communists of the world, the strengthening of the alliance of all the anti-imperialist forces, is the key to success.

## II

### SOME PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND OF UNITED ACTION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards with the utmost attention and respect the great work being carried on by our foreign comrades.

The historical experience of many countries, the experience of the class struggle has given convincing evidence of how necessary the activity of the Communist Parties is for mankind and how fruitful this activity is for social development. Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Parties show the peoples the road to the communist future. They rally the peoples to the struggle and steadfastly march in the van of the mass movements for the great goals of social progress. Communists are always in the front rank of the fighters for the vital rights of the working people, for peace. They carry high the invincible banner of the socialist revolution.

Soviet Communists, whose path to the socialist revolution was complex and difficult, are well aware of the tension, the determination and flexibility, steadfastness of spirit and readiness at any moment to sacrifice everything for the Party's cause that are constantly demanded of the revolutionary fighters confronting the class enemy. These qualities of Communists are of especial importance in our time, a time of intense and bitter class battles.

The successes which the Communist Parties have achieved are incontestable. But our Meeting is right to concentrate its attention on unresolved tasks, on the new possibilities in the anti-imperialist struggle, on the difficulties that arise in its path. Such difficulties do exist, and some of them spring from the state of affairs in our movement itself, which is going through a difficult period of its development. Unity has been seriously disrupted in some of its links. Some fraternal Parties have suffered setbacks and even defeats.

There are various reasons for these difficulties.

One of them is connected with present-day conditions. The tremendous social break-up of the pillars of the old world taking place under the onslaught of socialism and all the revolutionary forces is meeting with growing resistance from the bourgeoisie. To safeguard its positions it strives to use all the economic and political possibilities of state-monopoly capitalism. In the capitalist countries, anti-communism has been elevated to the status of state policy. To erode the communist and the whole revolutionary movement from within is now one of the most important directions of the class strategy of imperialism.

Another reason for the difficulties that have arisen is that fresh millions of people belonging to various social strata are being drawn into vigorous political action. Many of them enter politics with a great store of revolutionary energy, but with rather hazy ideas about how to solve the problems agitating them. Hence the vacillations, the swings from stormy political explosions to political passivity, from reformist illusions to anarchic impatience. All this tends to complicate the activity of the Communist Parties, multiplies their tasks and makes much greater demands on their practical work. In this situation,

Communists must display Marxist-Leninist firmness and loyalty to principle and a creative approach to the problems of social development if they are to keep control of developments, and tackle their problems in the light not only of short-term requirements but also of the long-term interests of the revolutionary movement. Otherwise, grave errors in policy are inevitable.

We cannot afford to ignore the divergences existing in the communist movement today and pretend they do not exist. These differences have been largely caused by the penetration into the communist movement of revisionist influences both of a Right and of a "Left" nature. And these influences are making themselves felt not only in the sphere of "pure" theory. Revisionism in theory paves the way to opportunist practices, which inflict direct harm on the anti-imperialist struggle. Revisionism is a departure from proletarian class positions, a substitution for Marxism-Leninism of all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts, old and modernistic.

We share the stand of the fraternal Parties which in their decisions draw attention to the need for resolutely combating this danger. The Communist Parties justly believe that the interests of their own cohesion, the interests of the whole anti-imperialist movement insistently demand an intensification of the struggle against revisionism and both Right and "Left" opportunism. A principled stand on this issue has always been a most important condition for strengthening a Party's political positions and has always mobilised and enhanced the activity of Communists in the class struggle.

Right-wing opportunism means a slide-down to liquidationist positions and to conciliation with Social Democracy in policy and ideology. In socialist countries, Right-wing opportunism goes to the length of repudiating the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, and this can lead to surrender of the positions won by socialism and to capitulation to the anti-socialist forces.

"Left-wing" opportunists, behind a barrage of ultra-revolutionary verbiage, push the masses into adventurist action, and the Party onto a sectarian path, which paralyses its ability to rally the fighters against imperialism.

For all their distinctions, deviations from Marxism-Leninism to the right or to the "left" ultimately result in similarly harmful consequences: they weaken the fighting ability of the Communist Parties and undermine the revolutionary positions of the working class and the unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

A frequent feature of both "Left" and Right-wing opportunism is concessions to nationalism, and sometimes even an outright switch to nationalistic positions. Lenin showed up this connection a long time ago. He wrote: "The ideological and political affinity, connection, and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism are beyond doubt" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 154).

Of course, the struggle against opportunism and nationalism in one country or another is, above all, a sphere within the competence of the fraternal Party concerned. No Party can advance successfully unless it consistently and resolutely upholds the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles. But it is also true that when this struggle is abandoned in some sector of our movement, it affects the movement as a whole.

The stand taken by the leadership of the Communist Party of China offers



a striking example of the harm that can be done to the common cause of the Communists by departure from Marxism-Leninism and a break with internationalism.

Frankly speaking, only recently we had no intention at all of touching on this question at the Meeting. However, the events of the recent period, particularly the nature of the decisions taken by the Ninth Congress of the CPC, have forced us to deal with it. There has arisen a new situation which is having a grave negative influence on the whole world situation and the conditions of the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces.

Peking's present political platform, as you are well aware, was not shaped either today or yesterday. Almost 10 years ago Mao Tse-tung and his supporters mounted an attack on the principles of scientific communism. In its numerous statements on questions of theory the CPC leadership has step by step revised the principled line of the communist movement. In opposition to this it has laid down a special line of its own on all the fundamental questions of our day.

At the same time, Peking started a political offensive against the communist movement. This offensive steadily gathered momentum, assuming ever sharper and more open forms. From polemics with the Communist Parties the CPC leaders went on to splitting, subversive activity, to active attempts to set the revolutionary forces of our day against each other. From cutting off their ties with the socialist countries to hostile acts against them. From criticism of peaceful coexistence to the staging of armed conflicts, to a policy undermining the cause of peace.

The Ninth Congress of the CPC marked a new stage in the evolution of the ideological and political propositions of Maoism. In the new Constitution of the CPC, Mao Tse-tung's thought has been proclaimed the Marxism-Leninism of the modern epoch. Chinese propaganda openly proclaims the task of "hoisting the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought over the globe".

It is a big and serious task to make an all-round Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class content of the events in China over the last few years, and of the roots of the present line of the CPC leaders, which is jeopardising the socialist gains of the Chinese people. The CPSU, like the other fraternal Parties, is giving it due attention. But in the light of the tasks facing the Meeting there is a need to dwell here, primarily, on the international aspects of the Chinese leadership's policy. It is doubly important to speak about this because a section of progressive world opinion still believes that the present Chinese leadership has revolutionary aspirations, believes its assertions that it is fighting imperialism.

It seems to us that the Ninth Congress of the CPC helps to understand whom the Chinese leadership is really fighting, and for what purpose. The Congress indicated the necessity of "a merciless struggle" principally against so-called "modern revisionism". Yet, as we know, under this category Peking classifies not revisionists, but the overwhelming majority of the socialist countries and Communist Parties.

You will recall that the Chinese leadership accused the Communist Parties of France, India, the United States, Italy, Latin American and other countries of refusal "to conduct revolution", of being renegades, and of other deadly

sins. "Traitors", "social-strikebreakers", "social-imperialists"—those are the labels attached to many of the Parties represented here. Everybody here knows what insults were showered on all the participants in the present Meeting by the CPC leadership in reply to the invitation to take part in it.

The Peking leaders impute "revisionism" to all Parties that do not share their views and aims. They resort to all possible means against these Parties—from slanderous charges of "collusion with imperialism" to organising subversive splinter groups. Such groups now exist in nearly 30 countries. The Peking leadership is trying to give them the nature of an organised movement.

The damage done by Peking's splitting activities should not be underestimated. Recent class battles clearly show what great harm Peking's activity, which prods people on to an adventurist path, is doing to the organised struggle of the working class, of all working people.

The present Peking leadership's fight against the Marxist-Leninist Parties for hegemony in the communist movement is linked closely with its great-power aspirations, with its claims to territory of other countries. The idea that China has a messianic role to play is drummed into the heads of the Chinese workers and peasants. A wholesale indoctrination in the spirit of chauvinism and malicious anti-Sovietism is under way. Children are taught geography by textbooks and maps that show territories of other countries as belonging to the Chinese state. The Chinese people are being oriented to "starve and prepare for war". Nor is any doubt left about what sort of war is meant. Only two days ago the Peking *Kuangmin Jihpao* issued the call "to prepare both for a conventional and a big nuclear war against Soviet revisionism". Of course, noisy statements are a far cry from actual possibilities. The Soviet Union has enough strength to stand up for itself, and the Soviet people have strong nerves—they will not be frightened by shrieks. But the trend of official Chinese propaganda speaks for itself.

In the light of all this, the policy of militarising China takes on a specific meaning. We cannot help comparing the feverish military preparations with the fanning of chauvinistic feelings hostile to the socialist countries, with the Chinese leaders' general approach to the problems of war and peace in the modern epoch.

Possibly, many of the comrades here remember Mao Tse-tung's speech in this hall during the 1957 Meeting. With appalling airiness and cynicism he spoke of the possible destruction of half of mankind in the event of an atomic war. The facts show that Maoism calls not for struggle against war but, on the contrary, for war, which it regards as a positive historical phenomenon.

The combination of the Chinese leaders' political adventurism with the sustained atmosphere of war hysteria injects new elements into the international situation which we have no right to ignore.

Peking's practical activity on the international scene convinces us increasingly that China's foreign policy has, in effect, departed from proletarian internationalism and shed all socialist class content. That is the only possible explanation for the persistent efforts to identify the Soviet Union with US imperialism. What is more, these days the spearhead of Peking's foreign policy is aimed chiefly against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For a start, the

Chinese leaders reduced to a minimum China's economic contacts with most of the socialist states and rejected political co-operation with them, ending up with armed provocations on the Soviet frontier. More, provocative calls resound from Peking, exhorting the Soviet people to "accomplish a revolution", to change the social system in our country.

The facts show that the Chinese leadership only speaks of struggle against imperialism while in fact helping the latter, directly or indirectly, in deeds. It helps the imperialists by seeking to split the united front of the socialist states. It helps them by its incitement and its obstructions to relaxation of international tension at times of acute international crisis. It helps them by striving to hamper the emergence of a broad anti-imperialist front, by seeking to split the international mass organisations of youth, women and scientists, the peace movement, the trade union movement, and so on.

Naturally, the imperialists make the most of the present orientation of Peking's foreign policy as a trump in their struggle against world socialism and the liberation movement.

To sum up: attack on the Soviet Union all along the line; specious propaganda; slander of the Soviet people, our socialist state, our Communist Party; fanning hatred against the USSR among the people of China and now also resort to arms; intimidation and blackmail in relation to other socialist states and the developing countries; flirting with the big capitalist powers, including the Federal Republic of Germany—such are the guidelines of China's present foreign policy!

As you know, comrades, in March the Soviet Government, striving to end the clashes organised by the Chinese side on the Soviet-Chinese border, called on the Government of China to refrain from border actions that might create complications, and resolve differences, whenever these occur, by negotiation in a tranquil atmosphere. We proposed that the Soviet-Chinese consultations on border issues, which were begun in 1964, should be resumed in the immediate future. At the same time, we warned that any attempt to talk in the language of guns to the Soviet Union would be firmly repulsed.

Recently, the Chinese Government made a reply statement. If one may judge from words, the Chinese side does not reject the idea of negotiations. There are also expressions of consent to avoid conflicts on the border and not to open fire. At present, we are preparing a reply to this Chinese statement. This reply, like the Soviet Government's statement of March 29, will naturally be in complete accord with our principled stand: to settle differences through negotiation and promote equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation.

It should be pointed out, however, that the statement of the CPR Government can in no way be described as constructive either in content or spirit. The wordy document is full of historical falsifications, distortions of the facts of modern times and of rude, hostile attacks against the Soviet Union. It renews groundless territorial claims on the Soviet Union, which we categorically reject.

The future will show whether the Chinese leaders are really eager to negotiate, whether they desire agreement, and what course events will take. However, we cannot afford to overlook the fact that the provocations by Chinese military

personnel on the Soviet border have not stopped. At the same time, an unprecedentedly broad and intensive anti-Soviet campaign is being conducted all over China on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the CPC. The idea is being forcibly drummed into the heads of the Chinese people that the Soviet Union wants to attack China.

It is needless to refute these fabrications. Not only Communists, but all decent people on earth know perfectly well that our people are preoccupied with peaceful creative labour, building communist society, and that they have never attacked nor intend to attack anyone.

Our policy with regard to China is consistent and based on principle. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government chart their policy on the long-term perspective. We are conscious of the fact that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples coincide. We have always persevered and will continue to persevere in our efforts to keep alive the friendly feelings which exist among the Soviet people for the fraternal Chinese people, and we are certain that the Chinese people, too, have the same feelings towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

At the same time we do not consider it possible to remain silent about the anti-Leninist, anti-popular essence of the political and ideological principles of the present leaders of China. We shall carry on a resolute struggle against Peking's splitting policy and against its great-power foreign-policy line. It stands to reason that we will do everything to safeguard the interests of the Soviet people, who are building communism, against all encroachments.

We do not identify the declarations and actions of the present Chinese leadership with the aspirations, wishes and true interests of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. We are deeply convinced that China's genuine national renaissance, and its socialist development, will be best served not by struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the whole communist movement, but by alliance and fraternal co-operation with them.

Comrades, the situation created by the policy of the Chinese leadership introduces a new element into the problem of anti-imperialist unity. We Communists must take a responsible and clear stand. The policy of subverting the communist ranks, of dividing the anti-imperialist forces, can and must be opposed by our firm will for unity, by our deeds and joint actions promoting unity.

In their fight for unity the Communists have a tested weapon. One that has brought victory in glorious battles for the cause of the working class, for socialism. That weapon is proletarian internationalism.

The imperialists are well aware of the power of international proletarian solidarity. That is why they bank on nationalism in fighting the socialist forces, the revolutionary movement. They expect thereby to divide and split up the communist movement, to set the revolutionary contingents one against the other.

Bourgeois propaganda goes out of its way to malign the principle of proletarian internationalism and to oppose it artificially to the principles of the independence, sovereignty and equality of the national contingents of the

working-class and communist movement. That is the purpose for which imperialist propagandists have fabricated and put into circulation the notorious theory of "limited sovereignty".

As for us Soviet Communists, we hold that the present world situation again forcefully bears out the validity and viability of Lenin's concept of proletarian internationalism.

In our time, a time of a global confrontation of two worlds—those of capitalism and socialism—Lenin's fundamental propositions regarding an internationalist, class approach to national problems also remain in full force.

As valid as ever, for example, is Lenin's definition that to be an internationalist is to do "the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*" (Vol. 28, p. 292).

The proletarian Party derives its strength from its ability to use to the full the internal opportunities for struggle in the interest of its people, for its country's progress, and at the same time, in the interest of the common internationalist cause of revolution and socialism. On the other hand, attempts to "strengthen" the Party's positions by weakening, or even breaking off, its internationalist ties, by rejecting united action with other contingents of the communist movement, lead to loss of ideological independence from the bourgeoisie and inevitably injure the political prestige of the Party concerned.

It goes without saying, comrades, that all this does not refute or belittle the principles of the independence, sovereignty and equality of either the socialist countries or of individual national contingents of the world working-class and communist movement. Respect for, and strict observance of, these principles is for Communists a law precisely because they are internationalists.

Genuine internationalism also implies support of the existing socialist society by all fraternal Parties. We highly appreciate the stand of our friends who are irreconcilable to any and all slander of socialism. For Communists that is not only a natural expression of their internationalist sentiments, but also an approach to internationalism as a realistic policy serving the common cause of revolution. For example, all of us agree that new opportunities have arisen in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism resulting from the radical changes in the international arena in favour of socialism, to the detriment of imperialism. But this also means that any weakening of socialist positions in the world is bound to reflect negatively on the positions of all Communist Parties.

For our Meeting, strengthening the unity of the communist movement is an important task. There are adequate objective preconditions for this. But we cannot confine ourselves to merely declaring once again that the interests of the various national contingents of our movement coincide. Unity means action, not words. It is not automatically attainable, and must be fought for.

When still preparing for this Meeting, all of us agreed that in order to strengthen the unity of the communist movement we must search for ways to overcome the existing divergences. These are of different kinds. And, naturally, different ways must be used to overcome them. In some cases doubts and questions may be removed through bilateral meetings and comradely

discussion. In other cases they may be ironed out in the practical experience of the joint struggle for common aims in the international arena. But there are also differences that concern fundamental problems and the very essence of the communist movement. And it will probably take a long time and uncompromising struggle to overcome them.

In reference to our line in surmounting differences, we should like to dwell on three points.

The first is the significance of joint action against imperialism for solidifying the communist movement. In the present conditions, with Communists bearing a direct responsibility for the destiny of their peoples, for the future of mankind, we cannot afford to put the matter thus: let's first resolve all the differences in our movement, and then come to terms about joint action. The realities require a different approach: differences over specific issues must not interfere with joint communist actions in our common struggle against imperialism; let us jointly tackle the practical tasks related to united action and then, in the course of our joint struggle, we shall see more clearly which views are in accord with the common interests of the communist movement and which go against these interests and interfere with, even injure, the common cause. In other words, that which brings the Communists of all countries together should be put at the top of the list in our practical activity.

Secondly, we should like to emphasise the need for expanding in every way the ties and contacts among fraternal Parties. They are essential both as a mechanism for agreeing our actions on the international scene and as a means of comparing views on current problems and of settling differences. In the present conditions, bilateral and multilateral meetings are doubly useful. The experience of the Vienna Conference of European Communist Parties, that of the Karlovy Vary Conference, the conferences of the fraternal Latin American Parties and meetings held by Communists of the Arab countries bear out the importance of regional meetings to discuss a specific range of questions and promote international communist co-operation. The practice of co-operation in the new conditions has also brought into being such a collective form as world conferences.

Last but not least, the third important way of overcoming differences and fighting for the unity of our movement is to generalise the theoretical work of the Parties, to advance Marxist-Leninist theory on that basis and to safeguard its principles and fundamental ideas. Lenin stressed the need for *theoretically* assessing the new forms of struggle prompted by practice (Vol. 9, p. 212). The practice of recent years has convincingly demonstrated the benefits for the whole communist movement of creatively elaborating such problems as the convergence in our epoch of the democratic and socialist tasks of the revolutionary struggle, of correctly combining peaceful and non-peaceful forms of revolution, and of the possibility of non-capitalist development for the former colonial countries.

The creative approach to theory imparts strength and confidence to the builders of socialism and communism, to all Communists, wherever they may be.

As we see it, it would be useful to improve the methods of joint theoretical

work by the Communist Parties, to devise concrete measures for improving mutual information, for studying each other's experience and organising systematic exchanges of opinion. We are in favour of regular international theoretical conferences.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and joint struggle for common aims—that is what cements our movement, securing a high degree of unity. Our calls for a united anti-imperialist front will be a waste of breath unless we ourselves each day display our indomitable will to cement the communist ranks. That is why we consider Section Four of the draft Main Document of our Meeting, the section specifically devoted to these problems, of fundamental importance.

Building up a world-wide anti-imperialist front, the task of tasks in our time, cannot be successful without struggle for the unity of the world communist movement.

Comrades, there is still another question, and one of extreme importance, that has a most direct bearing on the agenda of our Meeting. I think that all the comrades here will agree that the battle against imperialism cannot be won and the unity of our movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces cannot be strengthened without the most active offensive against bourgeois ideology.

Imperialism cannot expect to succeed if it openly speaks of its true aims. It is compelled to create a system of ideological myths to disguise its true intentions and lull the vigilance of the peoples. For this purpose it has built up a mammoth propaganda machine equipped with all modern means of ideological indoctrination. Indeed, comrades, every hour, by day and by night, the working people of almost the entire world are to one or another extent subjected to the influence of bourgeois propaganda, of bourgeois ideology. The hired ideologists of the imperialists have created a special pseudo-culture designed to befuddle the masses, to blunt their social consciousness. And combating its corrupting influence on the working people is an important area of communist work.

Comrades, we have a powerful weapon against bourgeois ideology. That weapon is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We know how powerful it is. We are witness to the fact that our ideas are spreading more and more among the masses. Marxism-Leninism is on the offensive today, and we must develop that offensive to the utmost. It is more important than ever to recall Lenin's warning that any relaxation by Communists in ideological work, any standing aloof from it, redoubles the influence of bourgeois ideology.

It is important that Communists in all countries should fight the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology on the working people. In this connection we should like to stress in particular the advantages of coordinated efforts by fraternal Parties, of mutual support in concrete actions designed to expose the ideological fabrications of the enemies of communism.

Communists must be in the van of the fight against imperialism in all sectors, including the ideological sector. We are convinced that by concerted efforts imperialism can be decisively defeated in all areas and a world-wide victory achieved for the cause of the working class and all other working people.

Comrades, the draft Document of our Meeting contains the following call:  
*"Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist*

*countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!"* In our view, it aptly expresses the requirement of our times.

At our Meeting we shall collectively define the main lines and concrete tasks in the struggle against imperialism in present-day conditions. By advancing them on behalf of our Parties, which in some countries are followed by entire nations and by the biggest trade unions and other democratic organisations, we shall take a very important step towards uniting all anti-imperialist forces. A democratic discussion of these lines and tasks with other participants in the anti-imperialist movement will enable us to work out concrete programmes of struggle at national and international levels.

We are deeply convinced that all this will help merge in a single stream a wide range of social movements, political trends and organisations, and give the struggle a maximum of purpose. In the course of joint actions the anti-imperialist front will move more and more from the realm of slogans and conferences into the area of daily political practice.

In this connection we should like to go back to the question of unity of the working-class movement and, in particular, to the problem of the relationship between Communists and Social Democrats.

It cannot be said that the consistent communist policy of promoting the unity of the working-class movement has been fruitless. The differentiation in the Social-Democratic movement is now more pronounced, and a certain section of it, including a few leading personalities, is departing from anti-communist positions. The ties between trade unions of different orientation in separate countries and on an international scale have been activated. Instances when agreement and united action have been achieved by trade union centres of different orientation are now more numerous. Recent events in many capitalist countries have shown how deeply the masses desire unity in their practical struggle against the monopolies and their governments. However, this sound trend is running into stubborn resistance from many Social-Democratic leaders.

The leadership of a considerable number of Social-Democratic parties, especially those prominent in the Socialist International, still consider fighting communism, fighting the socialist countries, their main task. We are aware that for some of them anti-communism is a way of disguising the failure of their own reformist policy, and for others a total renunciation of socialist aims and surrender to state-monopoly capitalism.

Social-Democratic leaders have often held, and now hold, government office in some countries, but it is farthest from their minds to work for the transfer of power into the hands of the working class, and the socialist cause makes no progress there at all. It is not surprising that Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders try to discredit the real socialism built, or being built, by the peoples of a large group of countries under the leadership of Communists.

Anti-communism makes Right-wing Social Democracy a captive of the imperialist bourgeoisie also in matters of international policy. In the past 20 years, Social-Democratic leaders in a number of countries laid the main accent in



foreign affairs on strengthening "Atlantic solidarity", that is, strengthening the politico-military alliance of the West-European countries with the United States in the context of the North Atlantic Treaty.

That is why we avail ourselves of this forum to again remind the Social-Democratic leaders at this grave hour for the world that they and their anti-Communism are responsible for the fact that the possibilities of the present-day working class in the fight against imperialism are not fully used!

Our stand in relation to Social Democracy could not be clearer. We are combating and shall continue to combat our ideological and political opponents in its ranks from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, we agree to co-operation, to joint action, with those genuinely prepared to fight imperialism, for peace, for the interests of the working people. There are vital issues in regard to which the need for unity of action by working-class Parties, including those responsible for the policy of their countries, is now particularly timely. Above all, this concerns questions related to averting a world war, building up a system of European security and combating the threat of fascism.

Such are some of the considerations of the CPSU delegation concerning the problems of consolidating the communist movement and building up a broad anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

### III

#### THE CPSU IS TRUE TO ITS INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

Comrades, for more than half a century the Soviet Union has been opposing imperialism on all sectors—political, economic, ideological and military.

Immediately after the Civil War ended Lenin stressed: "We are exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437). Our Party holds that this proposition preserves its significance to this day. The defence capability of the Soviet Union and, to no small extent, of the entire socialist community, and the possibility of countering the imperialist policy of aggression and war depend on our economic achievements. Our possibilities of supporting the revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world likewise depend on these achievements. The force of the example of the new social system, which is becoming the best agitator for socialism both among the working people in the capitalist countries and the peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism, also depends on them.

Reviewing the traversed path, we Soviet Communists can say that economic development is a complex front of struggle demanding a great and, moreover, sustained effort. For our country it was a particularly hard path owing to the economic backwardness inherited from the past and the enormous destruction caused by imperialist-imposed wars. All of you know how we surmounted these difficulties, what we achieved in economic development in the Soviet years and

what the impact of this was on the international situation and the world revolutionary movement.

Today I should like to cite only a few figures characterising the results of our work in the 1960s. During these eight years industrial output in the USSR has more than doubled. Agricultural production increased by almost one-third. The real incomes of the working people rose 43 per cent.

In the economic sphere the distance separating us from the United States, the most powerful and richest country in the capitalist world, has also shortened appreciably. In 1960, our industrial output was 55 per cent of the American, while in 1968 it reached about 70 per cent.

These figures naturally do not give a full picture of the work which the Soviet people have accomplished. A few words must be said not only about the quantitative but also the qualitative aspect.

In recent years, especially since the beginning of the current five-year plan which was drawn up in accordance with the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, this aspect has become, we might say, the object of special concern by our Party. While being fully aware of the importance of preserving high rates of general economic growth, we embarked on a course of building up the most advanced national economy in the world both for economic efficiency and for its scientific and technological level. The past years have been quite fruitful in this respect, too.

The pattern of industry is being seriously changed through the accelerated development of sectors which determine technological progress—chemical, radio-electronics, instrument-making, precision and heavy engineering and other industries.

Prerequisites for major advances in agriculture, where we had quite a few difficulties, have also been created in recent years. Never before has the state allocated such large capital investments for the comprehensive mechanisation, electrification and chemicalisation of agriculture, and for land improvement.

A reorganisation of the management of our economy has been undertaken in recent years on the initiative of the Party; we have launched in earnest on the improvement of planning and management methods. This extensive work has not been completed yet, but we can already see how favourably it has affected the national economy.

I should like to stress, comrades, that our country's unquestioned achievements in recent years have not made us lose sight of the shortcomings which exist in our work and of the serious problems confronting us.

Such problems are constantly raised by life. This is not surprising if we bear in mind the scale of the Soviet economy, its rapid growth rates and the diversity of the requirements and needs of such a large country as ours. Moreover, the very dialectics of development is such that the higher the level a society attains, the more complex and the bigger the tasks it sets itself.

And we are now, in the current period, making a searching study of these tasks. A new five-year plan is being drawn up which is to become another major step in the building of communism, in implementing the CPSU Programme. Naturally, in that plan we seek to incorporate the main trends of the country's economic development, the principal long-term tasks.

The task of accelerating scientific and technological progress must be first of all singled out among them.

The draft Main Document of the Meeting stresses that broad development of the scientific and technological revolution has become one of the principal sectors of the historic competition between capitalism and socialism. Our Party fully subscribes to such an understanding of the problem.

Utilising the advantages of the socialist system, the Soviet Union has made great headway in the development of modern science and technology. We were the first to place nuclear energy at the service of peace and the first to reach into outer space; we have registered many other notable accomplishments which have advanced the Soviet Union to the forefront of scientific and technological progress.

But, speaking of these successes, we do not want to underrate the forces of those with whom we have to compete in the scientific and technological sphere. Here the struggle will be a long and difficult one. And we are fully resolved to wage it in earnest so as to demonstrate the superiority of socialism in this sphere as well. This meets not only the interests of communist construction in our country but also those of world socialism and the entire revolutionary and liberation movement.

To achieve, as we should like, a further considerable advance in science and technology is a very difficult task involving great effort and large capital investments. It demands the training of vast personnel—even though already today our country has one-fourth of all the scientists in the world. Furthermore, it is necessary to raise the educational level and the professional skills of millions upon millions of people who will have to operate the new technology. An imperative demand of our time is to integrate science and production. We have to set up many new scientific centres and educational establishments, further and very substantially extend the scope of research, create and widely introduce control systems based on the latest scientific achievements and the employment of electronic computers. All these tasks, apparently, will be given a prominent place in our new five-year plan.

The paramount task of socialist society—that of raising the standard of living of the working people—always remains in the foreground of our Party's activities. In this sphere our country has likewise attained tangible results. Representatives of fraternal Parties, who have been to the Soviet Union more than once, can judge of this not only from dry statistics but also from personal impressions.

If account is taken of what we started from and what difficulties we had to surmount, the achieved living standard of the working people should be assessed as a great victory. But our people's requirements are growing steadily, making ever higher demands on our industry and agriculture. I shall cite only one example. Every day about 8,000 families move into new flats or their housing conditions are improved—every day, comrades—but the housing problem remains quite acute. What is the reason? The point is that according to present-day standards it is usually a question not simply of living quarters but of a separate flat for each family with all amenities, moreover, while preserving the lowest rent in the world.

Another task which we regard as important is to bring the working people of the countryside nearer to urban dwellers in terms of well-being, cultural and other services, way of life and all amenities. For our country, where many million people live in villages, this task is as difficult as it is important.

We expect that the new five-year plan will be an important step towards solving these problems.

All of us would like these problems to be solved more swiftly. But the international situation prevents us from using all of the country's resources for economic development, improving the working people's living standard and promoting culture. Large resources have to be appropriated for defence. And I can assure you that we maintain it at the highest level. Our Armed Forces reliably protect the borders of our homeland, and together with the allied armies stand guard over the gains of the fraternal socialist countries, over the peace and security of the nations.

We set ourselves big tasks in the social and political sphere.

In the forefront here is further development of socialist democracy and consolidation of the Soviet state. The experience of our country and other socialist countries has taught us to consider these tasks in their intrinsic unity. Without a well-coordinated state machine, functioning smoothly in all its units, it is impossible to run the intricate and sensitive organism of a modern economy and other aspects of social life, to say nothing of the country's defence.

A socialist state draws its strength from its inseparable bond with the people and the participation of the broadest masses in the administration of the country and of public affairs. This is exactly what socialist democracy is called upon to ensure. Its improvement and extension constitute the main trend in the political development of Soviet society on the road to communism.

It is naturally a matter of developing socialist democracy, with a clear-cut class content designed to serve the cause of socialism. " 'Pure democracy'," Lenin stressed, "is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 242). This conclusion is fully corroborated by life, by the experience of history.

The development of socialist democracy implies extensive day-to-day practical work in many directions. It includes stimulating and improving the work of all organisations which unite the masses, primarily, of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, trade unions and the Komsomol. It also presupposes improving the fundamental legislative principles of our democracy. Further, we attach great significance to developing democratic principles directly where the main mass of the population is concentrated—at factories, offices and collective farms. A case in point is the Collective Farm Rules, the draft of which has been submitted for a nation-wide discussion.

The improvement of socialist democracy is closely linked with enhancing the political consciousness of the masses, keeping them informed of the policy of the Party and the Government, and making them deeply interested in these affairs and feel that they are the true masters of the country. In this sphere we are

resolutely combating the influence of bourgeois ideology and propaganda and the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people.

We regard as an important task the further strengthening of the union of all nations and nationalities of our multinational country. All of you, comrades, know that in this sphere of socialist transformations, too, we have accomplished notable results which have been of fundamental significance to the revolutionary movement and in awakening the oppressed nations. The present stage of the building of communism demands that the attained successes should be not only consolidated but also developed. It is a matter of drawing still closer together all the nations and nationalities, further improving the work of educating the Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and of intolerance for the ideology of nationalism and racialism.

The scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction enhance the role of the politically conscious, organising vanguard in the life of society. This vanguard is the Communist Party, which founds all its activity on Marxism-Leninism, is intimately linked with the people and imparts an organised and planned nature to all the work of building communism.

Exercising its leading role, the Party does everything to enable the working people actively to influence the shaping and implementing of state policy and give them every opportunity to display initiative, a pioneering spirit. The Party resolutely fights bureaucratic tendencies against which the administrative apparatus is not fully guaranteed under socialism either.

Enhancement of the Party's leading role increases its responsibility for everything done in the country, for the present and the future of the Soviet state. And this means that the Party itself must develop, raise the combat ability of its ranks and reinforce its ideological and organisational unity.

In the little more than eight years which have passed since the last Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the membership of the CPSU has increased by more than 4,500,000. It now has in its ranks almost 14 million members. More than half of the Party members are workers and peasants. We attach great significance to workers holding a leading place in the Party. This corresponds to the class nature of our Party, to the role and place of the working class in the life of our society. A big part in the life of the Party is played by the collective-farm peasantry. The Party unites millions of trained specialists, scientists, workers in culture and other intellectuals who are contributing greatly to social, scientific, technological and cultural progress.

The growth of our Party's ranks attests to the high prestige it enjoys among all sections of the people in our country. The Communist Party and its home and foreign policy have the whole-hearted, unanimous support of the entire Soviet people.

We associate the improvement of the Party's work with the consistent development of democracy within the Party, with the undeviating application of the principle of democratic centralism. All of you know how much has been and is being done along these lines in recent years, and what place these questions held in the decisions of the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd congresses of the CPSU.

Comrades, the way things shape out in our country, the successes in communist construction, largely determine the scale and depth of the influence

exerted by the Soviet Union's foreign policy on the international situation. The main aims and trends of this policy were clearly defined in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

In foreign affairs the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concentrates on making the socialist world stronger today than yesterday, and stronger tomorrow than today. This is concretely embodied in the efforts made by our state, jointly with other socialist countries, to further co-operation in the political, defence and economic spheres.

The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, holds active positions in the wide and seething front of the national liberation movement, and renders firm political support and moral and material help to the peoples fighting for liberation.

The Soviet Union will continue to give effective military and economic assistance and moral and political support to the Vietnamese people in order to repulse imperialist aggression. In our view, the programme for a political settlement of the Vietnam question set out in the "10 Points" of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is perfectly justified and fair, and we declare our support of it.

Young Asian and African states invariably find support in the Soviet Union. Our country co-operates with many of them in the economic, scientific, technological and cultural spheres and in the training of national personnel.

The Soviet Union has rendered and will continue to render all-round assistance to the Arab states subjected to aggression. We firmly demand full implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which opens the way for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The imperialists are seeking to sow discord among states which have won national independence. Soviet foreign policy opposes imperialist intrigues and facilitates a peaceful settlement of the differences between these states. A case in point is the Tashkent meeting of the leaders of India and Pakistan, when even belligerent countries were able to reach agreement on ending hostilities.

We are extending our ties with the states of Latin America, where resistance to imperialist dictation and to foreign monopoly oppression is stiffening.

The relations of the Soviet Union with countries of the capitalist world are based on the principle of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social system, a principle substantiated by Lenin. This principle implies that outstanding issues between countries must be settled not by force, not by war, but in a peaceful way. This principle has won wide international recognition.

Peaceful coexistence does not extend to the struggle of ideologies—this must be stressed most categorically. At the same time, it does not boil down merely to an absence of war between socialist and capitalist states. Observance of the peaceful coexistence principle opens up broader possibilities for expanding relations between them. This includes settlement, at the negotiating table, of international problems, co-ordination of measures for reducing the war danger and easing international tensions, and also mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural ties.

Recent experience, specifically the development of relations between the Soviet Union and France, Finland, Italy, Japan and a number of other countries, shows that such possibilities lie in the very nature of the policy of peaceful coexistence. We make no exception in this respect for any capitalist state, including the USA. For us peaceful coexistence is not a temporary tactical method, but an important principle underlying the consistently peace-loving foreign policy of socialism. Such a policy creates the most favourable conditions for building the new society in socialist countries, and for spreading the revolutionary and liberation movement.

We are well aware that the extreme aggressive circles often influence the shaping of the foreign policy of the big capitalist states. To curb the activity of these circles it is necessary to be firm, to expose their intrigues and provocations and be constantly ready to administer a determined rebuff to aggressive encroachments. This is the foreign policy that the CPSU and the Soviet Union pursue.

In the capitalist camp we distinguish a more moderate wing as well. Its representatives, while remaining our class, ideological adversaries, assess the present balance of power more soberly and are inclined to search for mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding international issues. In its foreign policy, our state takes into account such tendencies.

Barring the road to the threat of war and without relaxing our vigilant watch of the intrigues of the aggressive and revanchist circles, we shall continue to do everything in our power to stamp out the hotbeds of war on our planet.

The burning problems of the current international situation do not conceal from our view longer-term tasks, namely, the creation of a system of collective security in areas of concentrated danger of another world war, of armed conflicts. Such a system is the best replacement for the existing military-political groups.

At their conference in Karlovy Vary the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, both those in power and Parties in the capitalist countries of the continent, drew up a common programme of measures aimed at safeguarding security in Europe. Member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty have advanced a concrete programme of achieving the security of the European peoples, stability of frontiers and peaceful co-operation of European states. The CPSU and the Soviet Union will do everything to implement this programme.

We are of the opinion that the course of events is also putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia.

The draft Document we are discussing emphasises the urgency of putting into force the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the need for prohibiting these weapons and using nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes. Increasing the effectiveness of the ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons is also our common aim. The Meeting's participants know very well how much perseverance and initiative Soviet foreign policy is displaying in all these directions.

Today, as before, the Soviet Union is prepared to reach understanding on general and complete disarmament, on measures for limiting and restraining the arms race, above all the race for nuclear and missile weapons. To force

a curtailment of the arms race on the imperialists means to shake the positions of the instigators of another war, to switch colossal resources to constructive purposes, and to strengthen world peace.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will continue to increase their contribution towards accomplishing the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, and steadfastly uphold the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

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Comrades, our movement has a great and illustrious history. The great thinkers and revolutionaries Karl Marx and Frederick Engels stood at its cradle. Their fervent call "Workers of all countries, unite!" resounded throughout the world. It epitomised the idea of unity and fraternity of all working people, of community of their interests, and became the battle standard of our movement.

Last year all of us observed the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism. We did not merely pay a tribute of deserved respect to the man whose ideas and deeds are immortal, but also reviewed our forces, analysed the results and charted the prospects of our activity.

We are now on the eve of another memorable anniversary—the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Lenin's inestimable service consists in that he furnished answers to the most acute questions raised by life and indicated the most efficacious forms of struggle against imperialism, against social and national oppression, for the victory of the socialist revolution and the triumph of communism.

To apply a consistent class line, firmly adhere to principles, be flexible in tactics, consider the concrete conditions from every angle, to undertake bold and at the same time well-conceived actions, to be able to utilise all the diverse means of fighting imperialism—this is what Lenin taught us, and what we learn from Lenin.

His contribution to revolutionary theory was a major stage in the development of Marxist thought. Leninism is the Marxism of our epoch. The centenary of Lenin's birth is a great date for all the Communists of the world. The CPSU feels that the forthcoming Lenin anniversary must be utilised for further stimulating ideological work in the communist movement.

We, comrades, have every reason for looking with confidence to the future. The communist movement, loyal to the immortal teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, now possesses tremendous possibilities for winning, in alliance with all the anti-imperialist forces, fresh victories in the historic struggle for the social and national liberation of the peoples, for peace, for the radiant communist morrow of all mankind. (*Prolonged applause.*)



## MAX REIMANN

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Germany

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, I convey cordial greetings to the representatives of fraternal Parties present here and thank the Central Committee of the CPSU for its hospitality.

Our delegation takes part in this Meeting with the purpose of contributing to the effort of cementing the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We are pleased that a Document has been produced by a truly collective effort as a tangible basis for our Meeting.

Our delegation is basically in agreement with the proposed Document. We welcome the fact that the action programme is preceded by an analysis providing a realistic picture of the class alignment on a world scale. As we see it, this conforms with Lenin's postulate that every correct formulation of political guidelines must rest on a thorough analysis of the concrete situation.

And indeed there is no other way but by means of analysis to pinpoint the new phenomena in imperialism and the developments in the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism.

It being our duty to take the offensive in the fight against imperialism, we need a realistic analysis of socialist and progressive positions, and of the reactionary positions. There is no other way to find the means to advance our movement to the maximum.

The Document submitted for discussion indicates, among other things, that imperialism, the general crisis of which has grown deeper, still rides roughshod over many nations and is a source of constant danger to peace and social progress.

It is pointed out, at the same time, that powerful revolutionary processes are unfolding throughout the world.

Allow me to add a few points on this score in the light of the experience of the CPG in the Federal Republic. To begin with, I should like to emphasise that German imperialism is not the same as the West German population. Quite the contrary. The German imperialists are the worst enemy of the people of our country. By taking their stand against the German imperialists here

in Moscow, the German Communists stand up for the national interests of the people in the Federal Republic.

West German imperialism has again become one of the strongest pillars of the world imperialist system. Its aggressive character stems from its economic potential and the peculiar features of its historical development.

Of late, and especially since the 1967 crisis, concentration of production and capital has been increasing by leaps and bounds. The partial fusion of Siemens and AEG, for example, is a step forward in the erection of a super-concern with an annual turnover of some DM 14,000 million and employment for some 400,000 in the electrical engineering industry. This super-concern, important for the arms industry, will control some 50 per cent of the output of the electrical engineering industry.

Fusion of the aircraft and space vehicle industry is continuing under the direct guidance of Bonn. The pressure of the arms monopolies and the massive intervention of the War Ministry impelled the emergence of West Germany's biggest aircraft and rocket concern—Messerschmitt-Bölkow GmbH, employing 12,300, with an annual turnover of DM 525 million.

The Flick, Röchling, Siemens and AEG-Telefunken arms concerns have concluded a working agreement for the development of an anti-aircraft tank.

In the motor industry, too, the process of concentration is proceeding apace. In addition to the Flick-controlled Daimler-Benz AG, a mammoth concern fully controlled by West German capital is coming into being with the merging of NSU-Motor AG, Auto-Union and Volkswagen AG.

Those are just a few examples of how the industry, above all the arms industry, is building up its potential through concentration.

A high degree of concentration is also in evidence in other developed capitalist countries. The especially dangerous aspect of it in the Federal Republic is that concentration there is linked with the general aggressive policy of the ruling circles. The imperialist groups are casting about for new forms to fit the high degree of socialisation in production, while leaving intact private monopoly ownership of the means of production. Interlacement of monopoly power with the power of the state has now become an objective necessity for the survival of imperialism. It centres on integrating all the forces of the capitalist system and state-monopoly domination of all areas of social life.

In following this course, West German imperialism exploits the contradictions in the imperialist camp to improve its own positions. The monopoly tycoons and the military, the big banks and their government, are making the most of the monetary crisis to pressure their allies for their immediate goal: pre-eminence in Europe and acquisition of atomic weapons.

Comrades, the imperialist politico-military strategy of West Germany is unambiguously directed against the socialist countries. We West German Communists daily obtain new evidence that the imperialist exponents of expansionist and aggressive policy in our state are bitter enemies of the Soviet Union.

A journal published by a government-sponsored research institute dealing with current problems recently carried an article entitled, "Between Prague and Moscow", saying:

"Now more than ever, the compulsion arises for German (naturally meaning West German) policy to proceed from the maxim that that which injures the Soviet Union is beneficial for us."

This is probably clear enough. But the above-mentioned research institute does not confine itself to just that deduction. It amplifies on its standpoint, and explains: One must encourage everything that operates against the Soviet Union and fight everything operating for the Soviet Union. That is also the central idea which Strauss, spokesman of the most influential monopoly capital group, expounds in his book, *The Plan for Europe*.

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, our Party has viewed the Soviet Union as the main bulwark of the world's revolutionary forces and socialism, and holds that it is the duty of all Communists to frustrate imperialist attempts at turning part of the working class and even the Communist Parties against the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

For our Party the main principle is this: the closer our links with the Soviet Union, the more consistently we serve our own national interests, world peace and world socialism.

Comrades, it says in the draft of the Main Document that the West German imperialist forces are pressing forward with a revenge-seeking programme aimed at revising the results of the Second World War, changing the frontiers of a number of European countries.

What are the most characteristic features of the West German imperialist strategy? The West German imperialists refuse to accept the consequences of their defeat in the Second World War. They want to extend their position of power and recover their old dominions.

We should bear in mind that the designs of US imperialism and its truest ally, the Federal Republic, back in the fifties, to roll back the socialist states militarily, have foundered. From this they drew conclusions for a new approach to the old policy of aggression, bearing the cover name of "new Eastern policy".

The West German rulers have instructed a number of ministries and countless research institutes to study in great detail what points of contact with the European socialist countries are most likely to advance the aims of their policy of aggression. This has yielded a direct order of priorities: on which country to concentrate most and which to deal with more casually, with lesser effort.

As we see, there is in the strategy of the West German imperialists an orientation on basic points. To make their intentions clear, Bonn's revenge politicians have invented a special expression. They speak of promoting centrifugal trends in Central and Eastern Europe, emphasising that these would benefit Bonn policy in the long term. And that—in just so many words—in two directions:

- 1) The centrifugal trends will strengthen the revisionist, anti-socialist forces in the countries concerned and

- 2) should be so guided as to spread to other countries.

The more these centrifugal trends develop (this, too, in so many words), the greater are the chances that they will spread to the German Democratic Republic.

In other words, the idea is to encourage revisionism and nourish ideas of

"democratic socialism" in order to infuse them with a counter-revolutionary connotation, to speak of "national sovereignty" to encourage anti-Sovietism, and quibble about "autonomy" to drive a wedge between the socialist countries.

The centrifugal trends, as evident from pertinent materials, are directed in substance against the Soviet Union, the revolutionary centre.

Some may say that all this is no more than ridiculous speculation, because no socialist country would in earnest consider the idea of volunteering into West German imperialist captivity. Yet it would be dangerous to overlook the powerful means, both ideological and material, in the possession of West German imperialism to realise its intents. And it is equally wrong to underestimate the extent to which they are supported by US imperialism.

Apropos the word speculation, I want to say the following:

Doomed to extinction, the imperialists cannot develop a policy conforming with the laws of history. That is why there emerge from imperialism dangerous concrete plans hinging on the material potential of the imperialist states. Besides, the actual political actions of US and West German imperialism are anything but pure speculation, as proved by developments in a number of European countries and in other parts of the world.

Comrades, I speak of these things because the opinion that we live in a state of detente in Europe and that the danger of West German imperialism is exaggerated has currency even in our own ranks.

We may note with satisfaction that Europe has enjoyed a fairly long period of peace. This we owe first and foremost to the increased power of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the efforts of the forces of peace and socialism throughout the world.

But this is no reason for us to overlook the fact that West German imperialist aims contain a potential danger of war in Europe. Furthermore, the barbarian US imperialist war against the people of Vietnam and the policy of aggression against the Arab peoples supported by world imperialism accentuate the extent to which the danger of still larger armed conflicts has increased.

It goes without saying that there are powerful forces in Europe working for a policy of detente and a European security system. The imperialists do everything in their power to split these forces, for which reason it is necessary above all that the Communist and Workers' Parties should act in concert in the fight against imperialism. That is also the most important precondition in forging a broad alliance of all progressive forces in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Bonn's exponents of aggressive policy pursue a diametrically opposite strategy. They want to split us by playing up the national peculiarities and, principally, to divide the socialist states.

They are bent on seizing control of everything in NATO, the EEC and other West European organisations. In order to do so, they even say that national statehood is losing in importance and that all West European economic and arms resources should be pooled against socialism.

Of course, imperialism is no eternal and indestructible colossus. Quite the reverse. A close examination of imperialism will reveal its contradictory nature, its dangers and, at the same time, its weaknesses.

We often hear it asked how it came about that German imperialism was able

to re-embark on its dangerous aggressive course, considering the experiences of the German people in the Second World War and during the gruesome nazi dictatorship.

West Germany's misfortunes began after 1945, when the imperialist occupation powers ordered the split of Germany and helped the old monopolies and the militarists back to power. They succeeded, because the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party stood in the way of working-class unity in what were then the Western zones. The CDU/CSU, the party of monopoly capital, was able to control the machinery of state ever since the founding of the separate West German state, where anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are not mere bourgeois ideology, but a state doctrine and the main ideological means of winning the masses for the policy of expansion.

That was why the West German ruling circles outlawed the Communist Party, refusing to lift the ban, because they also use anti-communism as a lever for a new dangerous neo-nazi revival. The Social-Democratic ministers accept anti-communism as a state doctrine and orientate their entire policy accordingly both at home and internationally.

In addition, a neo-nazi party is being bred on the general CDU/CSU political line of great-power chauvinism, revanchism and militarism. That, too, is an indication of the sharpening of the class struggle and the dangerous rightward development in the Federal Republic.

In reference to this round of problems, we have taken the liberty to submit to the fraternal Parties a collection of documents, "German Imperialism—the Main Danger to European Peace", to which I should like to draw the attention of all comrades.

Comrades, state-monopoly capitalism and its political power machine are labile. This is borne out by the 1967 crises and the bankruptcy of CDU/CSU policy in 1966.

In this situation it is damaging for European development that instead of exposing the bankrupt imperialist policy of the Adenauer-Erhard era and fighting it with its own concepts, the Social-Democratic Party leadership lends itself to pursuing a revanchist policy jointly with the CDU/CSU.

Evaluating the role of the Social-Democratic ministers in the Kiesinger-Strauss government is highly important in working out a common action programme for our Parties in Europe, and for all concerned.

We realise that this is linked with our basic endeavour to achieve united action by Social Democrats and Communists.

The important principle that even in unfavourable conditions we must fight the enemy in our own country, fight imperialism, and on no account associate with the chauvinist camp, which Lenin formulated in connection with the betrayal by the German Social Democrats at the beginning of the First World War, is highly instructive for us today. That basic Leninist principle, we hold, is doubly valid in our time for the working-class and progressive movement in each country, and for our world communist movement.

The struggle against chauvinism, against nationalism of every shade, is an important criterion of each Marxist-Leninist Party.

It stands to reason that we should not identify the Social-Democratic

masses with that group of leaders which has abandoned all principles of socialist policy and loyally helps push through the CDU/CSU policy. This also applies to those still uncritical of their leadership, but interested in safeguarding peace, upholding democratic growth and promoting economic security and welfare, that being consistent with their class interest.

Even though the Social-Democratic leadership insists that the Social Democrats and Communists have no common interests, we proceed firmly from the fact that all working people have common interests in fundamental matters, and that this is sinking in increasingly among members of the Social Democratic Party and its functionaries.

We also proceed from the fact that it is necessary for us as the Marxist-Leninist Party in the Federal Republic to achieve clarity about the present role of the Social-Democratic Party leadership, and particularly of the SD ministers in the Kiesinger-Strauss government. Unless we achieve this clarity, we shall not be able to fulfil the task of winning large sections of Social Democrats and workers away from the official government policy, shaped by anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

Social Democratic Minister Herbert Wehner told the SD leadership recently that it was in the interest of the Social-Democratic Party to resume relations with many of the Communist Parties in other countries, in order to bring it home to them that revanchism in the Federal Republic is no more than a communist invention.

It would be useful for the struggle of the peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic if all our brother Parties helped expose these attempts to mislead public opinion.

While intending to conduct a dialogue with the Communist Parties of other countries in the hope of dividing the world communist movement, the SD leadership has made it clear that there shall be no association or dialogue with the Communists of their own state, and, what is more, that they would maintain the ban of the Communist Party jointly with the Bonn government.

Comrades, this does not mean that we Communists in the Federal Republic, though willing to form a united front with the rank-and-file Social Democrats, intend to follow a policy of struggle against the top SD leadership. All Communists in the Federal Republic are oriented on seeking a dialogue with the Social Democrats at all levels, and we should welcome any move on the part of the Social-Democratic leadership to exchange ideas with us on how to curb monopoly power, how to check the dangerous Rightward trend and what must be done in the Federal Republic to achieve a European security system.

The Social-Democratic leaders have so far been rejecting a dialogue with the Communists in the Federal Republic, because they continue to support the home and foreign policy aims of the ruling imperialist circles. The specific function of the Social-Democratic ministers is to disguise the system of outright war preparations, external aggression and psychological war conditioning with a lot of high-sounding words about peace, mutual understanding, disarmament and security.

In our work among the masses we adhere to Lenin's injunction to do every-

thing to show the masses clearly, uncompromisingly, day in and day out, the secret of how the imperialists are preparing for war.

Comrades, in the draft of the Main Document we find a reference to the fact that in West Germany, too, forces actively opposing revanchism and militarism are growing. Rejection of the dirty US war against the Vietnamese people and of its support by the Bonn government is gaining strength among the population in the Federal Republic. Not only our Party, but also trade union circles, working-class communities, Social-Democratic organisations, and various sections of the people, above all the youth, demand an end to Bonn's claims of sole representation, recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law, recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe, immediate signing of the nuclear proliferation ban, and safeguarding of European security.

The success of the people's forces depends largely on whether the anti-communist obstacles to co-operation are overcome and whether Social Democrats and Communists, trade unionists and Christian workers, students and all progressive forces come to terms despite the many differences in outlook and in tactics, on how successfully they find points of contact and agree on a democratic programme of action. We Communists are working for just such a democratic action programme.

GDR successes in building socialism, the strength of the first worker-peasant state on German soil and its consistent policy of peace have a bearing on development in West Germany and are of priceless assistance for all progressive forces. As we see it, it is the prime task of all progressive forces in the world to fight Bonn's revenge-seeking claim for sole representation and work for the recognition in law of the GDR in the interest of peace.

Lifting the ban on the Communist party is part of successful struggle for peace, democracy and social progress in the Federal Republic. That ban is a constant infringement of the democratic rights and freedoms of all progressives in the Federal Republic, connoting pressure and terror against all democratic forces and actions, and especially against the newly-established German Communist Party.

I take this opportunity to thank all fraternal Parties for their solidarity and ask them to redouble their support of our demand that the ban on our Party be lifted.

Comrades, in the Federal Republic imperialist propaganda daily emits volleys of lies to the effect that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries imperil the independence and sovereignty of other states.

Just a few words on this score:

The independence of every single socialist state, and the independence of nations generally, is imperilled by none but the imperialists and in Europe primarily by West German imperialism. We continuously witness gross interference in the internal affairs of other countries, evidenced, among other things, by the claim to sole representation put forward by the Bonn government. Every single socialist state is in full possession of its independence, of its sovereignty, which it can defend solely because of the strength of the Soviet Union and the existence of the strong community of socialist countries.

Comrades, we are faced at present in all capitalist countries, and also in the Federal Republic, with a sharpening psychological war by the bourgeoisie against the working-class movement. By reason of the sharpening of the class struggle in all capitalist countries, we face a new wave of revisionist attacks fostered by the bourgeoisie against Marxism-Leninism, against the ideological, theoretical, tactical and organisational principles of the communist movement.

We believe that it is the task of Communists throughout the world, in accordance with the guidelines of the Main Document before us, to conduct an uncompromising struggle against the bourgeois ideology, to propagate the ideas of scientific socialism, to remain unshakably loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and consistently oppose the Right and "Left" opportunist distortions in theory and politics.

We consider it necessary, therefore, to set out, if only in outline, our viewpoint concerning the attitude of the Chinese leadership under Mao Tse-tung. As we see it, the course and results of the 9th CPC Congress and the border provocations against the Soviet Union make it possible for all fraternal Parties to look into and answer the question whether or not that attitude has anything in common with Marxism-Leninism, with our world outlook.

After the latest events, one cannot consider the Mao line as an accident or, say, a deviation from Marxism-Leninism. No, what we have is a large-scale attack on the world communist and working-class movement, an attack on our world outlook, on Marxism-Leninism.

The provocations on the Soviet border and the struggle against the Communist and Workers' Parties conducted by the Mao Tse-tung group are one and the same thing. We think it is high time to speak up. Those who daily slander the Soviet Union and Lenin's Party, who continuously organise armed border provocations on an ever increasing scale against the most powerful country of peace and socialism, use the word socialism for the sole purpose of camouflaging their nationalist great-power policy; those who impute revisionism and betrayal of the revolution to the Communist and Workers' Parties waging a bitter struggle against imperialism and often making heavy sacrifices, have broken away from proletarian internationalism and objectively serve the ends of world reaction.

Those who organise splinter groups in the international working-class movement and in all progressive movements sin mortally against the main demand of our time, that of restoring unity of action against imperialism.

We Communists in the Federal Republic see daily how the government encourages official Mao groups and uses them to split the anti-imperialist front for its own ends. While our Party is outlawed and the activities of the democratic forces are impeded at every step, the Mao splinter groups are accorded freedom of action.

The imperialist circles dominant in our state make no secret of it—and Strauss has said so openly—that they are in deep sympathy with the policy of the Mao group. The West German chauvinists and revenge seekers say that they have a common interest with the Chinese leadership, namely, to surround the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in order



to repattern the frontiers in West, as well as East. The West German imperialists consider the Chinese leaders as their strategic reserve.

Comrades, when we return to our countries after this Meeting, all of us shall be confronted by these facts even more tangibly than in the past. All of us realise, of course, that we cannot conclusively discuss at this Meeting all aspects of the Chinese leadership's stand. But neither can we keep silent, because such silence only encourages the Chinese leaders to continue their activity against the Soviet Union and our world movement on a still more reckless scale.

Comrades, it says in the draft of our Document that as a result of the aggressive behaviour of the imperialists, the danger of armed conflicts, the danger of a world war, is increasing. It is also a fact that imperialism is banking on the differences in our ranks to facilitate its aggressive plans, using them against the interests of the peoples, against national freedom, democracy and socialism. The imperialists are pinning special hopes on nationalism, which, as they openly admit, they employ as a weapon against our movement. The Communists and all progressives in the Federal Republic expect us to safeguard and cement our unity.

We Marxists-Leninists are patriots and internationalists at one and the same time. The fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, "Workers of the World, Unite!", is based on the premise that each Party bears responsibility to the working class and people of its own country and, at the same time, on an international scale, to the entire world communist movement.

In face of the co-ordinated imperialist actions, we can succeed only with a commonly agreed policy on the main issues of the international confrontation and with joint action based on this policy. The movement as a whole and the revolutionary forces in each country can only benefit from co-ordinated action. At the same time, the struggle of the national forces for progress in their own countries will have greater international impact and, accordingly, be more effective, the closer it is linked with the world-wide revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

Naturally, we cannot and have no intention of ignoring the existence of a number of differences in the world communist movement. In our view, these differences of opinion should not impede our common struggle against the common adversary, for common aims.

The important thing is that, despite differences on this or that issue, the Communist and Workers' Parties should search for ways to build up international ties and cement the unity of their ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Document before us offers all Parties the opportunity to agree and unite. That is why we are for it.

Let us do our utmost for the unity of our ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live our joint struggle for peace, democracy and socialism!

## WALTER GUITTEAUD

Member of Political Bureau, Central Committee,  
Martinique Communist Party

Comrades,

I have the honour to convey to you fraternal greetings from the Martinique Communist Party.

Ours is one of those Parties that have always favoured free discussion among Communist Parties as a means towards unity in the battle against imperialism and colonialism. However, that does not prevent us, when necessary, from taking a clear and firm stand.

It was on that basis that we participated in every phase of the preparation of this Meeting, in the convocation of which we see a clear victory of the forces of unity over the forces working for a split.

Our Central Committee discussed the draft of the Main Document at its meeting of May 12. The communique issued after the meeting says: "The Central Committee holds that, in the present circumstances, the Document offers a satisfactory platform for continued development of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces."

We accept the Document's analysis of the present situation. It discloses the general aggravation of the crisis of imperialism and the permanent menace to peace and social progress created by imperialism's frenzied struggle to prolong its existence.

However, we are fully convinced that the united forces of the socialist camp, the international working class and the national liberation movement are now in a position to foil imperialist intrigue. For ours is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

We also share the view that unity of the Communist Parties is the key factor in unity of all the anti-imperialist forces. Accordingly, we feel it is absolutely necessary to give a more profound formulation of the part of Section Four dealing with the basis of relations between fraternal Parties.

As for colonialism, our Central Committee highly appreciates the clear-cut obligation that follows from the Document: "The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres, and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms."

Actually, French colonialism has not been eliminated. Our Communist Party is vigorously combating its attempts to camouflage colonial exploitation by giving Martinique the status of an Overseas Department. From our own experience we know neo-colonialism in all its multiform manifestations. But whatever form it assumes, neo-colonialism cannot conceal its evil substance.

It should be noted that the cost of living in Martinique is higher than in France because everything is imported from France and carried by French ships, with French firms setting freight charges.

The minimum guaranteed hourly wage in Martinique is 2.62 francs, compared with 3.15 francs in France. Family grants to workers with five children amount to 273.50 francs in Martinique and 589.14 in France. A French unemployed worker receives a daily sum of 7.3 francs in addition to a family grant. The unemployed worker in Martinique is not entitled to any benefits whatever. The statistics show that the average standard of living in Martinique is three times lower than in France.

Martinique's trade deficit is continuously rising, while its revenue, mainly from sugar-cane and bananas, is continuously declining. Sugar production is down from 90,000 to 40,000 tons. Many enterprises are closing. The banana trade is unstable.

And yet, French colonialism is intensifying its policy of assimilation. The government radio and television, and the press want to deprive our people of their national identity; they ignore their literature and folklore, their poets and artists. There are no higher educational facilities, not even stable vocational schools, for our youth, which is thus deprived of any meaningful prospect. The only solution the French colonialists offer is emigration of the youth, promotion of the tourist trade, and birth control.

That is why we have asked the sub-committee to introduce certain alterations in the Document in order more effectively to expose the policy of the French colonialists in territories still under their control.

We suggested the following formulation: "French imperialism is seeking to retain and strengthen its positions in world economy and politics. It continues its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion, and other African and Oceania countries, refuses to concede their right to self-determination, their right to administer their own affairs. It obstinately continues...", etc. The sub-committee approved this formulation.

Our Party has drawn up a programme for the Lenin centenary. We support the centenary statement submitted to this Meeting and also the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!".

We would welcome a brief document from this Meeting expressing solidarity with the Haitian patriots and exposing the American intervention in Haiti.

Long live this Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties!

Long live unity of the communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces!

**MOHAMED HARMEL**  
**On Behalf of the Tunisian Delegation**

Dear Comrades,

The Tunisian delegation extends warm fraternal greetings to the delegates of all fraternal Parties. It gives its thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which together with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party assumed the brunt of preparations for our conference and is now showing us excellent hospitality in the Soviet capital.

The draft Document is a result of considerable effort and careful preparations in which all brother Parties, big and small alike, took part on a completely equal footing and in an atmosphere of fraternal and democratic co-operation.

Joint efforts bear fruit. They can overcome numerous difficulties which at a certain moment may seem insurmountable.

Thanks to mutual understanding, common aims, joint responsibility and a patient search for unifying elements, as well as to a desire to preserve the internationalist character of our movement, we can take concrete steps towards unity.

The Communists of Tunisia express complete agreement with the draft Document, its composition and the content of its various sections.

We think the draft fully meets the exigencies of the present situation.

We would like to submit certain considerations about the national liberation movement.

The draft Main Document rightly stresses the growing role of the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process and lays emphasis on its new characteristics and prospects.

Since the disintegration of the colonial system and the rise of new independent states in Africa and Asia this movement has gone through a stage of upsurge and striking progress. Africa, which for long years had been humiliated and kept down, cast off its chains and squared its shoulders as it fought for independence and freedom. Imperialism, driven into an impasse, had to retreat. In 1960 almost all African countries won political independence. Subsequently some of them chose the road of progressive development, striving to go beyond the objects of a purely national revolution. The ideas of socialism increasingly appealed to the patriots who wanted a better future for their people. The diplo-

matic, economic and even military relations between the majority of these countries and the socialist states developed and grew stronger. The leading parties of the progressive countries also proceeded to establish relations of friendship and co-operation with the major Communist Parties of Western Europe.

It was then that the peculiarities of the contemporary stage of the liberation movement began to come out.

It must be said that the world communist movement has made what is on the whole a correct estimation of the liberation movement.

But the early successes gave rise to a much too optimistic and facile view of things which amounted to idealising the outlook. Afterwards difficulties and reverses, in particular the fall of some forward-looking regimes, brought out the negative aspects of the activity of the progressive forces, which led to certain one-sided estimations tending to obscure or minimise the significance of the new developments.

On the other hand, there arose demagogical theories attributing a revolutionary capacity to none but the peoples of the Third World. No need to argue that these theories were false and ignored obvious realities because they eschewed all class approach. No need to argue that they were harmful because they misled the peoples and were directed against the chief anti-imperialist force, the Soviet Union, and against the working class of the developed capitalist countries and threatened to isolate the national liberation movement from its natural allies, especially from the Soviet Union.

That being so, how can anyone pass over in silence the Maoist leaders' disastrous role in the liberation movement, the harm they have done and are capable of doing in the future? Gambling on the prestige of the Chinese revolution among the peoples of the Third World, they developed feverish efforts to divert the progressive forces under their influence from the real struggle against imperialism and to slander Lenin's Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—to smear the first socialist state—the land of the October Revolution—the Communist Parties and to split them at all costs. They sowed discord, doubts and division. Maoism is a threat to the national liberation movement and an obstacle to its fight against imperialism. We in Africa and the Arab world are particularly aware of this threat. Wherever an armed struggle begins the Maoists try to set it on an adventurist road, to counterpose it to other forms of struggle and split the ranks of the fighters.

There is no passing over in silence the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, a congress which legalised a policy jettisoning the most elementary principles of Marxism and making the struggle against the Soviet Union and the world communist movement its main objective.

We are certain that had it not been for those activities, the liberation movement would have made further progress and the Communist Parties would have won the support of even larger segments of the population.

Our fight against the notorious Maoist theories, far from meaning an under-estimation of the national liberation movement and its growing contribution to the revolutionary cause, is an essential means helping the movement to fully accomplish its role and avoid tragic errors.

The manifold experiences of the last decade, the experiences of victories and defeats, should help us correct some extreme estimations and define the main trend of the national liberation movement more objectively.

Just because scientific socialism came into being in Europe and Karl Marx applied his method in analysing capitalist society, some ideologists assert that the Marxist doctrine becomes meaningless the moment the geographical and historical boundaries of the industrial society of today are crossed, and that it is of no use in evaluating a new phenomenon—the revolution in the Third World. In reality, however, the entire course of events is a remarkable confirmation of Marxism-Leninism, which has furnished the only correct explanation of this phenomenon, enlightened the Communist Parties of Asia and Africa and shown them the way. It has been wielding growing influence on other revolutionary and progressive forces.

What makes the teachings of Marx and Lenin valuable is that they constitute a living science and not a rigid dogma. That is why they enable one to approach new phenomena in a creative spirit. From this point of view, the deepening social content of the national liberation movement not only proves the validity of Marxism but calls for new political and theoretical thinking.

In these circumstances Lenin's thesis that backward countries can avoid or abandon capitalist development has become highly relevant and has served as a starting point for new investigations.

The term "non-capitalist road" now in use is not quite satisfactory but it reflects a reality. Without carping at phrases and terminology, we must try to analyse the phenomenon, the reality, as it manifests itself and develops.

What is new is that the movement is directed against imperialism and is, moreover, acquiring an anti-capitalist content in some countries.

What is new is that progressive forces of a petty-bourgeois and nationalist origin have emerged and are developing that lead the process of deep-going social and economic reforms reaching to a degree beyond the framework of the national democratic revolution. Today this process does not properly reflect the interests of these social strata, it reflects the interests of larger sections of the people.

What is new is that the national bourgeoisie is losing its exclusive control of the movement and that its interests are being fully or partly called in question by structural reforms.

The increasing role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Parties, a role which is growing with the deepening social content of the movement, is an aspect of this developing reality. But this role should not prevent us from seeing other aspects. The fact that forces coming from a petty-bourgeois environment can at a definite stage lead the anti-capitalist process was made possible by qualitative changes in the balance of international forces, by the power of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union, who renders the new states disinterested aid in every field, enabling them not to retreat in face of imperialist blackmail and pressure and to go about setting up an independent national economy. It was made possible thanks to the main content of our epoch, distinguished by transition from capitalism to socialism. Besides, economic backwardness and socio-economic needs in most of the independent

countries of Africa and Asia are such that energetic and radical measures are not only necessary but are of vital importance and brook no delay. This inevitably has its effect on any national government and on the course steered by the leaders.

We should know exactly what the non-capitalist road and its relation to the socialist stage mean. Two pitfalls must be avoided. One is identification of the non-capitalist road with the socialist stage. True, the two are not separated by a Chinese Wall and are, in fact, linked logically and historically in that the non-capitalist road can lead to socialism. Nevertheless, there is a distinction between them and it would be wrong to identify them with each other or to claim that the non-capitalist road almost automatically leads to socialism. Some of the material and subjective prerequisites of socialism are still lacking. It is a question of a stage which may be long or may be accompanied by grim battles, with possible retreats and pauses due to the activity of reactionary forces still operating. Nor should we underestimate the activity of imperialism, which has not downed arms and is making constant efforts to regain its lost positions, and above all to strike at the countries that have taken the road of progress.

The petty bourgeoisie in power in these countries, while going through a beneficial political and ideological evolution, reveals, on the other hand, its numerous negative aspects, as demonstrated by recent events in Africa and the Arab world. It is a question not only of false conceptions of socialism but of methods of statesmanship, the attitude to the role of the masses, in particular of the working class, the tendency to win political monopoly by forming a single party, and so on.

In the ideological sphere, the attitude to scientific socialism is still reserved, which expresses itself, among other things, in the conception of distinctive conditions, which are counterposed to the general laws of socialism. It goes without saying that socialism should be applied creatively, according to the distinctive conditions of the country concerned, in particular in the Third World, and that it must assume new and original forms. But scientific socialism is universal in character even though the historical and geographical conditions of its genesis are not. Socialism can be neither Arab, African nor Destour. It can only be scientific. Of course, this conclusion should not lead us to a sectarian stance on non-Marxist socialist trends, which are a reflection of the immense appeal of socialism and which can serve as forms of transition to scientific socialism and are to a degree expressive of a socialist orientation.

If we are calling attention to these ideological shortcomings, it is not to say that we are going to wait for a complete and perfect ideological evolution of these forces before supporting them. We want to chart the road we are to travel, we want to see well the ideological and other barriers that have to be overcome if the socialist orientation is to assert itself, gain strength and become a reality. We give this orientation our full support in order to bring about qualitative ideological, social and political changes which are a requisite of the transition to socialism. If the first pitfall is the identification of the non-capitalist road with the stage of building socialism, the second is the underrating of new phenomena, the minimising of their import and significance, the falling back

on classical patterns and clinging to the static and rigid conception of working-class hegemony.

The working class and its Party must lead the revolutionary movement during the transition to socialism. This is the fundamental postulate of Marxism. But that leadership is the outcome and not the beginning of the evolutionary process, whose forms vary from country to country and from stage to stage. We should avoid an oversimplified approach to historical development and should not represent the ultimate results of a process as a condition for its development at the initial stage.

In the course of the revolutionary process and in the atmosphere of sharp class struggles a differentiation takes place leading to the elimination of Right-wing elements and a radicalisation of the movement, with the most revolutionary social and political forces coming to the fore. Developments have shown that the social composition of the progressive forces is not immutable but may shift, change and extend. This, in turn, poses the question of alliances with these forces on new lines and enabling Communists and the most advanced contingent of the progressive forces to co-operate on the main issues on a Marxist basis.

The Communists are aware of this historical potentiality of the process of development and deepening of the national liberation movement and are striving to realise it. They know that there is no single pattern valid for every country and that life will put forward many different methods and forms of development in African and Asian countries.

The progressive countries play a vanguard role in the national liberation movement and this must be noted. We should know how to distinguish between them and other countries in this respect. But this distinction should not be absolute, that is, it would be wrong to class all other countries as "reactionary". There are countries whose policies and general trend of development are not progressive. But there are certain positive aspects there which in definite conditions could become the starting point for a progressive policy.

The general trend of development in Tunisia cannot be called progressive because of the country's foreign policy, of anti-communism and infringements of democratic liberties. But there are other aspects on which we cannot assume a negative posture and which we openly support. The petty bourgeoisie in power, which is following this double-faced and contradictory policy, is tied down by the economic needs of an underdeveloped country, on the one hand, and by the desire for a definite kind of capitalist development, on the other. Ever since 1961 the government has had to renounce the policy of economic liberalism and adhere to a policy of planning and of expanding the public and co-operative sectors. As a result, industrialisation has been launched and the first public and semi-public enterprises have come into being, including agricultural ones. The Tunisian Communists are capable of objectively appreciating these achievements. They support the positive initiatives taken despite reactionary pressures, and try to establish contacts with the progressive elements of the Socialist Destour Party. Their criticisms have always been constructive.

It must be noted that most of the progressive countries, having chosen a new road, radically changed their foreign policy by embarking on an anti-impe-



rialist course. The foreign policy of the Tunisian government has a particularly negative aspect. But we cannot merely show vigilance in this respect—we must also be careful not to overlook the changes that may occur in other spheres, such as the economic, social or political sphere. We must give these changes an orientation favourable to the workers, peasants and the people as a whole and pave the way for the progressive and democratic development of our country.

The struggle of the masses and unity of the progressive forces, including those in the ruling party, could provide conditions for such changes. The Communists of Tunisia, who express the interests of the workers and peasants and the aspirations of the youth, do not confine themselves to propaganda nor to adopting a negative attitude. They take concrete steps to hasten the realisation of the changes the people long for, and support all that is progressive and meets the interests of our country.

These, then, are certain of our considerations about a problem which we feel is acquiring special theoretical and political importance. We think this discussion should be continued after the Meeting and all available facilities will be used, in particular the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, which effectively promotes exchanges of views and experiences bearing on the national liberation movement.

Before concluding we think it necessary to deal with the situation in the Middle East, that is, with a matter having a direct bearing on us and causing concern to our people. The situation in the area causes concern to other peoples too, especially those of the Arab countries.

The international crisis brought on by imperialism through the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries on June 5, 1967, revealed the danger which threatened and still threatens progressive regimes and, in the final analysis, the Arab national liberation movement as a whole. However, despite the military defeat of the Arab countries in June 1967, US and British imperialism and Israel, whom the imperialists backed, were unable to fully achieve their objectives. It must be admitted, of course, that that defeat and the seizure of sizable areas of the UAR, Jordan and Syria put the Arab peoples in a difficult situation. But the prerequisites of our peoples eliminating the effects of the aggression are maturing. Militarily and politically, the situation of the progressive Arab countries has considerably improved. In the occupied areas, armed struggle against the invaders is expanding.

Besides, a growing body of nationalist opinion is beginning to draw proper conclusions from the defeat. It is coming to realise that big talk merely led to an intensification of Zionist propaganda that portrayed Israel as a country threatened by attack. By now large sections of world opinion have satisfied themselves of the reverse: it is the Arab countries that were and still are threatened, and they were the ones who became victims of aggression. The Israeli aggression was made possible by American imperialism, and it is imperialism that backs the territorial claims of Israel and complicates the continuous efforts of the Soviet Union to bring about the liberation of the occupied areas and the elimination of the effects of the aggression. On the other hand, the aggression showed the more far-sighted Arab patriots that in Israel, too, there is a progres-

sive trend which, though small in number, is striving courageously for goals serving the cause of national liberation and the fight against imperialism. We welcome this new fact and note with satisfaction that a situation of sincere comradeship and solidarity is shaping between the Communists of the Arab countries and their Israeli comrades, which found expression, among other things, in their jointly proposing amendments to the draft Main Document and the draft Statement in Support of the Just Struggle of the Arab Peoples Against Israeli Aggression.

We realise the difficulties ahead but are convinced that the Arab liberation movement has taken a stride forward and is now in a much more favourable position than two years ago. Indeed, the progressive regimes have not only held their ground against the occupation army thanks to the invaluable political and military aid of the Soviet Union and the support given by the vanguard of the working class in the capitalist countries, the world forces of national liberation, and democratic world opinion. We must also note such developments in the area as, for example, the fall of the reactionary regime in the Sudan and its replacement by a progressive regime which we hail and which we wish the best of success. We are witnessing the rise and development in the Middle East of a movement of heroic resistance to the invaders and the growth of the Palestine liberation movement.

We regard this movement as an unquestionably positive phenomenon, not only because it has been stimulating increasing activity by the masses in the occupied areas but because it is arousing the national and anti-imperialist consciousness of those segments of the Palestine population which in the past were under reactionary influence and adhered to a wait-and-see stance. This movement is inseparable from the Arab liberation movement and the worldwide struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The Palestine people's struggle for recognition of their legitimate and inalienable national rights is a just one. True, some nationalist Arab quarters go as far as to counterpose the Palestine resistance movement to the struggle of other Arab countries against the occupation of their territory, whereas it is a question of two mutually complementary aspects of one and the same struggle for the victory of the Arab liberation movement. These quarters refuse to regard the UN resolution of November 1967 as a constructive basis for compelling the Israeli leaders to pull out their occupation troops.

It should be recalled that the UN resolution, which we consider an important political phase in the fight of the Arab peoples, was adopted as a result of a bitter political controversy in which the Soviet Union had to bring the full weight of its international prestige to bear.

That is why we think execution of the resolution is bound to promote the struggle of the Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine. Since the Israeli leaders arrogantly refuse to reckon with that international resolution, it is safe to presume that the resolution can be put into effect only through a political campaign for which maximum support must be secured throughout the world. The realistic approach which is gaining ground in progressive Arab quarters should be encouraged.

In conclusion we would like to point out that despite the defeat of June

1967, the situation in the Middle East today affords the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the Arab countries considerable opportunities to fight for the withdrawal of the occupation troops and a real recognition of the national rights of the Palestine people, impart a deeper content to the national and anti-imperialist struggle and bring the ideas of social progress and democracy home to increasing sections of the population.

Dear comrades, we are convinced that the holding of this Meeting is an event of great importance that will foster world communist unity and exercise a certain influence in rallying the anti-imperialist, progressive and peace-loving forces and consolidating the alliance of the three main streams of the world revolutionary movement.

**KNUD JESPERSEN**  
**Chairman,**  
**Communist Party of Denmark**

The Communist Party of Denmark brings warm greetings to all fraternal Parties represented here and wishes them every success in our great common cause.

I wish to convey special greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has done so much to provide optimal conditions for the preparation of this Meeting. The CPSU, the Party founded by Lenin, has thus rendered one more service to the international workers' movement and has reaffirmed anew its exceptionally important role in that movement. I would also like to express our gratitude to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and our appreciation of its immense contribution to the preparations for this International Meeting.

The very fact that so many fraternal Parties, united by common aims, are assembled here is a clear demonstration that the communist movement is the decisive political reality in the world of today. No other movement could bring together representatives of so many countries and possessing such vast experience in the struggle for the workers' cause. That alone makes this Meeting an event of outstanding importance, and it is being keenly followed by both friend and foe.

The question we are here discussing—the struggle against modern imperialism and all its manifestations—is of crucial importance for world development, for the destinies of mankind.

We must jointly *formulate an indictment* of imperialism, a social system whose crimes against humanity are unparalleled for their enormity and brutality. And that indictment must be couched in terms, and propagated with such consistency, that will cut through the propaganda screen and ideological fog behind which imperialism seeks to hide its true essence.

We should jointly *work to bring home to the people an understanding* of the very substance of the imperialist system and its support base, and show where the blow must be dealt to halt its crimes and put an end to its man-hating propensities.

We must jointly *formulate aims around which all the anti-imperialist forces can be rallied*. We must take *joint initiatives* to bring into this struggle the

overwhelming majority of mankind, whose interests demand an end to imperialism's designs and plans.

We are firmly persuaded that this Meeting—all of whose participants are aware of the responsibility that devolves on us—will accomplish these tasks.

## I

Comrades, there are many symptoms in Denmark that we are at the start of a new period in the battle against the system of monopoly capitalism, imperialism. The power pillars of the old society are shaking, and there is a growing desire among the people for vigorous action to bring about a change. On the other hand, this is a period of sharpening struggle requiring much more firmness, clarity, boldness and organisation.

In Denmark, a link of the world imperialist system, we can plainly see that monopoly domination breeds instability, now much more widespread and more profound than during the post-war boom. Financial and trade crises, marketing and balance-of-payments difficulties, more unemployment—such are now the salient features of Denmark's economic development. The causes should be sought both in the economic upheavals of the world imperialist system and in the higher profits monopoly capital in our own country extracts from its exploitation of social labour. The impact of state-monopoly capital can be seen in a sharp rise of taxes and levies, the credit squeeze, declining expenditure on the social services, and the wage freeze in a situation of inflation and soaring prices. As a result, real wages are declining, though production is increasing. All this comes as a telling blow to the myth that capitalist Denmark is a "welfare state" and, consequently, the class struggle, even energetic action by the workers, are now superfluous. These illusions are being dispelled also by the mounting discontent over the widening gap between the conditions of the working people and the opportunities technological progress offers for their improvement. Consequently, the sharpening of social struggles holds out the prospect of a far-reaching change in the attitude of the working class and working people generally towards the existing system.

We know from our own experience that the marked change in mass thinking is due also to the aggressive manifestations of imperialism's global strategy and the fight against them. This, of course, applies above all to US imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese people, with all its savagery, calculated cynicism and obnoxious hysteria. Their heroic liberation war has won the Vietnamese the deep admiration and respect of the Danish people. This has found expression in the broad and active solidarity movement which pressured the Danish government into protesting against the American bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. An important lesson to be drawn from the fight of the Vietnamese people is that determination to fight through to victory, plus international solidarity, can foil imperialism's aggressive plans. The Vietnamese struggle has graphically demonstrated the magnitude of the menace mankind must ward off.

That explains the heightened vigilance and stronger mass resistance to other

imperialist designs and manoeuvres aimed at preparing another war and hardening national oppression. That is evidenced by the reaction to the war danger in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli imperialist-supported aggression; to the fascist take-over in Greece; the military operations against African and Latin American countries and their continued oppression by imperialism. The same can be said in relation to many other conflicts. As a result, more and more people are coming to realise that the fight against imperialism and its leading force, US imperialism, is becoming a cardinal factor of social progress.

In Denmark, this finds concrete expression in the country's affiliation to NATO and its consequent subjection not only to US imperialism, but also to monopolist and militarist West Germany, the chief aggressive imperialist force in Europe. The arguments adduced 20 years ago to bring Denmark into NATO have long lost their influence on the people. New arguments and new "explanations" are being thought up to justify Denmark remaining in NATO. The people are being bullied by the claim that there is "no other alternative", and placated by the claim that NATO is a harmless "negotiating instrument". Meanwhile, NATO is pressuring Denmark to share in the arms drive and staging recurrent military exercises on its so-called Northern Flank. Similarly, the policy of military blocs is being shored up by a policy of economic blocs tied to the Common Market. This disregard of national interests and dutiful adherence to NATO is leading Denmark into a profound political crisis.

The sharpening of all these economic, social and political conflicts is generating within the working class and the people an urge to influence the course of events. The restricted nature of bourgeois democracy is more widely seen. There is a growing demand for new democratic rights, particularly participation in the management of industry and in the administration of public affairs. This urge to compel the powers-that-be to reckon with the opinion of the working people is materialised in demonstrations, strikes, and other actions directed against those who control both the economic and ideological "production apparatus". But the latter have launched a counter-offensive to maintain their domination and privileges. The police and other components of the power structure are being strengthened and are employing more modern control and suppression techniques. More coercive measures are being used, also hooligan elements, to fight the progressive forces.

All this is proof of a sharpening class struggle, of which democratic action against imperialism and the monopolies is now the principal form. This has given rise to many Left trends, some of them distinguished by commendable courage, but still weak because of inadequate organisation and cohesion and inability to distinguish between major and minor issues—in short, lack of clear understanding of the content and purpose of the struggle, an understanding which can only be drawn from Marxism-Leninism.

In this situation, the Communist Party of Denmark is working to bring together all the Left forces to combat the forces of reaction that safeguard the interests of monopoly capitalism, imperialism and its aggressive policy. The Party can accomplish this only if it acts as an independent educating and

organising force on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, socialist internationalism and communist organisational principles. Our country has had more than its share of opportunist "stars"—they fell as quickly as they rose and only hampered the process of development.

Our programme for uniting the Left forces envisages, in particular, neutrality, which would extricate Denmark from the system of imperialist blocs and enable it, by political means, actively to contribute to peace and international detente, the prevention of aggression, the peoples' fight to break out of imperialist overlordship. The effort for a European security system based on the decisions of the 1967 Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist Parties, which among other things provide for neutrality and the security of neutral states, is of very special significance for Denmark. A European collective security system would replace the present military alliances. Together with other North European Communist Parties, we are endeavouring to utilise every realistic opportunity to make the countries of our area independent of imperialist blocs. That would be a contribution to European security and universal peace.

In home and economic policy, we propose a common action programme for all the Left forces as a counterweight to the policy of the bourgeois government. Its concrete and substantiated measures are directed against the monopolies, and their implementation would alter the alignment of class forces and undermine monopoly power. Furthermore, the Communists propose that these measures be carried out under the effective and active control of the working class and the people. Still another task is to extend the fight against monopoly counterattacks. This will help wider sections of the people to appreciate the need for transition to a new social system, socialism, and such transition will thus be placed on the order of the day.

The forces we want to unite and direct can make a decisive contribution to the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle.

## II

Comrades, in our opinion, intensification of the anti-monopoly struggle—and this follows from our experience—is part of a historical process that has universal implications. For we have entered a new stage in the world-wide contest between imperialism and socialism. The stability the capitalist world acquired during the post-war boom and the unfolding technological revolution has now given way to pronounced instability. The revolutionary potential within the imperialist system has increased and manifests itself more powerfully. Imperialism's positions have become relatively weaker. Imperialism is reshaping its global strategy in an attempt to reverse this process of change. Torn by inner contradictions, it is showing stronger aggressive and anti-democratic tendencies. And this, in turn, makes it more reckless, more adventuristic, and creates dangers we cannot afford to underestimate.

In this situation, it is important to *stress both the increased opportunities of the anti-imperialist forces and the increased dangers latent in the present*

*conjuncture of circumstances.* The two are interconnected. The new opportunities for intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle are linked with the people's growing understanding of the dangers inherent in imperialist policy. And these dangers are, in turn, linked with imperialism's desperate attempts to prevent its opponents from utilising these new opportunities. This lays a vast responsibility on us in charting a common strategy that will change the course of development and prevent imperialism, on the eve of its destruction, from perpetrating its last monstrous crimes. Above all, we must prevent it from unleashing a thermonuclear war.

Hence, it is important to avoid one-sided interpretations. The general trend is towards strengthening the socialist forces, and from this some conclude that things are going well and in the right direction and there is no need to worry. Others see only the dangers and conclude that things are bound to take a catastrophic turn, and that the worse they get the better. The truth, however, is that both opportunities and dangers are increasing. The interconnection of the two must be especially clear to the communist movement which, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, was able to give a correct appraisal of fascism as, on the one hand, "the most savage onslaught on the working class" and on the other, an expression of capitalism's weakness. On this basis the Congress drew the correct conclusion that "fascism is a ferocious but unstable force". (I quote from Georgi Dimitrov's report.) A one-sided appraisal of the opportunities and dangers of the present situation leads to Right or "Left" opportunism.

The *role of the socialist world* is crucial to an understanding of the present situation. For it is precisely the growth and strengthening of the socialist world that have created these new opportunities. Imperialist propaganda is trying hard to prevent proper appreciation of this fact. And it has achieved definite results among certain Left trends which, incidentally, owe their very origins to the existence of the socialist camp, which holds back imperialism's onslaught. For it is socialism that is hamstringing imperialism and thus making it possible for these trends to develop.

Consequently, explaining and highlighting the decisive role of the socialist world is a priority task for the communist movement, and its accomplishment is in the interests of all components of the anti-imperialist struggle. Needless to say, this applies above all to the role of the main force of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union. Specifically, it implies explaining the socialist world's role in preventing world war, averting or stopping aggression, defending the independence of the peoples, winning democratic rights for the working people. But we have also to explain the laws governing the revolutionary transformation of society, which have been confirmed by socialist experience, and to demonstrate how socialism solves the new problems posed by modern social and technological development. The defence of socialism—and this is expressly formulated in the drafted Main Document—is the internationalist duty of all Communists.

Now that there is a certain equilibrium in the military strength of the socialist and imperialist camps, the decisive battle for the orientation of world development is being waged in the ideological field. And *ideological struggle* is today



more important than ever before. Any advantage in moulding mass thinking might well prove decisive. It could decide whether the forces of war or the forces of peace, socialism or capitalism, will at the critical moment determine the course of events.

This raises clear problems for the Communist Parties in pursuance of their common aims in the struggle to refashion society on the basis of their common Marxist-Leninist ideology. Many problems have a common relevance for all peoples. We must step up the offensive against bourgeois attempts to sow ideological confusion and doubts about the possibility of achieving the peoples' vital interests and social ideals. There is need for considerable improvement of our information in promoting peace and socialism in order to overcome the high-pressure, and often subtle, misinformation disseminated by the monopolies. Another important need is for a more tense struggle on the theoretical front, more profound and effective criticism of the new-fangled theories that serve the bourgeoisie. Similarly, we should creatively develop the theory of socialism, tackle the new problems that arise in the course of social development and struggle. The communist movement, we feel, can do much more than it has been doing. We must be fully on a par with the requirements of our time, find positive answers to questions agitating people's minds, and support all useful initiatives.

However, it is also important for the Communist Parties purposefully to orient their discussion and mutual co-operation on strengthening their ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It would be wrong to exclude ideological problems from inter-Party co-operation. That would be tantamount to a retreat from reality, since all the problems with which we have to contend are intimately associated with ideological issues. And any retreat from ideological issues would be contrary to the very nature of the communist movement, founded as it is primarily on community of ideological views. Closer ideological unity necessitates responsible discussion. And there are many opportunities for this—theoretical conferences, systematic use of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* as a forum for exchanging views. The Lenin centenary should be made the occasion for more extensive ideological work.

### III

Comrades, the first thing we must do in promoting the anti-imperialist struggle is to strengthen the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces on the basis of joint action. This requires active and persevering effort. For we should not overlook the fact that certain elements are working, more or less purposefully, to split the anti-imperialist movement. They are exploiting the inexperience of the new sections now being drawn into the movement, which more easily succumb to Right and "Left" opportunist influences. In this respect we must show more patience and use more convincing arguments in explaining the concrete aims that can attract and unite all the forces for joint struggle. And such united action must become a central factor in creating optimal conditions for resolving contentious issues. In our view, these aims are well served by the

Main Document framed in the process of preparing our Meeting. We support all its sections, which make up an integral whole.

United anti-imperialist action can merge the three principal progressive currents of our time—the socialist world, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and its democratic allies and the Third World national liberation movement. Accordingly, we support the proposal to convene a World Congress of all anti-imperialist forces.

The effort for unity of these forces should not under any circumstances weaken the effort to cement world communist unity, that decisive precondition for the broad unity, strength and effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle. That has been confirmed by all our national and international experience. In our day, neither revolutionary nor anti-imperialist movements can be directed from a single centre. Independence, equality and mutual support are inalienable components of proletarian internationalism. And proceeding from that, we believe it is necessary resolutely to rebuff Maoism's open drive for hegemony and its attempts to split the communist movement and unity of the socialist camp. Such attempts have been made against our Party, too.

That the Maoists are striving for hegemony has been confirmed by the Peking "9th Congress". And we have another serious manifestation of this in the provocations on the frontiers of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state. These actions play into the hands of imperialism, and they are widely used by our enemies for political and propaganda purposes. If there is respect for every Party, no one can demand that we remain silent on this.

Communist unity cannot, and should not, be confined to words: it must be translated into deeds, into action. No justification of Right or "Left" deviations is a substitute for a sincere desire for unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and it is our duty to uphold these principles.

We fully support the principles of relations between Communist Parties as set out in the draft of the Main Document. We consider internationalism and independence of the Parties, their national and international responsibility, as inseparable parts of a single whole. We consider consistent defence by all Parties of Marxism-Leninism a key condition for the world communist movement discharging its historic mission in this crucial period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our Party had an active share in all phases of preparation for this Meeting, the convocation of which we have actively supported for several years. In the course of the preparatory work we made certain proposals, and we are satisfied that they were discussed in a democratic and comradely spirit. In pursuance of a decision of our Central Committee, our delegation declares its full approval of the Main Document. We highly appreciate the fact that, after a careful discussion conducted in a spirit of full equality, such a large number of Communist Parties were able to arrive at a joint and well-substantiated appraisal of the international situation, the forces upon which we can rely in the battle against imperialism, the ways and means of uniting the anti-imperialist forces, and to work out a common understanding of communist unity. This has enabled our Meeting to proceed in accordance with the task we have unanimously set ourselves.

We approve the Appeal in Defence of Peace.

The appeal for closer solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam voices the sincere feelings and attitudes of all Communists. It is our sacred duty to see to it that the intrepid struggle of the Vietnamese people, which is of such vast importance and shows that in our time imperialism can be effectively fought—that this struggle ends with the establishment of peace in conditions of full respect for the independence of the Vietnamese, on the basis of the proposals repeatedly advanced by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

It is highly important that the Meeting approve the address on the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. We are in full agreement with its contents and form.

Our Party expresses its satisfaction that its proposals for publication of the Indictment of Imperialism was accepted. That document cites convincing facts which are bound to draw public attention to the crimes of imperialism. We believe this is a concrete contribution to united anti-imperialist action of the Communist Parties.

We regard this Meeting as a long step towards unity of our movement. It is an event of immense importance. But we should also bear in mind that it is only the first step and will have to be followed by fresh initiatives, fresh efforts, fresh achievements to assure that the communist movement functions as the decisive political force of our age.

We appeal to all fraternal Parties: conscious of the responsibility the great problems of our epoch impose on us, we must, now and in future, strengthen our unity. We address this appeal also to fraternal Parties which, for one or another reason, are not represented here. Some of them, we feel, could accept the general positions worked out at this Meeting.

Our co-operation vividly demonstrates that even in the multiform and complex world of today, proletarian internationalism is a vital force that is bound to grow, flourish and yield more fruit.

**RODNEY ARISMENDI**  
**First Secretary, Central Committee,**  
**Communist Party of Uruguay**

Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay we declare our support for the text of the Main Document as approved by the Meeting's Preparatory Committee. An important theoretical and political document, it is a step of tremendous significance towards unity of the communist movement. It contains an integrated system of correct definitions of a general nature and represents a platform for achieving unity in the anti-imperialist struggle around a number of propositions of a democratic character. In particular, it stresses the extremely important task of solidarity with Vietnam and the peoples of other countries fighting for independence and freedom. As regards Latin America, the Document stresses the role of solidarity with the Cuban revolution and its historic significance in our continent's revolutionary development.

Our Party considers that the Document is, first and foremost, a new point of departure on the road towards complete unity in the communist movement. Its importance for our day and, more still, for the future, is emphasised by the fact that it has been drawn up collectively.

The main significance of our Meeting lies in this feeling of unity. The Meeting plays the role of a weapon for moulding unity of action of all Parties against imperialism and various reactionary forces around a common programme and on the basis of a common strategy. Only by conforming to these requirements can we really unite the main trends of modern times, anticipate the plans of the enemy by our actions, preserve or win national independence, democracy and peace and, in the last analysis, accelerate the world socialist revolution.

On the other hand, we realise that some compromises are reflected in the Document inasmuch as it is a successful attempt to achieve a coincidence of various standpoints on a principled foundation. But the most important thing is that we regard it as a Document ushering in a transition to higher forms of unity, which would ensure the dialectical unity of ideas and action and the combination of theoretical and strategic unity on an international level with creative diversity in the activities of each Party within its national boundaries.

This idea is by no means aimed at belittling the significance of our principal

evaluation of the Document. We say this in order to stress that unity is moulded, that it is the result of constant efforts by the fraternal Parties, of their internationalism, mutual understanding and ideological struggle, which we take to mean not quarrels but a quest for scientific theoretical propositions and orientation for joint action. Moreover, we deliberately use the term *historic* when we speak of the Meeting. Its documents are the first of such a high level to be adopted by the international communist movement since the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. They are thus a practical testimony of unity, reaffirming that the Meeting had to be held and that it is a victory despite the limiting aspects we have mentioned.

We shall not analyse the text of the Main Document, which all of you have in your hands. We shall only briefly dwell on some considerations of our Party's Central Committee on this question.

We consider that unity is necessary in the strategic plane and that it can be achieved from the viewpoint of principles.

The fact that it is necessary strategically is quite obvious. This is confirmed indirectly and, sometimes, directly by our Document, which stresses existing possibilities for the development and triumph of the revolutionary movement in all its forms, noting the preservation of an international relationship of forces favourable to socialism, a relationship beneficial for the peoples fighting imperialism and reaction. In the Document this is accentuated also by the exclusion of all illusions of a more or less idyllic peaceful coexistence, by its rejection of simplified assessments of the situation that only a quantitative and automatic evolution of revolutionary processes is observed in the world.

The need for unity on the strategic level is confirmed by the Document where it highlights the intensification of the aggressiveness intrinsic to the piratical and militarist nature of imperialism, above all US imperialism, which is the principal aggressor and world policeman; where it exposes the aggression against Vietnam, the threats to Cuba and Korea, the plans and provocations directed against the socialist system, the occupation of Taiwan, the intrigues in Africa and Asia and the systematic and bloody oppression of Latin America; and, lastly, where it exposes the so-called global strategy of US imperialism, in whose service huge resources, including the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, have been placed.

These propositions do not lead us to a loss of perspective or a pessimistic assessment of the international balance of forces. They make it plain that life illustrates the Marxist truth that no ruling class quits the scene calmly and peacefully. At the same time, they remind us that the huge strength of the integral socialist system—the axis of which is the historic and ideological prestige and economic and military might of the Soviet Union—if it combines with the trends of world reality, with the working-class and national liberation movements, can avert a world war, paralyse or crush aggressors, destroy fascist, anti-democratic regimes, facilitate the struggle for national independence and the transition to socialism of the peoples in developing countries and, moreover, secure a fresh upsurge of the socialist revolution, for whose sake our Parties exist. This is all the more possible now, when the crisis of the capitalist system manifests itself in new forms of economic and social upheaval in the most

developed capitalist countries, when the contradictions underlying our epoch are growing more acute.

We thus stand in need of unity because we foresee a great collision on the international and the national levels. We consider that the unity of our movement will facilitate the coming stern struggle and, in particular, it will lighten the grim battles of the peoples of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. We stand in need of unity because thanks to it the inspiring light of Marxism-Leninism will burn more brightly on the ideological, cultural and human levels.

When we sum up the results of the past decade we must ask ourselves the question: Why have there been some setbacks and retreats, why have the successes not been more considerable?

We do not think that this was the result of negative changes in the world balance of forces. Neither do we think, as some people do, that many of the defeats and retreats in various sectors have been the result of an erroneous assessment of the correlation of forces. We feel that to some extent this was the result of idyllic assessments of world development, and was perhaps the consequence of the fact that sight was lost of the dialectics of processes, the inevitable sternness of the class struggle on a national and an international scale, which sometimes leads to an obliteration of the qualitative borderline between bourgeois democracy and socialism.

Our setbacks and retreats, as well as inadequate successes have, moreover, shown the influence of such an extremely negative factor as the breakaway of China and its actions directed at undermining the socialist system and the Communist and Workers' Parties. These actions prevented the anti-imperialist forces from concentrating on the struggle against the common enemy, and this has had a particularly adverse effect on the conditions of the struggle of the Vietnamese people. They diverted much energy to internal polemics. In some cases these actions were a factor paralysing the creative, Marxist-Leninist elaboration of problems. In other cases they allowed the Chinese spectre to be used as a cover for Right slogans, while those on the Right do not scruple to utilise the Chinese formulation of the problem. But above all this circumstance was a factor which injected ideological confusion, a factor which reduced the attractive power of socialism and communism for the broad masses, creating new foundations for anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. The actions of China have, in particular, helped to give rise to a false conception of relations between socialist countries, dealt a serious blow at the principles of proletarian internationalism and their application in the world socialist system, and seriously harmed the very concept of the Party and its leading role. To a large extent all this has hindered the utilisation of ripe opportunities for considerably enhancing the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the winning of the broad masses to our positions. At the same time, under conditions where new social strata have been drawn into the revolutionary movement, it has promoted the flowering of various kinds of infantile concepts.

In these circumstances we regard all steps taken to restore and strengthen our unity as steps directed towards the creative development of Marxism coupled with an active struggle for the preservation of its theoretical and methodo-

logical purity, against all forms of revisionism, against bourgeois nationalism and other deviations. But when divergences of different proportions arise in the communist movement it is always wise to recall how Lenin put the question: What is necessary—unity or parting of the ways, demarcation?

We Communists are proletarian revolutionaries and not political gamblers, and we must not evade answering this question. In answering it we maintain that unity is possible on a principled foundation. This assessment of ours coincides with the assessment of almost all Parties. We know of no other actions in favour of demarcation except those of the Chinese leadership and some of their yes-men, who have given the split a theoretical foundation, implemented it and are levelling virulent slander at our Meeting.

We are happy to welcome as a most favourable fact the presence here of representatives of the glorious Communist Party of Cuba. The friendly words addressed to the Meeting by the heroic Parties of Vietnam and Korea and by the Laotian comrades express warm feelings of communist fraternity which facilitate unity.

Unity is possible on the basis of principles, provided a dynamic struggle is waged for it, provided we mould it day by day and refrain from turning every divergence into an insult, oppose all centrifugal trends leading to confusion, combat all glorification of isolation, which identifies a Party's independence with aloofness, confuses creative Marxism with a departure from the CPSU and the socialist system, if we combat the metaphysical counterposing of the national features of each Party to its internationalist duties and, lastly, if we provide the conditions for a creative, fraternally critical and self-critical dialogue between all Parties or, at least, between as many of them as possible. We venture to think that this would lead, on the one hand, to a real and not only declarative enhancement of the leading role of each Party within its national boundaries, a role about which so much is being said, and, on the other, to the reaffirmation of the internationalist content determining the epoch-making mission of the proletariat.

Today nobody suggests an international leading centre, but this does not prevent us from emphasising the great historic role played by the Third International; however, we feel that it is really necessary to considerably strengthen our international contacts.

Furthermore, we believe that the difficulties which various contingents of our movement have experienced or are experiencing on the road to becoming a real political force in their countries by no means derive from the obligations stemming from internationalism. If in the course of decades of activity they have failed to sink roots in the ranks of the proletariat, substantially influence the movement of the popular masses and play an important role in the struggle against such savage aggressive acts of imperialism as the intervention in Vietnam, in which armed contingents from their own countries are used, they can hardly blame their shortcomings on proletarian internationalism and on the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. Life refutes this untenable explanation—suffice it to glance at the struggle of other peoples.

There are also these considerations. Although we do not think our Meeting has the possibilities for conducting discussions on these questions, it will be

necessary, sooner or later, collectively to determine the reasons giving rise to divergences and contradictions among our Parties. In this respect, we should like to note in passing only one circumstance. Frequently, the following is given as the only and principal explanation: the breadth and diversity of the international revolutionary process are the objective basis for differences and divergences. In other words, the scale and successes of our movement are, at the same time, the reason for our weaknesses. Partially that is so. And it would be legitimate to stress this as a counterbalance to simplified notions or to attempts to reduce everything to some single factor when specific problems are examined. But this is only half the truth, for on this basis emerge ideas and, sometimes, trends both incipient and those that have already taken shape, which concern profound ideological problems and are, in our view, of a revisionist nature and which, therefore, must be qualified from the class standpoint, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist principles. Any other approach would lead us to relativism, namely, to regarding the practice of the international socialist revolution as a sum of local experiences, which would imply negating the universal nature of Marxist-Leninist theory.

If we strive for unity, no political and theoretical explanation of these questions must be made with the help of epithets or labels—that is what some Parties fear. Our Party, as far as its modest forces allow, strives not to avoid quests but to help carry them out. It strives to understand the role of other revolutionary forces in Latin America and the whole world and appreciate their contribution. However, it does not consider that the class approach can be renounced. All opinions explained by objective reasons cannot be thrown into one pile and named Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, this leads to a wrong approach. To the detriment of the ideological struggle such an approach leads to the thought that divergences do not disappear because they are regarded (which sometimes may be the case) in a wrong, flagrantly distorted light. As a consequence, emphasis is laid on questions connected with an underestimation (false or real) of national features or, when the matter concerns relations between Parties, on the question of sovereignty. We by no means tend to think that everything has been resolved in the matter of surmounting dogmatic ideas or incorrect methods; we even do not think that the actions undertaken have always been good. But we nevertheless consider that insistence on these questions can lead to rejection of creative ideological discussion and legitimise opinions playing a negative role or even trends clearly alien to Marxism-Leninism. And, frankly speaking, we believe this creates the danger of strengthening the Right, or revisionist trends in some contingents of our movement.

We believe that the main danger is in the isolation of some Parties, which reduces fraternal discussion to a minimum when such a discussion requires criticism and self-criticism. Let this not be understood as a wish to infringe the autonomy of other Parties. We stand for the equality of Parties. We consider that it is *their right, more, it is their duty to determine their positions at their congresses and Central Committee meetings*. But to hold that the greatest danger today is the threat to Party autonomy from external forces is tantamount to displaying “as much ‘sense for the realities of life’ as was displayed



by the hero in the popular fable who cried out to a passing funeral procession, 'Many happy returns of the day!' " (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 446.)

However, we understand that unity requires the fulfilment of certain conditions. In particular, we must organise polemics in an appropriate manner. Through unity of action we shall make headway in the fraternal exchange of opinions until we learn to understand that the ideological struggle is a weapon of the revolution and not a ghost appearing in a stranger's house. Common action and the joint study of problems will undoubtedly engender the highest forms of unity for which we are striving.

All this gives the Meeting a positive character of the highest degree. It would have been of positive significance even if we confined ourselves to adopting a platform of united action, i.e., to the minimum concretisation of unity acceptable to Parties recognising Marxism-Leninism as their common source of inspiration. But that would be much less than what the movement can give the cause of unity already now.

For our part we would have liked to include in the Document more political and theoretical definitions. Much time has elapsed since 1960. In this period rich experience has been accumulated, experience relating to the development of the socialist system, problems of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, with the revolutionary practice of Latin America, the links between democratic and socialist revolutions in countries with a relatively high level of capitalist development, processes taking place in the working-class movement of developed capitalist countries, to the rebellion of students and intellectuals, to the actions of the radical petty bourgeoisie, particularly in Latin America, to the processes of implementing the vanguard role of the Communist Parties, to an assessment of deviations and trends that have come to the surface in the course of this period throughout the movement, and so on. In particular, we should have liked the Document, in addition to reasserting the great importance of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, to repeat the known Marxist-Leninist propositions on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the relationship between the state and the revolution, which warrants the conclusion regarding the break-up of the military-bureaucratic machinery of state, the ways of the development of the revolution, and so on. Nevertheless, we did not insist on this in order to facilitate the adoption of such an important document. Our guideline is that at the present stage everything must facilitate unity. At the same time, we do not lose sight of the Right danger, which manifests itself in the fact that the propositions which in the final analysis determine our status as Marxists-Leninists, are not recognised as valid today.

Comrades, the strengthening of unity and the enhancement of the international role of the socialist system, particularly of the Soviet Union, is of fundamental significance to all revolutionaries throughout the world. This internationalist duty, which historically emerged together with the triumph of the Great October Revolution, has by no means been abolished in the new conditions of the development of the world socialist revolution. We, therefore, cannot agree with those who evaluate the relations between the CPSU and the revolutionaries of the capitalist world according to a special measure: they take credit for the suc-

cesses deriving from the historic transformations in the socialist countries, while the inevitable consequences of the class struggle in the world arena and the needs linked up with the defence of the socialist system, which are also prerequisites of the development of the world revolutionary process, they regard as an obstacle to their own successes. It is hard to believe that assessments of this kind conform to proletarian internationalism, and it is still harder to believe that they guarantee the conversion of one or another Party into a genuinely national political force.

It has been suggested here that a theoretical discussion should be started on one or another international development, or on the question of the international influence of socialist society. If this refers to the Soviet Union, this question is answered by the 50 years of triumphant socialism, the conversion of a backward society into a new socialist civilisation; it is answered by the 20 million Soviet people who laid down their lives for victory over nazism; it is answered by the assistance to Vietnam, Cuba and other countries. All this is testimony of the real contribution to the advancement of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces of our epoch. On the other hand, the successes of the socialist, democratic or anti-imperialist revolutions in the capitalist countries are the best defence of the gains of the socialist camp. The content of our epoch is embodied in this inviolable dialectical unity. Therefore, when a call is made for a struggle simultaneously against the USSR and the USA, as has been done at the 9th Congress of the CPC, the purpose pursued is to break the backbone of the world socialist revolution and the world liberation movement.

Comrades, our Meeting is sitting at a time when the peoples of Latin America are resolving difficult, complex problems, involving, as a rule, bloody struggle.

The peoples of our continent, oppressed by US imperialism and the bourgeois-landowner oligarchies, have made themselves heard on the international scene after the Second World War. Today the continent is going through a new phase of revolutionary development. The victory of the Cuban revolution has become a determining landmark of this historic change.

Since the beginning of the 1950s the situation in Latin America has been characterised, on the one hand, by the upsurge of democratic and anti-imperialist movements some of which develop along the road of armed struggle, as well as by actions by the proletariat and by other broad sections of the masses, which include, in particular, students and intellectuals; on the other hand, this situation has been characterised by the interference of US imperialism, political instability, frequent coups, an offensive on democratic freedoms and the alternation of tyrannical regimes.

The objective foundation of such a complex situation is the deep crisis of the socio-economic structure of the Latin American countries. Social, economic and political contradictions are growing more and more acute on that foundation and this is inducing our peoples to intensify the struggle against US imperialism and against the ruling classes of big capitalists and landowners.

In this revolutionary process the ruling classes are showing their inability to meet the vital requirements of economic development and halt the upsurge of the working-class and popular movements. Mass militant strikes of the working class, the awakening of the peasants and other sections of the rural

population in many countries, the courageous actions of the students, the struggle in the underground, the heroic actions of guerilla squads and other forms of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle — such is the picture of the turbulent revolutionary process in Latin America over a period of several years.

Naturally, this process is neither easy nor simple. Flagrant interference by US imperialism, the creation of a powerful machinery of repression, provocation and espionage, the assassination of Party functionaries, the shooting of demonstrations, and the political crimes against revolutionaries—such are the conditions in which this difficult battle is being fought.

But new forces join in the struggle each time imperialism and reaction celebrate a victory. They use new forms of struggle. This shows that the mole of revolution, mentioned by Marx, is zealously working in our continent. Neither repression nor the temporary retreat of one or another contingent waging a liberation armed or unarmed struggle, nor even the murder of such popular heroes as Ernesto Guevara have paralysed the heroic deeds of our peoples. If today we turn our eyes to Latin America we shall see this struggle in all its magnitude, the stormy actions of the workers and students in all the capitals, the failure of the Rockefeller tour under mass pressure and, possibly, the beginning of a new revolutionary wave on a continental scale.

How is this situation in Latin America to be characterised? Our Party regards it as a general revolutionary situation such as existed in Russia, according to Lenin's assessment, from 1900 until the outbreak of the First World War.

Arising on the objective foundation of the structural crisis of our societies, this general situation accelerates the maturing of specific revolutionary situations now in one country, now in another. The comrades of some Parties call this a pre-revolutionary situation, of others—changing conditions objectively preparing the ground for revolutionary crises. I do not propose to judge which of these definitions is correct. We feel it is more important to draw attention to the fact that in an atmosphere of relentless and bloody battles, our continent is moving towards new and still higher stages of the revolutionary struggle and that in these conditions the vanguard role of the Party, the unity of the working class and of the anti-imperialist forces, and international solidarity can determine the course of events. Latin Americans consider that the unity of the international communist movement is an important factor of their liberation. Our small Uruguay holds a place in the general panorama of unrest in the Latin American continent. Against the background of the deep socio-economic crisis, which today manifests itself in extreme forms, the present decade has witnessed a grim struggle of the working class, rural workers, students, intellectuals and middle strata of the urban population against US imperialism and the ruling classes. This persevering, sharp struggle of the working class and other sections of the popular masses is the most important feature of Uruguayan reality. And the struggle for economic and social demands intertwines with the defence of democratic freedoms and national sovereignty, with the most active forms of solidarity with Cuba and Vietnam and with mass action against US imperialism. In this struggle the working class and all other working people have rallied in a single trade union centre, the

National Convention of Working People, which has a clear-cut class orientation. In this struggle a firm alliance has been moulded between students and the workers, the unity of the Left forces has taken shape and a powerful movement has been started in defence of democracy and sovereignty. In recent years the class struggle has become particularly acute; the actions of the working class and other sections of the people have time and again thwarted the adventurist designs of the "gorillas".

In 1968, the government of Uruguay tried to suppress the working-class and popular movement and completely abolish democratic freedoms. For almost a whole year emergency laws were in operation; workers and students were murdered, hundreds of people were wounded, more than 6,000 people were thrown into prison and 60,000 workers of state enterprises were made to work under military control. However, the working masses fought back. General strikes, the occupation of factories, street actions, militant demonstrations by workers and students which in many cases were accompanied by clashes with the repressive forces, and also actions by young people and women and protests by democratic forces and religious people played a decisive role in restoring democratic freedoms. But this grim struggle has not ended. It continues to shake the country and holds out the prospect of still more acute clashes.

In this great battle our Party and the Communist Youth League—the main forces of the working-class and student movements—substantially increased their membership. Our Party, whose membership rose ten-fold during the past few years, was joined in 1968 alone by 11,000 persons, including the new members of the Communist Youth League. The circulation of our daily newspaper has grown. More and more people listen to our radio broadcasts and our theoretical journal has the most massive readership in the country. Our Party, 78 per cent of whose membership are workers, and our Communist Youth League, which has sunk deep roots in the student movement, have won greater influence over these sections of the people. At the same time, we have consolidated the unity of forces within the Left Front of Liberation and extended the alliance with democratic circles and believers.

Now, as we speak here, our country is looking for solutions to complex political problems. It is in the grip of a sharp class struggle. Our Party, which is working to resolve these problems in a democratic and anti-imperialist spirit and to secure progressive changes, realises that our country may soon again be confronted with a threat from the "gorillas". But the Party is confident that the people will rise to the struggle against them.

Comrades, let our concluding words be words of gratitude to the glorious Party of Lenin, of gratitude for its hospitality and for its extremely valuable contribution to the success of our Meeting.

## GERHARD DANELIUS

Chairman,  
Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, I should like to thank the Preparatory Committee for its constructive and successful work, and to express our joy over the fact that this momentous world Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is again taking place in Moscow, the centre of the international revolutionary working-class movement.

With close attention, our delegation heard the speech of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. In our view, its fundamental and determinative propositions will be of extremely great help to the struggle of our Party and West Berlin's other democratic and socialist forces.

Also, we are in complete accord with that part of Comrade Brezhnev's speech in which he levels principled criticism at the adventurist and divisive position of the Chinese Communist Party leadership.

The 9th CPC Congress substituted "Maoism" for Marxism-Leninism, and declared that it would fight against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties. That naturally requires each Marxist-Leninist Party to defend the world outlook of the proletariat, the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, against this so-called Maoism.

The provocations staged by the Chinese leadership on the Sino-Soviet border encourage the enemies of socialism and the West German revenge-seekers, who also lay territorial claims against other states and peoples.

Like the members and friends of our Party, all progressively-minded industrial workers and intellectuals opposing the system of late capitalism expect substantial headway from this Meeting in cementing the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and, consequently, fresh and powerful stimuli for the joint anti-imperialist struggle.

Our Party has at all stages followed the preparations for this Meeting, which it actively supported, with deep interest.

A few days ago the second West German TV channel presented a commentary on the differences in the world communist movement, naturally one written from the bourgeois standpoint. The commentator said the differences were for the West an inspiring hope.

However, the preparations and progress of the present Meeting and the dominant tendency in the world communist movement, centred on restoring unity of action in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, are a guarantee that the hopes of the foes of socialism will not come true.

The Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin has in principle approved the draft of the Main Document. Our delegation also states its agreement with the other documents drafted by the Preparatory Committee.

What, then, are the general and specific tasks and problems of the anti-imperialist struggle facing us in West Berlin?

The rulers of West Germany and West Berlin have prescribed to the latter the function of a front-line city in the cold war, making it a spearhead against the German Democratic Republic, the cause of peace and social progress.

The "Grand Coalition" government in Bonn and West Berlin's Social-Democratic Senate pay lip-service to a peaceful order in Europe, discoursing about détente and relations based on humanism. But when words have to be backed up by deeds they revert to the old-time vocabulary of German imperialism, great-power chauvinism and revenge.

This held true when they faced the alternative of translating words into deeds and signing the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and when dealing with the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries for a European security conference, against which the Bonn government is piling up new reservations. This held true, too, when the West German rulers gave to understand by their hostile reaction to the diplomatic recognition of the GDR by Iraq, Cambodia and Sudan that they persist in their unlawful claim to sole representation of all Germans, which is directed against the GDR.

This also held true when the West German government organised the provocative election of the Federal President outside the Federal Republic and unlawfully used the territory of West Berlin for this purpose, in which, moreover, the neo-fascist National Democratic Party officially took part.

In its drive for conquest and supremacy, German imperialism has never been able to produce a realistic appraisal of the international situation. Now, too, it responds with redoubled aggressiveness to the restriction of its sphere of dominance and the change in the relation of forces in favour of socialism.

The old imperialist aims are still alive, and with them the greedy wish to lay hold of atomic weapons, the claim to sole representation of the German people, the craving to absorb West Berlin, the non-recognition of the Oder and Neisse borders, and the refusal to acknowledge without qualification that the Munich agreement has been invalid from the beginning. As before, Bonn is counter-acting the effort to assure peace and security in Europe.

We are striving to mobilise ever more workers and other working people, more members of different strata of our population, for actions against Bonn's unlawful interference in the affairs of our city, against the use of West Berlin territory for provocations against the socialist countries, for a normalisation of East-West relations and, particularly, relations with the German Democratic Republic. That we consider to be our contribution to securing European peace.

Comrades, we hold that the principles of the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, as set out in the draft of the Main Document, are of the utmost topical importance. The peaceful coexistence policy is encountering bitter resistance on the part of imperialism, whose substance boils down to expansion and aggression in all forms.

At present, the foes of the latter-day capitalist society are asking us how we conceive aligning our policy of peaceful coexistence with the requirements of the class struggle.

To this we reply: to be an anti-imperialist means, first and foremost, to block for imperialism all routes to "a way out", that is, to frustrate its policy of violence and war, which is its very essence.

The capitalist makers of arms, the owners of concerns, must not be given an opportunity to drive the peoples of Europe back on to the battlefield. We must not allow matters to come to a point where the vile banner of the anti-communist crusade is unfurled again over our continent as a banner of war.

What revolutionary strategy amounts to is to draw broad sections of the population of the highly developed industrial countries of Central and Western Europe into the anti-imperialist struggle and to secure the best possible prospects for solidarity with all dependent and oppressed peoples fighting for self-determination and national and social emancipation.

As evidenced by the Americans' own term, "global strategy", imperialism is planning actions engulfing the whole world. That plan, its aims and methods, are designed to buttress and extend the imperialists' power, to soften up and destroy socialism and paralyse the struggle of the peoples for national independence and social progress. In so doing, the imperialists have no intention of limiting themselves in the choice of means.

Escalation begins with psychological warfare. According to the phased scheme worked out by US expert Kahn and propagated by Helmut Schmidt, defence expert of the SDPG, this warfare can in each particular case become a limited war, a war with conventional weapons, then a total atomic war of annihilation—and always with an eye on the maximum advantage for war-industrial capital and imperialism.

This alone reveals that the global strategists conceive of no "zone of calm" anywhere. They have not reconciled themselves to the existing balance of forces and the territorial set-up either in Europe or Southeast Asia, or the Middle East.

The greater the economic and military weight of West German imperialism becomes, the more sharply we see it as a dangerous and independent firebrand and, in the final analysis, the main offender against peace and order in Europe.

It is the same bitter enemy of the peoples who twice plunged our continent into world wars. Backed by its revived aggressive military potential, it is creating a growing threat to Europe as it captures more and more key positions in NATO.

In sum, German imperialism is doing its utmost to prevent the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems from being put into effect in Europe.

We reply to the critics of the peaceful coexistence policy: wherever im-

perialism effects provocations and schemes war, it must be repulsed in time by the joint efforts of workers, the youth and all champions of peace in one's country, and that with the backing of the might of the socialist community. Wherever it wages war, it must be smashed and compelled to withdraw, and this by means of a world-wide solidarity movement.

There is no other way but class struggle to secure the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Comrades, a movement for peace, democracy and social progress is spreading in West Berlin. It has drawn into its orbit industrial workers and intellectuals, Communists and Social Democrats, Christians of both denominations, trade union members, students and teachers, and secondary and vocational school pupils. This movement materialises in demonstrations:

- against the US aggression in Vietnam;

- against the fascist terror in Spain, Portugal and Greece;

- against the emergency legislation policy and the practical enforcement of the emergency laws;

- for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, against Bonn's claims to sole representation of the German people;

- for greater democracy at factory level, in the economy and in politics;

- for democratic reforms in education and the higher school, guaranteeing all, regardless of social standing and origin, every opportunity to get an education, and for the participation of pupils and students in running their schools and colleges.

The situation in West Berlin is highlighted by the fact that a large number of new people, above all young workers and students, are joining in this movement.

Despite manipulation with public opinion, the basic contradiction between the social nature of production and the private appropriation of the results of labour by the big proprietors, and the contradiction between the mass craving for peace and social progress and the reactionary home and foreign policy of the rulers, are becoming increasingly obvious. As a result, the younger generation most of all is coming into collision with the system of latter-day capitalism, which can offer it no guaranteed peaceful, creative perspective.

The movement came as a surprise for the rulers. They thought that their anti-communist and anti-Soviet doctrine was everlasting. They held the schools, colleges and secondary educational establishments, universities and technical schools to be a dependable support for their system as seats of ideological indoctrination implanting anti-socialist views.

What comes as the biggest surprise for the bourgeoisie, however, is that the movement has not ceased despite the favourable economic situation and the relatively full employment. The best people of the younger generation are not content with the prospect of a job, a TV set, an automatic washing machine, or even an automobile.

Young and elderly workers are equally and increasingly conscious of their class position and of the irreconcilable contradiction between the interests of the people and the monopolies. The bourgeois trick of "social partnership", according to which the interests of labour and capital are identical, is pulling less and less weight.



This development is reflected in the demand for greater democracy in production, in the economy and politics, the demand to restrict monopoly power.

All this was reaffirmed on May 1, 1969. Workers and young employees, members of factory production councils and Left-wing Social Democrats, students and intellectuals, responded to our Party's call and held a May Day demonstration in the working-class districts of West Berlin. This time, the workers and other working people refused to come to the traditional cold war meeting organised by Senate politicians in Republic Square. That was a double-edged blow: firstly, at those who pervert the sense of the May Day holiday and, secondly, at the ultra-Left forces bent on subverting the unity of the democratic and socialist forces.

The new developments in West Berlin place a heavy responsibility on our Party, whose influence is growing.

Allow me now to refer briefly to the student actions in our city. An increasing number of students refuses to serve the system of latter-day capitalism as hoodwinked "hollow-minded" specialists. The rising generation of researchers and technicians is ever more conscious of the fact that the old system is based on spurious ideas. That is why the students of today, that is, the scientists, technicians and engineers of tomorrow, oppose the power of capital, oppose the anti-human system hostile to reason.

This process is doubly significant at this time when science, even in the capitalist environment, is increasingly becoming the decisive productive force. The scientific and technical intelligentsia is therefore becoming a special stratum of the working class, and its strength and social weight are rapidly gaining. It stands at the main levers of production, the mass media and the mechanics of public administration.

Should the intelligentsia fail to grasp this and isolate itself as an "élite", it will fall victim to the prevailing system, will be subordinated by it, standardised and integrated. We must prevent this from happening, showing more understanding for the complicated ways in which the rebellious youth develops, helping it, showing more faith in its enthusiasm and ability to learn through struggle, as well as to teach us from time to time.

While working for unity, we oppose the ultra-Left views, the "élite" idea, in principle. We oppose those who underrate the daily struggle for social and political reforms and counterpose it to the ultimate goal of socialism, denying the role of the working class, of its Marxist-Leninist Party, running down the GDR and the Soviet Union and chiming in with the bourgeoisie. At the same time, we conduct our ideological work with an eye on the fact that the student movement in West Berlin is essentially progressive, mirroring the deep contradiction between the interests of the monopolies and the masses. That is the reason why the students of the higher technical schools have gone on strike now under the slogans, "Equal Educational Opportunities for All" and "Workers and Engineers Need No Shareholders".

The bourgeoisie is determined to prevent the growth of worker-student solidarity; it portrays the student movement as criminal and endeavours to suppress it by terror, not short of outright murder.

We see our task in reinforcing the alliance with the intelligentsia in the interest of democratisation and radical changes in social relationships.

The men who run West Germany pursue their reactionary home policy and their aggressive revenge-seeking foreign policy by new methods, though retaining the old chauvinist, great-power claims.

Their allies are those who look back, rather than ahead. They support the US imperialists in the war against the heroic Vietnamese people, and the fascist regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece, and encourage and legalise neo-nazism, paving the way to the Bundestag for the fascist NDP.

A few days ago, a judgement of the supreme West Berlin judiciary in effect guaranteed impunity to nazi criminals. The impatience of the younger generation, eager to end the system of latter-day capitalism as quickly as possible, is, therefore, anything but surprising.

Our Party conducts extensive propaganda, publicising the basic works of V. I. Lenin—*Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, *What Is to Be Done?*, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, *The State and Revolution*, and *'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder*.

As we see it, propaganda of Lenin's ideas and study of his works in close relation to practice, is the best way we can pay tribute to the great leader of the international revolutionary proletariat on the centenary of his birth.

We shall multiply our efforts, so that more workers, students, democrats and Socialists should realise the identity of their interests as opposed to the interests of the monopolies and that they should realise the need for joint action.

To be sure, this does not mean that we have abandoned the fight against ideological and political viewpoints harming the revolutionary working-class movement and the anti-imperialist front. In West Berlin, "Maoism" is quite directly a bourgeois weapon. It works against the unity of all foes of latter-day capitalism, imposing an ultra-Left adventurist line on the democratic and socialist movement and misleading the young people joining in that movement.

At a time when our Party has worked out a revolutionary strategy and tactics suited for the present situation, the present conditions of the struggle and the level of political consciousness among the workers and masses, West Berlin is being flooded with material of Chinese origin, which is delivered free and unimpeded to people's doorsteps.

This material contains the ultra-Left phrasemongering of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, crude attacks and slander against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

We should like to draw the attention of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties to the fact that the anti-socialist and anti-Marxist posture of the CPC leadership does exercise a certain effect, especially on those in West Berlin who, though opposed to the system of latter-day capitalism, are of petty-bourgeois origin, are inexperienced in the class struggle and therefore easily fall prey to the ultra-Left phrasemongering.

The split and anti-communist prejudices are barriers which our movement is in the act of hurdling or still has to hurdle. Undisguised, bellicose and primitive anti-communism has been discredited, and now, quite frequently,

assumes new, camouflaged, more refined forms. For this purpose, monopoly capital enlists the aid primarily of specialists from among the Social-Democratic leadership.

Rightist trade-union elements, for example, "advise" us to criticise not only West German and West Berlin living conditions, not only the system of latter-day capitalism, but also, wherever possible and to the same extent, the socialist countries.

On examining this proposition, we discover a strange identity in the attitudes of the "Left" and Right opportunists. Both occasionally admit the economic, scientific, technical and cultural achievements of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries, as well as their achievements in the sphere of education. However, they deny the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party and oppose the existence of firm socialist state power. They refuse to understand that their "advice" is aimed at discrediting the very basis of all the achievements of the socialist countries in all spheres of public life.

Our response to this is the following:

At present the Right and ultra-Left in West Berlin peddle numerous "models of socialism". All of them endeavour to propagate new, formerly unknown forms of socialism. However, we are advocates of the model that has triumphed in the socialist countries.

Our Party is always striving to improve its strategy and tactics, as well as its slogans, in order to facilitate joint working-class action and the co-operation of all the opponents of the system of latter-day capitalism.

We have no intention of sitting on the fence and, ultimately, sliding to the positions of the dominant capitalist system.

Close bonds with the CPSU, with Lenin's country, with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that is building socialism in the homeland of Marx and Engels, close bonds with all Communist and Workers' Parties in the common anti-imperialist struggle, are for us the guarantee of further progress in our world-wide movement for peace, democracy and socialism.

To the full extent of its ability, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin will promote this aim at the present Meeting. It will also serve this aim by fulfilling its internationalist duty and carrying on the struggle in West Berlin.

## WALTER ULBRICHT

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany conveys to all the Parties friendly greetings from our Party and all the working people of the German Democratic Republic. We express our special gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the extensive work they did in preparing this Meeting.

Delegates of Communist and Workers' Parties from 75 countries, from all continents, have come together here, in the capital of the first socialist state in the world—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—for their Meeting. This shows that the militant slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" from the *Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has been taken up by the working people in the remotest parts of the world.

The International Meeting accords with the objective necessity of rallying together the ranks of Communists, of all revolutionary forces. It is taking place in an atmosphere of sharper international class struggle against imperialism. That is why strengthening the community of socialist states and uniting all the democratic, anti-imperialist forces are a primary task. We welcome the call for a wider offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war, sounded in the Main Document of the International Meeting.

Aware of their responsibility, Communists collectively elaborate and adopt joint documents, and collectively discuss common tasks of the struggle against imperialism; thereby they discharge their duty—they give the peoples answers to urgent questions and provide them with a correct orientation.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany voices its profound satisfaction over the convocation of the present Meeting, which was prepared collectively, in a democratic way.

The SUPG approves of the proposed draft Main Document, which fully conforms to the propositions of the Consultative Conference. It happily combines a concrete formulation of the tasks of the common struggle against imperialism with an analysis of the main processes of international development. The assessments and conclusions pertaining to the joint struggle which are given in the Main Document of the Meeting are in line with the experience

and opinion of our Party. They will promote the rallying together of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces, first of all in the newly free national states and semi-colonial countries, and will raise the common struggle against imperialism to a higher level.

The leader of the CPSU delegation, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, made in his speech a scientific analysis of the international class struggle and the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and set out the basic problems of the strategy and tactics of Communist and Workers' Parties in the contemporary period.

## I

### DIALECTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE WORLD ARENA AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BALANCE OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES

The results of the international class struggle in recent years have corroborated the assessment of the nature of the contemporary epoch elaborated by the Marxist-Leninist Parties at the 1960 Meeting in Moscow. The peoples of the world visualise more clearly and graphically the profound historic fact that the 20th century is an epoch of the general crisis of capitalism and downfall of the capitalist system, an epoch of struggle between the two world systems, an epoch of democratic and national revolutions, an epoch of social revolution of the working class and the victory of the socialist social system.

In the less than ten years which have passed since the previous Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, the socialist social system has scored great victories, and the peoples of the community of socialist states have registered new achievements in every sphere of their endeavours. Under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party the working people of the Soviet Union have attained notable successes in building communism. They have reached the highest world level in decisive spheres of science and industry. Soviet builders erect houses at the fastest pace in the world. The number of books annually printed, sold and read in the Soviet Union is well over 1,000-million copies. Every fourth scientist on our planet is a citizen of the Soviet Union.

All these are facts which reflect the power and energy of triumphant socialism, the successes of socialist society in the economy, science, technology and culture and in the people's life.

These common successes have been attained by the efforts of all socialist countries. The working people of the German Democratic Republic have also considerably advanced during these years. Under the leadership of a united working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party they have demonstrated what creative powers the socialist system is capable of engendering in an industrially developed country. The elaboration of a developed social system of socialism, of the socialist Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, the socialist economic system, the socialist remaking of agriculture

and also the development of the socialist system of education and of a socialist national culture—all these are notable achievements of the common constructive initiative of the working people. The socialist German state is erecting an insurmountable barrier to the aggressive and revanchist policy of West German imperialism and militarism and, together with the progressive democratic forces of West Germany, is indicating to the entire German nation the way to a peaceful socialist future. In close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the German Democratic Republic is a strong bulwark of peace and security in Europe. Thereby we are discharging our historic mission.

## PROCESS OF GROWTH OF THE COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES

*Despite all subversive activities of world imperialism and difficulties of internal growth the community of socialist states as a whole has grown stronger and more consolidated in recent years, and its influence in the world has risen.* Member states of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in their decisions, taken in Budapest and Moscow, mapped out important measures for strengthening their unity and cohesion and raising the efficacy of their co-operation and integration. The proposals of socialist states, designed to ensure world peace, to solve such intricate problems of world politics as the cessation of US aggression in Vietnam, withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli forces and a political settlement of the Middle East question, to safeguard peace and security in Europe and to prepare an all-European conference on questions of security and co-operation, to restrict and end the arms race, and so on, prove that it is these states that hold the political initiative in the struggle for peace and security the world over.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU in his speech painted a convincing picture of the achievements of the USSR in building the socialist social system and in the effort to attain the highest scientific and technological level. We heartily congratulate our Soviet friends on these successes.

The building of the material and technical basis of communism by the glorious Soviet people, the building of socialism by the peoples of the People's Democracies promote in our days the joint accomplishment of two tasks of historic import: the socialist revolution must facilitate the development of socialist society and the mastery of the scientific and technological revolution. It is necessary to cut short the expansionist plans of imperialism and by united struggle compel it to accept peaceful coexistence. Struggle for the highest labour productivity, for the most efficient forms of socialist planning, guidance and organisation of all social processes, that is, struggle for the people to live in conditions of social security, peace and happiness, has become for the socialist countries the main content of the struggle between socialism and capitalism on an international scale.

Today no socialist country is able to cope with these tasks single-handed. The operation of socialism's economic laws in the socialist countries, the

exacerbation of the international class struggle and the development of the contemporary productive forces demand the further development, strengthening and integration of the community of socialist states as a jointly operating system based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The community of socialist states is not merely a sum total of the national forces of the member countries of this community. Its strength is rooted above all in the purposeful co-operation in different spheres, and the *pooling of all creative potentialities*. This is particularly important because considerable differences still exist in the development level of the productive forces and relations of production in individual countries, while close co-operation makes it easier for all the fraternal Parties to gain the necessary experience and knowledge for solving intricate problems of developed socialist society. *Socialist economic integration of the states of our community is becoming a decisive factor in accelerating the progress of the national economies of socialist countries and in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism.* Interdependence and close solidarity of the socialist countries, consequently, is an objectively operating law of their voluntary association in a community of nationally sovereign socialist states.

Only by joint effort will we be able to accomplish our common historic task—to achieve socialism's superiority in all the decisive spheres of social development. A long period is needed to accomplish this task. We will achieve it in the community of socialist states by combining the national interests with the general interests of socialism. This will open up new prospects in the struggle against imperialism, new prospects for more vigorous and effective support to all the revolutionary forces of the world.

It is an axiom that in different countries the socialist social system is being built in different conditions. This is important, but not decisive. The laws of social development, the general laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society, discovered by Marxism-Leninism, hold good for all countries.

It goes without saying that the epochal transition from an exploiting society to socialism is a complex and difficult process. Naturally, the problems of this transition do not become easier to solve just because this period is regarded as a brief phase. The experience of history shows that the pace of socialist progress depends on two factors: on the one hand, on the development of the productive forces and the socialist relations of production, the degree of the Marxist-Leninist maturity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries, on the socialist development of the superstructure, and on the other, on the level of the all-round co-operation among the states of the socialist community.

Ever since the October Revolution there have been those who have tried to divert attention from the consequences of capitalism's general crisis by exaggerating the difficulties and contradictions that arise during the transition from capitalism to communism. They view socialist countries usually through the prism of various high achievements of capitalist industry and the "pluralism" of capitalist democracy. That is why they are unable to discern the problems which naturally arise during the transition from capitalism to socialism, the struggle between the economic laws of socialism and the consequences

of the operation of capitalism's economic laws. They advise us to replace the policy of a broad alliance, effected in the National Front under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary Party in socialist countries, by the so-called pluralism of different parties. But this pluralism in effect is nothing but a reflection of the contradictions of the class struggle within capitalist society. It serves to camouflage the dictatorship of monopoly capital. What is, then, the meaning of such recommendations which seek to impose on the socialist system capitalist pluralism which is alien to it? Must we give the class enemy the opportunity to gain influence under the guise of pluralism? This, to say the least, would retard socialist development.

The situation is different in the capitalist countries, where Communist and Workers' Parties are still waging the struggle for power. It is an entirely different matter when in such conditions understanding is reached not only with Social-Democratic but also with inimical parties. True, the ruling class allows pluralism as a rule only to the extent that it does not endanger the existence of the bourgeois system. Although in some capitalist countries the Communist Parties are the largest parties, with regard to them the rules of the "pluralist" game usually are disregarded the moment the issue of state power comes up. Then bourgeois-democratic rights are curtailed in an increasingly undisguised way, the constitution is emasculated, parliament is deprived of independence and state-monopoly dictatorship is extended.

## THE ADVENTURIST NATURE OF IMPERIALISM

In recent years, imperialism provided added proof of its adventurist man-hating nature, particularly by the barbarous US war against the heroic people of Vietnam and Israel's war of conquest against the Arab countries, primarily the United Arab Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic, Jordan and Iraq. But the courageous and dedicated national liberation struggle of the glorious sons of Vietnam has proved that the people of a small country supported by the Soviet Union and international solidarity is able to defeat the United States, the mightiest of the imperialist powers. In the Israeli war against the Arab states, too, the aggressor fell short of his political aim.

A state-monopoly system of rule by capitalism has fully crystallised in imperialist states. Our assessment of new phenomena in the system of imperialism coincides with the analysis given by Comrade Brezhnev. The main contradictions of the capitalist system have grown so acute that the interlocking of the power of the monopolies with the power of the State has objectively become the only possible condition for the existence of contemporary imperialism. The state and the monopolies coalesce, turning into a single machine, thereby exacerbating the old contradictions of capitalism and giving rise to new ones. The main contradiction between the group of big industrialists, financial tycoons and militarists, on the one hand, and the broad sections of the people, on the other, is becoming ever deeper.

*The sharp exacerbation of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism on a world scale is the main feature of present-day international development.*



The new element in the policy of the ruling class of monopoly capital in West Germany is the striving for expansion and for the winning of hegemony over the West European states, infiltration of People's Democracies with the object of preventing the building of socialism in them, the drive to capture political and economic positions of power in Arab, African and Asian countries. It was only a few days ago that the West German Finance Minister, *Strauss*, expounded in London a project for a West European military alliance equipped with nuclear weapons. On the basis of West Germany's economic potentialities the militarists of that country would like to capture a leading role in that alliance in order, as Strauss put it, "to regain a voice in world politics". Early this year Bonn War Minister Schroeder in his speech at the Export Club in Munich put forward as the aim of West German expansionist policy the demand to make the Bonn state a "model and initial point for the solution of our national problem in the way we want". This means that a spokesman of the ruling party, War Minister Schroeder, advocates the annexation of the German Democratic Republic. And this is termed a change of the status quo by these gentlemen.

Every reasonable person in the world can foresee what terrible consequences would result from equipping West Germany with atomic weapons. *The atomic arming of the West German state, which pursues a revanchist policy directed against the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Poland and the Soviet Union, is imperialist madness, a crime against the German nation and against the peoples of Europe.*

Twenty years ago the big West German bourgeoisie, through a coup, divided Germany in order to reararm West Germany. Today by its policy of revanche and atomic arming it stakes the existence of the entire nation. That is why unity of all peace forces in West Germany and their co-operation with the first peace-loving German state, the German Democratic Republic, is a vital necessity.

The opinion has been corroborated that state-monopoly capitalism fears the growing might and the power of attraction of the world socialist system and that the internal contradictions of the predatory imperialist system are weighing it down. And so it, as it were, resorts to a "flight forward". Making use of its historically conditioned, temporary economic advantage, state-monopoly capitalism wants to reinforce its growing aggressiveness by its economic potential. It utilises science and technology on a wide scale as a decisive weapon in the economic, political and military struggle between the two world systems. It wants to go over to the offensive and tries to change the international balance of forces in its favour.

The conflict with imperialism has grown sharper, it involves ever wider spheres and no one can evade it. That is why there can be no "between-the-fronts policy". There can be no "logic of blocs". There is only the firm class position and the logic of the class struggle and a wide struggle of the people for ensuring the peace.

Typical of new methods of imperialism is the waging of psychological warfare, the attempt to undermine the bastions of the working class and of socialism and to corrupt socialist consciousness with the help of the convergence theory. The imperialists demagogically picture the scientific and technological revolution

as a way which supposedly leads to the overcoming of "old capitalism" and to the drawing together of monopoly capitalism and the socialist system. The scientific and technological revolution and the concentration of the productive forces under capitalism do lead to the further socialisation of production. But this merely proves that the domination of several thousand monopolists is increasingly becoming an anachronism, that on the order of the day is the turning of the big monopolies into the property of the people, and the struggle for socialism.

We should add to this that big capital, which from the moment socialism arose in the Soviet Union has constantly attacked the very idea of economic planning, now itself is planning in the large concerns and is even compelling the state machine to engage in a kind of programming in the interest of capital. The big monopolies are thus forced to borrow from the Soviet Union definite forms and methods of programming, although in a modified form. Here it is a matter of trying to mitigate the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. But this does not alter the substance of capitalism.

The so-called "new Eastern policy" of the Bonn government also belongs among the diverse new methods of imperialism which aims to penetrate the socialist countries and reverse the development of socialism.

This policy ultimately is only a variety of the convergence theory. Moreover, the Social-Democratic ministers have undertaken the task, taking cover behind statements about "love of peace" of the supposedly "changed imperialism" and about its "readiness for mutual understanding" and utilising the Trojan horse tactics, of finding ways for penetrating the socialist countries and opening the gates to ideological subversion, economic dependence and counter-revolution. The Bonn Foreign Minister writes, for example, in the Italian press about reducing tension, but in Bonn he does not even speak up for signing the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and fights against the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as an equal state.

Imperialism has succeeded in driving breaches in sectors of the international class struggle where the fighting efficiency of the national revolutionary forces was temporarily paralysed or where the international solidarity and unity of the progressive forces were temporarily weakened and therefore could not fully display themselves. The community of socialist states and other revolutionary forces acting in alliance with it, however, succeeded in beating back the attacks of world imperialism, and turning its initial successes into defeats in some decisive sectors of the class struggle in the world arena.

The lessons of the international class struggle of recent years teach us: imperialism preserves its adventurist nature, it has become more aggressive, more perfidious and dangerous. But it no longer has the strength fundamentally to change the balance of forces in the world in its favour. Objectively, the world revolutionary forces have everything necessary to score new victories and to inflict new defeats on imperialism. This, however, calls for tireless strengthening of their fighting efficiency, for further reinforcing and uniting their ranks in the struggle against the chief enemy of mankind—imperialism.

*The most important thing is to create a united front and an all-out movement of the democratic and anti-imperialist-minded people.*

If we can speak today of *new conditions of the revolutionary struggle*, they stem from the greater might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, from the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, from the successes of the national liberation movement. As state-monopoly rule is fully established, the class and people's struggle in capitalist countries increasingly encompasses all of society.

We watch with feelings of deep solidarity the efforts of fraternal Parties in capitalist countries to utilise the new possibilities of the anti-imperialist struggle by applying a bold and flexible policy of alliance with the peasantry, intelligentsia, workers in culture, the youth and students, with part of the middle strata, and so on. We agree with the opinion of fraternal Parties that *the new conditions of struggle in the capitalist countries, the influx of new millions into the working class and also the broadest alliance with non-proletarian classes and strata demand an internal strengthening of the Communist Parties, greater propaganda of Marxist-Leninist ideology, determined struggle against Right opportunism and Left adventurism and also the ensuring of the necessary political and social composition of the leadership.*

One of the distinctions of the international class struggle is that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are exerting an ever greater influence on development in the capitalist countries, while the psychological war of the capitalist countries, in turn, also influences the socialist countries. The capitalist states have not only built a whole network of radio stations around the socialist countries but they have also succeeded in recruiting turncoats among revisionists from some socialist countries who have entered the service of anti-communist institutes of the United States and West German imperialism and are working quite energetically there.

The international balance of power will change in favour of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism to the extent that these forces are able:

- to consolidate still more the political, military and ideological alliance of the states of the socialist community, to effect socialist, economic integration and reinforce their might and unity;

- to build communism in the Soviet Union and developed socialist society in other fraternal countries in an exemplary way, in combination with the most rational mastery of the scientific and technological revolution;

- to strengthen *united action* of Communist and Workers' Parties against imperialism and step by step achieve complete ideological and political unity;

- to reinforce the alliance of socialist states, of Communist and Workers' Parties with all the other anti-imperialist forces and build up an invincible *world-wide militant community directed against the chief common enemy—imperialism.*

A guarantee of the accomplishment of all these tasks—and of this we are firmly convinced—is the closest *rallying of the revolutionary forces of the entire world round the CPSU and the USSR*, which, under the guidance of Lenin, were the first in the world to lead the proletarian revolution to victory and build socialist society and now are the first in the world to blaze mankind's trail to communism; which bore the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of

Europe and the entire world from fascism; which as the leading force of peace and socialism have decisively contributed to preventing the imperialist aggressors from unleashing a third world war.

Some say that the need for rallying the Communist and Workers' Parties, all the forces of progress round the Soviet Union has diminished now that there are several socialist states as compared with the time when the Soviet Union was the only country building socialism. But the opposite is the case: historical materialism teaches us that the importance of society, of the state, is determined above all by its social nature. The international role of the Soviet Union as the pioneer of progress naturally increases because today it is the first in the world to build communist society. It is with the birth and growth of several socialist states, with the formation of the world socialist system, that the role of the Soviet Union has increased. Today, in conditions of the revolution in weaponry and military science, the defence capability of the Soviet Union, more than ever before, is the decisive guarantee of the defence of all socialist states and also of progressive, newly free national states, a guarantee of the defence of world peace.

## II

### HISTORIC MISSION OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY, SOCIALISM AND PEACE

After the defeat of Hitler fascism in the Second World War, lessons from history were drawn in the eastern part of Germany; the first peace-loving German state, the German Democratic Republic, was set up there. Imperialism and fascism were uprooted in an industrially developed country, the rule of the people was established under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary Party, in alliance with the peasantry, intelligentsia, artisans and handicraftsmen. *It was demonstrated that it was fully possible to establish the rule of the working people in the heart of Western Europe, on German soil.* The slogan: *Everything through the people, with the people, and for the people!* was translated into reality.

That was not an easy task. Since US imperialism staked on the division of Germany in order to preserve German imperialism as a spearhead directed against socialism, in the German Democratic Republic socialism had to be built in the conditions of a divided country and an open frontier, in the conditions of a bitter class struggle. But the tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism were successfully accomplished because the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has always striven creatively to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism and general laws to the concrete conditions of our country, because it has been, and remains, fraternally linked with the Party of Lenin, the CPSU.

The socialist system was established for the first time in a developed country where the working class comprised a majority of the population. This working class had to be able to direct onto the socialist road the peasants and all other

working sections, even rich peasants and small and middle capitalists. Our Party tirelessly substantiated this requirement and right of the working class to lead the nation and saw to its implementation. It conclusively demonstrated that the big bourgeoisie, which by its policy had repeatedly plunged the German people into wars and calamities, had forfeited this role for good.

The most complicated task was undoubtedly that socialism had to be built by people millions of whom had been captives of fascist ideology. The monstrous loss of spiritual and moral stamina and ideological confusion in the minds of people were much worse for us than the material damage inflicted by the Second World War. It was necessary to eliminate the fascist way of thinking and the influence exerted by reactionary bourgeois ideas over the years.

In the 20 years which passed after the defeat of Hitler fascism by the Soviet Army an anti-fascist democratic and a socialist revolution were effected in the German Democratic Republic in a democratic way. Socialist relations of production triumphed. That is why our Party at its 7th Congress was able to set the next goal: the creation of a developed social system of socialism. The most essential thing is that all sides of the social process are taken and developed in their interdependence, interconnection and unity.

The economic system of socialism has now been comprehensively elaborated, we have experience in operating it, and it will be fully achieved in the next few years. This enables us to utilise all the advantages of socialism in solving problems of the scientific and technological revolution, to elaborate the most effective pattern of our national economy and to score outstanding achievements in the economy, science and technology. In the course of the third reform of higher education which is carried out jointly by students and professors, the universities are being reorganised in conformity with the demands of developed socialist society. The single socialist system of education has been fully introduced and it is proving its worth. The socialist national culture of the German Democratic Republic is growing out of the humanist and anti-fascist democratic legacy.

In the course of shaping the developed system of socialism various social strata of the working people draw increasingly closer to their vanguard, the working class. On the basis of the new, socialist relations, women and young people participate in social development more actively than ever before. People are shaping their lives more and more in conformity with the rules of socialist morality and ethics. The socialist community of people and their comradesly co-operation are growing stronger.

The GDR's new Constitution not only reflects these deep social changes but also helps the people to shape an advanced socialist society while improving socialist democracy. The fact that the Constitution has been worked out and is being implemented by the people demonstrates the essential superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist state system in the sphere of democracy.

We are sometimes offered recipes from the capitalist countries for building socialist society in the GDR in a different and allegedly better way. Up to now we have held to our own recipes: we have been striving to make a creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to our concrete national and

historical conditions. Up to now this has enabled us to achieve good results. We have eradicated in our German state the power of the monopolies, the militarists and the Junkers. In alliance with all sections of the working people, we have established the power of the workers and peasants, and are successfully building a developed socialist society. Of course, we want the rule of monopoly capital to be overthrown in the capitalist countries and the rule of the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia and other working people established. In the event, we shall make a thorough study of the experience and knowledge of these countries. And whatever is done better over there we shall use and apply in accordance with our own conditions.

Thanks to the existence of the GDR and its socialist policy of peace, which is being carried out in alliance with the USSR, the German people and all the peoples of Europe, despite the aggressive policy of West German imperialism, have been living through the longest peace period of this century. The GDR is fully resolved in the future to prevent, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a situation in which the vital interests of socialism would be infringed and encroachments made on the inviolable frontiers of the socialist community and hence on the foundations of universal peace.

Compared with other West European countries, West Germany has the highest degree of integration of all spheres of social life in a state-monopoly system of rule, with such characteristic developments as full-fledged domination by the most reactionary forces of military and finance capital, the so-called internal state reform in the spirit of revanchism and militarism, the financial reform in the interests of finance capital, the extension of the monopoly dictatorship through emergency laws, the militarisation of social life and the manipulation of people's spiritual world. In this way the imperialist rulers of the Bonn state want to create the conditions for brazenly using, at the expense of the working people, the scientific and technical revolution to consolidate their economic and political power. The concentration of capital has been markedly accelerated, the establishment of giant concerns is spreading in scope, and profits have soared to incredible heights.

Comrade Max Reimann spoke of this in detail, and we fully agree with his views.

*All this serves to step up the economic and political expansion of West German imperialism, above all in the countries of Western Europe. For the same purpose as Hitler, if by somewhat different methods, West German imperialism wants to secure domination of Western Europe for its aggressive policy against the socialist countries. For this, it holds, it is necessary to "display the required political insistence". West German imperialism is able to conduct this policy of intensifying dictatorship at home and unbridled expansion and aggressiveness in external relations only by using Social-Democratic ministers as accomplices of the ruling state-monopoly system and as executors of its will.*

Although West German imperialism has concentrated all its strength on maintaining the obsolete capitalist order, it is incapable of easing its main internal contradiction. An ever greater section of the working class and other segments of the West German population realise the irreconcilable contradiction between their vital interests and the West German government's policy.

West German imperialism has been able to intensify its expansionist policy because it could rely on Social-Democratic ministers alongside the conservative and militaristic forces, the neo-nazi organisations, and the reactionary clergy. Without the Social-Democratic ministers' support for the imperialist policy, West German monopoly capital cannot exercise its function of chief ally of the United States in implementing its global strategy in Europe. But a situation has arisen in which, on the one hand, monopoly capital tries to lash the Social-Democratic ministers to its policy with stronger bonds, and on the other, the movement for democratic progress tries to draw the Social-Democratic Party into the democratic struggle and the struggle to get the SPD to move away from the policy of the reactionary CDU/CSU party.

As the scientific and technical revolution in West Germany advances, there is a growth of social insecurity. Although monopoly capital does manage to neutralise, by means of higher wages, a section of the skilled working people and condition them through bourgeois ideology, there is a growing uncertainty about the future among the majority of the working class and the toiling peasantry, a certain section of the intelligentsia and a section of the economic executives.

The movement of the working class, youth and intelligentsia in West Germany against Bonn's expansionist policy, for the international legal recognition of the GDR shows that the successes of our workers' and peasants' state also benefit the working people of West Germany. *The more they see for themselves the achievements of the socialist German state, the stronger their drive against the monopoly rule, revanchism and militarism.* Thus, the successful forming of a socialist society in the GDR goes to narrow down the social base of West German imperialism and its possibilities for manipulation.

The "Grand Coalition" set up by the chief party of West German monopoly capital has turned out to be a major conspiracy against the working people's interests, against peace and security in Europe. This clear-cut assessment is necessary to bring out and use the real possibilities for establishing a united anti-monopoly front in West Germany.

That there is a growing awareness of this in West Germany is evidenced by the recent West German trade union congress. Thus, for instance, Chairman of the Rheinland-Pfalz trade unions, Lelbach, supported by numerous delegates from industry, came out against the "Grand Coalition" subjecting the workers and their trade unions to "the coercion of concerted action". There is growing dissatisfaction among West German workers over the fact that the Social Democrats have totally abandoned socialism.

Up to the mid-1950s, the Social-Democratic leadership tried to create the impression that it was seeking a third way for Germany. This Social-Democratic propaganda benefited the big bourgeoisie, because it was designed to divert the mass of workers in West Germany from the democratic alternative to state-monopoly capitalism. On the other hand, it was aimed at creating the illusion among petty bourgeois elements in the GDR that it is possible to set up a democratic state system without working-class domination.

This "Social-Democratic way" was exposed by the SPD Right-wing leaders themselves, when they went over to the imperialist positions of the Kiesinger-

Strauss government and supported the repeal of the democratic provisions in the Fundamental Law of West Germany through the introduction of emergency laws. In this way, the Social-Democratic leadership itself helped to undo its prestige. It is, after all, quite inconceivable that such a policy could evoke the slightest sympathy among GDR citizens.

Social-Democratic Party members have started to sum up the results of the "Grand Coalition". Within the party there is a growing force demanding a real democratic alternative to the aggressive policy of West German imperialism, with the young people displaying the greatest activity, for they are not given any attractive prospects by the dictatorship of state-monopoly capitalism.

The opinion of many Social-Democratic Party members was recently voiced by former deputy chairman of the SPD Waldemar von Knorringen. In a pamphlet significantly entitled *What Is Left of Socialism?*, he makes sharp objection to the fact that the Social-Democratic leadership has jettisoned socialism, and that the word *socialism* does not occur a single time in its *Prospects for the 1970s*. He says Social Democracy is in crisis, "for it is seized with profound theoretical doubt which is expressed in the fact that there is almost no fundamental research into theoretical, and thereby practical, questions of social policy". Social Democracy no longer has the answers for the revolutionary transformation of the world. He adds that in West Germany the task today is to "rescue and safeguard man and his values from a social system which confines itself to soft pressure, manipulation and indirect coercion to induce man to adopt a definite mode of action". Knorringen says that "socialism expresses the urge for a just, social, humane community system showing respect for man in each individual; and the idea that the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all".

It is becoming increasingly clear that the views of a sizable section of West German Social Democrats largely coincide with our own. Most members of the Social-Democratic Party stand

for achievement of mutual understanding with other European states on the question of European security;

for a decisive say in the struggle against the dominant positions of the employers, and for abolition of all privileges for the rich monopolists;

against the ruin of the toiling peasants by the big banks and the Bonn government;

against the conservative policy in public education, for equal opportunities for education for all;

in defence of the rights of youth and women.

All these are demands we also back. Of the greatest importance in this connection is the fact that the socialist German state has already proved that these demands can be implemented. But this makes it necessary to break the power of the conservative forces of latter-day West German capitalism.

The GDR's way is the only possible way to our people's peaceful democratic and socialist future. In accordance with the law governing development in our day, our republic embodies the national alternative to the latter-day capitalist system of West Germany. The fundamental historical proposition that the German people can win the respect and friendship of nations, peace and security



only by its achievements in peaceful, creative labour is being implemented in our country.

By its achievements, the GDR has won the respect and recognition of all peoples. For 20 years now, the Bonn government and NATO have been conducting a malicious campaign against the international legal recognition of the GDR. It is obvious that European security can be achieved only on the basis of the equality of all European states. This applies especially to the need for all European states to establish normal relations with the GDR, that is, the German state which has consistently implemented the Potsdam Agreements signed by the leading powers of the anti-Hitler coalition.

The GDR has striven to improve relations also with the German Federal Republic, which, together with the Western Powers, it will be recalled, bears the responsibility for the division of Germany, and has tried to establish normal relations with it under a treaty based on international law. This proposal was rejected both by the conservative government parties and by the SPD leadership on the plea that such a treaty would allegedly perpetuate the division of Germany. This attitude stems from the purpose set out in the Paris Agreements—inclusion of both German states in the NATO military pact, something that would be fraught with the greatest danger to all the peoples of Europe and the world. The reality of the situation should serve as the starting point. Following the establishment in West Germany of full-fledged rule by military-industrial monopolies and militarists, following the legalisation of neo-nazism there, the two German states can coexist peacefully only by concluding international legal treaties with each other. The way to the subsequent unification of the two states will be paved only after the West German state abandons its policy of revenge in any form, stops claiming sole representation of all Germans, and recognises the status quo, only after the democratic progressive forces in West Germany acquire the necessary influence. Those who want to stop West German militarism and put an end to the expansionist policy of the imperialist forces of West Germany, those who want to ensure peace must, in the interests of their own security, come out for normal relations with the GDR. If the Social-Democratic ministers in Bonn really take a serious view of peace and mutual understanding, all they have to do is to abandon their claims to sole representation of all Germans and favour the establishment of normal relations with the socialist German state.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with the GDR by Iraq, Cambodia, Sudan and Syria is evidence of the growing international prestige of the first peace-loving German state—the German Democratic Republic.

The peoples of the world draw a clear line of distinction between the imperialist Bonn state and the German state of peace. The Arab peoples highly value friendship and anti-imperialist co-operation with our republic. As for West German imperialism, it took part in preparing Israel's imperialist aggression against the Arab states and is actively supporting it.

The GDR's foreign policy is aimed at working steadily, together with the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, to secure support for the Budapest message on the achievement of European security by the peoples and governments of the European states. We have not put

forward any preconditions for preparing and holding a conference on European security in which all European states would take an equal part.

We are doing everything we can to ensure European security, to bring about a relaxation of tensions in a way that would also facilitate the normalisation of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. *A European security conference would help pave the way for the establishment of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems.*

### III

#### FOR CONSOLIDATING THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The main task of the international communist and workers' movement at present is to fully utilise all the objective factors operating against imperialism, to implement the new possibilities for intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle by closing our ranks, and to do everything possible to step up and extend the popular anti-imperialist movement.

The preparation and holding of our international Meeting have reaffirmed that the urge for unity and a common stand on the basic issues of our joint struggle are the main feature of the present stage of development of the world communist movement. Common positions on the most important issues have been found in a democratic form and through collective effort, and constructive and creative generalisation of the rich experience of the fraternal Parties has already been achieved, due account being taken of the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism and the diversity of the conditions in which Communist and Workers' Parties have to operate. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is of the opinion that the present Meeting, its assessments and conclusions, the jointly projected acts of struggle and, above all, joint action will accelerate the achievement of greater unity of action. United action by the Communist and Workers' Parties simultaneously promotes the growth of the whole anti-imperialist movement.

This process meets the demands of the present-day international class struggle. The experience of the last few years shows that the counter-revolutionary strategy and tactics of imperialism are doomed to failure wherever the revolutionary forces act in concert and cohesion, in close alliance with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it is natural that wherever Marxism-Leninism and socialist ideology are not developed, bourgeois ideology finds room for its attempts to destroy the unity of the revolutionary forces.

We have been shocked and angered by the aggressive armed raids organised by the Chinese leadership on the Soviet-Chinese border. These acts of armed aggression mean direct support for US global strategy and the expansionist policy of West German imperialism. If a country like the Chinese People's Republic, which calls itself socialist, tries to bring about a change in the boundaries of the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Union—it is playing with fire and simultaneously politically subverting the anti-imperialist struggle.

We are sure that such a policy also does great harm to the Chinese people and the Chinese Communists, with whom we feel closely bound up. Those who provoke clashes along the Soviet Union's borders act as enemies of socialism. They harm the common cause of all socialists, of all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, of all progressive forces in the world. By their acts they encourage the aggressive circles of the United States, West Germany and Great Britain to continue the aggression in the Far East and the Middle East or to continue giving it support, go on threatening socialist Cuba, and respond to the Warsaw Treaty countries' plan for peace and security in Europe by building up the aggressive NATO bloc and rendering active support to West Germany's revenge-seeking policy.

We are aware of China's formidable problems which are yet to be solved. But their solution is not at all made easier through the attention of the Chinese population being diverted by attacks on the first socialist country, the Soviet Union. Everyone knows how much assistance the Soviet Union gave the Chinese People's Republic before the Chinese leadership reversed the decision of the 8th Congress of the CPC. The so-called 9th Congress of the CPC has shown that the Chinese leadership has officially completed its departure from Marxism-Leninism.

We call on the Chinese Communists in the interests of the common struggle against piratical imperialism to stop their hostile acts against the Soviet Union, to abandon any splitting activity inside the communist and workers' movement and to resume co-operation with the Marxist-Leninist Parties at least in the international struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, today the world communist movement is the most formidable political force embracing the whole world. The conditions in which the fraternal Parties carry on their struggle have become more diverse and partially more complicated. The growth of the world communist movement has created conditions which more than ever before make it objectively the central force of the whole anti-imperialist movement. The successes of each brother Party and of the whole of our movement simultaneously enhance their responsibility. The Marxist-Leninist Parties have at their disposal, in theory and practice, the necessary arsenal for evolving scientifically-based strategy and tactics.

In the last two decades, the socialist countries, like the fraternal Parties of many capitalist countries, have scored great successes. No social system in history has ever achieved such enormous successes in a short period as socialism has done. This is an expression of its great viability, which for the first time in history gives scope to all of man's creative abilities. What a long way the Soviet Union has gone from tsarist Russia, a country of wholesale illiteracy and bast shoes, to the most advanced industrialised and cultured country of our day! What great economic and cultural successes have been achieved by the socialist peoples of Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Vietnam, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and other countries since they threw off the yoke of imperialist exploitation and oppression! One of the most important tasks before all Communist and Workers' Parties is to do everything to make known these historical successes, so as to give the masses in the non-socialist

countries the facts showing what a people can do when it has thrown off the fetters of imperialism.

There is no doubt that in the historical development of the international working-class movement the concrete forms of its unity change. The emergence of new and higher forms of unity in the course of dialectical development does not mean, however, the wholesale rejection of the old forms of unity which have proved their worth in the past, but their steady further development in accordance with new conditions and requirements. Today our movement is no longer able to do only with creative activity in theory and practice by each individual brother Party. It needs the collective wisdom of the whole movement. No fraternal Party fights alone. We are confronted with a common enemy organised on an international scale. The class struggle has both national and international aspects. That is why our movement needs appropriate forms and methods of co-operation, of collective elaboration of a common stand. Our Party believes that alongside bilateral and multilateral ties, *regular international meetings and theoretical conferences could become a necessary form of such co-operation*. During the preparation and holding of this Meeting we have accumulated valuable experience in this respect and have learned important lessons.

The activity of all Communist Parties in the period immediately ahead must, we believe, be decisively determined by the joint solution of the tasks formulated in the Document "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces" and in Comrade Brezhnev's speech at the present Meeting. We issue a call for this also to the brother Parties not taking part in this Meeting.

If we had engaged above all in a discussion and emphasising of differences, we believe this would have led not to unity but to even more division, to a dispersal of revolutionary forces. The way to the now necessary strengthening of the political and ideological unity of the international communist movement lies through joint action in the anti-imperialist struggle, through systematic joint effort in the realm of theory.

Life itself, the very preparation and holding of our international Meeting have confirmed the correctness of the line mapped out by the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties: achievement of mutual understanding and unification of our forces through joint action. The successful collective preparation of the international Meeting, the drafting of the Main Document above all, already revealed a considerable *growth in the unity of action* of our communist movement.

We are sure that the collective drafting and adoption of the Main Document and other political documents by our international Meeting will open a new stage in the development of the world communist movement. This stage will be marked by the establishment and consolidation of unity of action by the Marxist-Leninist Parties and, as a result of this, by fresh achievements and victories for the cause of socialism and world peace.

The fundamental common stand on the basic issues and tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle will blend with creative diversity of tactics and methods of activity in the various countries. We shall thereby be following Lenin's

precept that it is necessary to secure application of the universal laws of the class struggle and socialist revolution "which will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions" (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 92).

Our Party still proceeds from the premise that national features and interests can be correctly taken into account only if they are viewed and applied as an expression of the universal and fundamental laws of social development. It goes without saying that each Communist Party must chart the way to this by itself and follow it. Only then shall we be able to avoid the stereotyped approach to the solution of new tasks, and national narrow-mindedness, which has become an anachronism in this age of world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism and the scientific and technical revolution.

In a few months' time, we shall be marking the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our brilliant leader and teacher. Our Party believes that this anniversary is a fitting and suitable occasion for launching a world-wide Marxist-Leninist offensive, because the vital power of Lenin's ideas has never manifested itself with greater force than in our day. The draft address submitted to our Meeting is an excellent document deserving the broadest circulation throughout the world. Let the preparation for Lenin's centenary give rise to a great initiative by all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the radiant ideals of socialism. In this context, we believe it to be an extremely important task to carry on intensified Marxist-Leninist education and training of all the members of our Party, of all the people in our republic. Our Party regards this task as the basic one in the consistent development of our Party and our whole movement.

Our international Meeting has created substantial premises for a rise in our common struggle, and for a world-wide offensive against imperialism. In this struggle we forge the unity of our action, dealing a heavy blow at the speculations of imperialism, at all actions by the opponents of our unity.

Let us consolidate the unity of the world communist and working-class movement! Let us consolidate internationalism!

**LARBI BOUHALI**  
**Head of Delegation,**  
**Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria**

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria greets the Parties here present and expresses deep satisfaction over the fact that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has finally started its work. The holding of such a Meeting is in itself a victory of the first magnitude for our movement in its irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and reaction, and in defence of the vital interests of all peoples. It is a sharp rebuff to the imperialist enemy and all his agents, who, engaging in wishful thinking and speculating on our difficulties, tried to prove that the Communist and Workers' Parties are incapable of meeting to discuss the anti-imperialist struggle and unity of action.

We should also like to express our profound satisfaction over the possibility of participating in this historic Meeting, the convocation of which our Party has supported for many years.

Speaking about the immediate future, it is quite obvious to all that the unity of our movement as the leading revolutionary force, has been and remains the crucial factor in rallying all the anti-imperialist forces in a broad progressive and democratic front of struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

In the last few years there has been a growth in the international arena of the aggressiveness of imperialism, US imperialism above all. This aggressiveness is sustained and is having an impact on the situation throughout the world, especially in areas like Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Central Europe, three seats of grave tension directly jeopardising world peace, and in other areas of the world where imperialism is trying to suppress the democratic and national liberation struggle by armed force.

Events have confirmed that imperialism's growing aggressiveness, despite some successes, notably in Africa, does not mean that the imperialist system has grown stronger; neither does it contradict the assessment given a few years ago about the present epoch being one of transition from capitalism to socialism, and of the balance of forces tilting in favour of the latter. This aggressiveness is due above all to the imperialists' wanting to regain lost positions and to the

fact that they regard the dispersal of the forces that objectively oppose them as a fundamentally encouraging factor. However, US imperialism has failed to carry out its designs either in Vietnam, whose valorous fighters are waging victorious battles, or in the Middle East, where the imperialist-Zionist plans to overthrow the progressive governments of the UAR and Syria were upset thanks to Soviet assistance.

We find ourselves in a tense and rapidly changing situation, with the magnitude of the existing problems and their importance, and the nature and destructive power of modern weapons bringing to the fore, as never in the past, the question of universal peace and disarmament as a compulsive necessity for mankind's survival.

Will these aims, which are vital for all the peoples, be achieved simultaneously with the realisation of equally pressing demands for freedom, social progress and democracy wherever a fierce fight is on for their achievement? This largely depends on the concerted efforts of the fraternal Parties to secure unity, above all unity of action, so as to merge in a single tide all the revolutionary and progressive streams, all anti-imperialist forces, and finally, it depends on their successful work in gradually overcoming the differences in our movement, which revolutionaries should regard as secondary in face of the imperialist threat.

In this context, it is necessary to emphasise the harm done to the world anti-imperialist front by the negative phenomena in our movement in the last few years, preventing this front from growing stronger.

That is why, as our Party has stressed in its documents and in our main political statements, those who unblushingly identify the Soviet Union and US imperialism must be branded with the utmost resolution, for they do grave harm to the whole anti-imperialist movement and have gradually passed from dogmatism to openly repudiating Marxism-Leninism, to chauvinistic and adventurist positions.

Of course, it is regrettable that not all Communist and Workers' Parties are represented at this Meeting. But the absence for various reasons of some Parties cannot be blamed on the Parties that consider it their duty to work tirelessly for the unity of our movement. The absent Parties wished it themselves, and that is their right.

We perfectly understand the reasons for the absence of some Parties, and it will not enter anyone's mind to hold it against them. As for those who replied to the invitations with invective, history and the international working-class movement, including their own Parties, will one day call them to severe account.

However, the absence of some Parties cannot prevent the overwhelming majority of the fraternal Parties from calling the Meeting and working out collectively the basis and conditions for united action. This Meeting is the first stage opening the way to a deeper and broader unity and cohesion of our whole movement. But our Meeting will leave the door wide open for brother Parties which may subsequently decide that the time has come for them to join efforts with the Parties here present.

What is important, we hold, is that this Meeting has united a great number of Parties, and, furthermore, is also capable of adopting a document of enor-

rious political and practical importance. Adoption of the draft Main Document will truly equip the Communist and Workers' Parties, the broad masses of people, all democratic and anti-imperialist forces with a valuable weapon for continuing and intensifying their struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Our Party welcomes the methods used to work out the draft Main Document and other documents.

We note with satisfaction the collective and democratic character of the work, the equality of the Parties, and the atmosphere of fraternity in which the whole work of the Preparatory Committee was held. All delegations taking part in the preparatory work had a real opportunity to make their contribution to the common effort. As far as we know, not many international meetings of the communist and working-class movement were prepared as thoroughly, and attended so effectively by so large a number of Parties. This, we believe, is a highly promising thing for the future relations between our Parties.

The draft Main Document, the fruit of collective and democratic work, is on the whole a reflection of the main problems facing our Parties. The Preparatory Committee did some serious work in preparing this exceptionally useful Document—the product of collective analysis based on our Marxist-Leninist principles and meeting in general tenor, structure and aims the standards set by the Budapest Consultative Conference for the Preparatory Committee, namely, to determine *the tasks at the present stage in the struggle against imperialism and the basis for unity of action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and all the anti-imperialist forces.*

We believe that the draft Main Document defines clearly and soberly, with an eye on the concrete situation, our tasks in the struggle against imperialism. Some of these tasks need to be urgently accomplished.

The first of them is to stop the criminal US aggression against the heroic Vietnamese people. It is uppermost in the minds of all men, and we have rightly decided to deal with it in a special document.

Thanks to the correct policy of its leaders, thanks to its unexampled struggle, countless sacrifices, all-round support from the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, and the solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all progressive forces, the Vietnamese people have doubtless scored a great victory, having forced the aggressor to call an unconditional halt to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to agree to negotiate. However, the first positive result achieved does not solve the existing problem. US imperialism must be made to stop its aggression completely, unconditionally withdraw its troops and those of its accomplices from the whole of Vietnamese territory and leave the Vietnamese people freely to decide its own affairs, without any foreign interference. This means that we must intensify the struggle and help the Vietnamese people to achieve all its aims.

This is quite feasible provided the Communist and Workers' Parties are united, provided their actions are concerted in the international plane, and provided they rouse and mobilise fresh forces in the struggle against the US aggressors.

The second important and pressing task concerns the grave situation in the Middle East. The aggressive and expansionist policy of Israeli ruling circles,



supported by international imperialism and Zionism, sustains a seat of tension in the area fraught with exceptionally grave consequences for world peace. This hotbed must be eliminated as soon as possible.

The Arab peoples are known to be in direct confrontation with imperialism. Imperialism is trying to deprive the progressive Arab countries of their gains and hinder the other Arab peoples from advancing to national liberation and social progress. This struggle against imperialism and its Zionist agents makes the Arab liberation movement an integral part of the world revolutionary and progressive movement. The resolute and mounting struggle of the Palestine patriots for the return of their native land is a contribution to the common struggle against imperialism.

We are glad that the world communist and working-class movement is collectively taking its stand on the Middle East problems, that it condemns the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israeli rulers, that it fights to eliminate the aftermath of the Zionist imperialist aggression, above all for the withdrawal of the invaders from Arab territories, and that it demands the fulfilment of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and firmly supports the national rights of Palestinians and the return of refugees to their homes. But in view of the constant aggressiveness of the Zionist and imperialist circles, we should very much like the fraternal Parties to redouble their solidarity with the Arab peoples, making it more effective, so as to eliminate the dangerous seat of war in the Middle East in the shortest possible time.

The third task before us is the struggle against the revival of nazism and the aggressiveness of the revenge-seeking circles of West Germany, which present a grave danger to European security and world peace, particularly because of their outright demands for revising the frontiers established after the Second World War and their claims to possessing nuclear weapons. It is the duty of all Communist and Workers' Parties, of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces to fight resolutely against the adventurist claims of the reactionary and revenge-seeking rulers of West Germany, actively supported by US imperialism.

The just cause of the Arab peoples is the cause of all progressive forces of European and other countries, just as European security is also the cause of the Arab peoples and all progressive forces. The concept of European security inescapably includes recognition of the immunity of the frontiers established after the Second World War and recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a fully sovereign state. In this respect, while welcoming the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by Iraq, Cambodia, the Sudan and Syria, we deeply regret that the Algerian government, unquestionably anti-imperialist on other questions, has taken a negative stand towards the GDR. This snag in our country's foreign policy only strengthens our resolve to conduct an even more determined struggle so that the progressive forces, making use of all their possibilities, should reverse a stand that harms not only the socialist GDR, which has always displayed solidarity with all the Arab peoples, but also the interests of Algeria.

Alongside these most important tasks, the draft Main Document formulates many others, of which we approve wholeheartedly.

But in order to rally the broadest masses and achieve definite aims, it is not

enough simply to list these aims in an action programme. It is necessary to analyse the situation, find out the balance of forces at the present moment and define our tasks and our possible goals, depending on the balance of these forces, and then determine the ways and means of attaining our goals. That is the only way to convince the millions of those who are taking part in our movement and the broad masses that unity of action against imperialism and reaction is necessary and effective. It is this that is correctly reflected in the draft Main Document submitted to the Meeting.

Some comrades have subjected the draft Document to serious criticism, saying it does not meet the needs of our movement, because it does not deal with all the contradictions and all the problems we come up against. We say fraternally that, in our opinion, that stand is not very realistic and does not promote the strengthening of our unity.

Some comrades have also expressed their dissatisfaction over the fact that the draft Main Document does not quite coincide with their standpoint. But is it possible that it could fully reflect the political line of each of the 75 Parties attending the Meeting? We all work in different conditions and different situations, so that it is not surprising for us to arrive sometimes at different assessments and conclusions, especially because in the last few years our movement has faced serious difficulties and encountered political and ideological differences.

If each Party defends only its own stand on this or that question and considers only its own standpoint, it will be absolutely impossible to arrive at any agreement. Each Party naturally has the right to present, stand up for and maintain its opinion. But if this or that standpoint is not adopted by all the other Parties, can this be a reason for refusing to co-operate with them?

We make no secret of the fact that we, too, are not entirely satisfied with the draft Main Document. For instance, our Party believes that the section dealing with the national liberation movement is very weak as compared with the other sections of the Document. True, it was considerably improved by amendments at the last sitting of the Preparatory Committee. However, in our opinion, not all the weak points have been eliminated. Is that reason enough for rejecting the whole Document and refusing to sign it? That is inconceivable if we really want to take a step forward to unity. With our movement in the state it is in, we cannot hope at once to solve all the problems facing us and overcome all our differences at the present Meeting. We know that a problem is soluble only when ripe.

Consequently, we must concentrate our efforts above all on what unites us and that, in our opinion, is much more important than what divides us, and wait until time and the accumulated practical experience help solve the other problems as well. Meanwhile, we must not forget about the main thing: the struggle against imperialism.

We believe that it is possible to find a way of making a patient study and assessment, and eventually arrive at a collective solution of the problems which this Meeting will not solve. In this respect, we believe, the Meeting should take into account the proposals of the CPSU delegation, put forward here by Comrade Brezhnev, and also of the Communist Party of Belgium at the last sitting of the Preparatory Committee.

If we turn to the example and experience of Algeria, which won national independence seven years ago, we could also express a number of serious objections to some definitions and propositions of the draft Main Document in the section relating to the developing countries. But we well realise that one country's example cannot serve as a criterion for general conclusions. It is necessary to study diverse experience to arrive at generalisations and correct conclusions on the strength of comparison. While we are on the subject, allow me to make a brief assessment of the situation in our country, which, as you are aware, holds an important place among the progressive Arab and African countries.

In 1965 there was a real threat of Algeria going over to the Western camp. Since then, under the impact of various national and international factors, Algeria has gradually changed the direction in her development; today it is safe to say that her positions are, on the whole, anti-imperialist.

This anti-imperialist attitude is expressed above all in Algeria's foreign policy. Algeria holds an important place in the anti-imperialist struggle, notably by taking a courageous stand against US imperialism—against its criminal aggression in Vietnam, its complicity in the Zionist aggression against the Arab countries, its provocative acts in the Mediterranean basin, and its schemes and subversion in Africa. Algeria has friendly relations with Cuba, resolutely supporting her just cause in the struggle against US imperialism.

Algeria is against the racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and also the fascist regime in Portugal, and supports palpably various national liberation movements.

Algeria has done a great deal to draw closer to and co-operate with Morocco and Tunisia, frustrating the splitting designs of imperialism, which wants these countries to quarrel. This policy is no mean contribution to the over-all struggle for peace.

But what is most noteworthy and important for our country's future is the strengthening of the friendship and the steadily growing economic and cultural co-operation with socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all. Comrade Podgorny's recent visit to our country opened up a new stage in the mutually advantageous co-operation between Algeria and the Soviet Union, a reliable guarantee of our country's economic development and independence.

In the economic plane there is evidence of a desire to rid our country of domination by foreign monopolies and neo-colonialism, and also to assure Algeria genuine economic independence despite the attempts by reaction, neo-colonialism and imperialism to resist this drive. In the last few years, various industrial enterprises and banks owned by the colonialists have been nationalised, the structure of foreign trade has been diversified, and the state sector has been strengthened through the building of new industrial enterprises.

Since 1965 there has been a serious threat to the system of self-management in agriculture, under which most lands of the former settlers are run by working farmers. Now, good conditions seem to have been provided for preserving and even consolidating this system.

While emphasising all the positive aspects in our country, which we support wholeheartedly and resolutely despite the persecution of our Party, we must

also tell you of that which we regard as negative and as a serious drag on our country's progressive development. Since June 1965, anti-labour and anti-democratic tendencies have been dominant in our government's domestic policy. In principle, the elements in power in Algeria are of petty-bourgeois origin, and also big proprietors, landowners with thousands of hectares of land, persons closely connected with the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudals. This explains the contradictions and the clan struggle in the government, something that does not always appear on the surface.

Let us also note the contradictory position and dual nature of the ruling petty bourgeoisie:

for objective reasons and national interests, it pursues an anti-imperialist foreign policy, resulting in co-operation with the socialist countries, which have been rendering it effective assistance without any political strings;

whereas for class reasons it shows mistrust and fear of the working class and its organisations and therefore pursues an authoritarian, anti-labour and anti-democratic home policy.

The intricate character of power explains, by the way, why the agrarian reform, which was to have been implemented in 1965, has been put off time and again for allegedly technical reasons. Fear of the working class impels some representatives of the petty bourgeoisie to follow a policy of curtailing democratic freedoms, particularly with regard to the workers' unions and other mass organisations. However, there is growing resistance among the working people and the students to such anti-democratic methods.

At various stages after June 1965 the authorities became more "tough" or less, depending on the balance of the contending forces, while stolidly following a policy of persecuting and repressing our Party, forcing it to go underground. Dozens of our Party members, and many other progressive leaders and trade union militants languish in jails or are under strict surveillance.

As a result of this policy, imposed by Right-wing elements, a deep rift is appearing between the masses, and the authorities and the NLF. This not only impedes the country's advance, but also creates a grave threat to its present positive course.

Our Party holds that the present stage of development is not one of socialist construction. The job now is resolutely to complete the national-democratic revolution, deepening its progressive content, even though here and there some measures may transcend the present stage and open up the way to the next. In the interest of this progress, our Party considers it its duty to criticise the negative aspects of the policy of the government. We actively support everything positive in the government's policy, while exposing acts that impede the country's progressive development.

Our policy is aimed at isolating and removing the Right-wing elements, while strengthening the progressive forces in the government and the NLF. To promote this line, we stand for joint action and unity of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces, whether in or outside the present regime.

We believe that in this battle the existence of an independent working-class organisation and its Marxist-Leninist Party, namely, the Socialist Vanguard Party, is a necessity borne out in practice. Despite the difficulties engendered

by its forced illegal status and repressions, the Party has played an important political role in the last three years. By its constructive criticism of the negative aspects of government policy, suggesting realistic solutions for problems facing the country, educating and mobilising the working people, it is exerting an unquestionable influence on the progressive elements and thereby on the leadership, helping Algeria develop along the right lines. Thus, our Party does not stand aloof from the anti-imperialist struggle waged by our country. What is more, we can say that it has contributed, and will continue to contribute substantially to that struggle.

Allow me now to say a few words about our Party's problems.

We are firmly convinced that to guide the masses in the anti-imperialist struggle, for the final defeat of imperialism and domestic reaction, for the implementation of all the tasks of the national democratic revolution and in order to open the way to socialism in a country like ours, our working class and people need a Marxist-Leninist Party. Of course, we are far from underrating the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in the NLF, the state apparatus, the army and outside the official spheres and agencies; but it is equally wrong to underrate the surviving reactionary and pro-imperialist forces, a constant threat to Algeria and her progressive orientation. The events in some African countries, such as Mali and Ghana, are convincing evidence of the threat of regress and reveal the fragility of the "one-party systems" that unite or try to unite in their ranks most diverse and heterogeneous elements and social strata. We are convinced in the need for a broad and powerful anti-imperialist front, but this front cannot be active and strong without a party equipped with the working-class ideology. In any case, no "front" can substitute for such a party. It was in this spirit, on the basis of the decisions of the Algiers Charter, that the Algerian Communists worked in the NLF from 1964, trying to make it a genuine vanguard party. This was stopped by the coup of June 19, 1965. Those were the conditions in which our Party, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, came into being to continue the work of enlisting in its ranks the finest fighters against imperialism, for complete independence and socialism, rallying all the working people of town and country, men and women, all the revolutionary young people and intellectuals, all those who know that there is no other way to socialism but the way illumined by the light of Marxism-Leninism.

Those are the principles on which our Party acts in its development. It is also the successor of the Algerian working-class movement and of the most consistent aspects of our national movement. It is the successor of the early working-class organisations that brought Marxism to our country, and of the early Algerian Communists and the national liberation movement, whose most conscious members have adopted Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, it is not a question of some unprincipled alliance on a confused equivocal basis, but of forming a Leninist-type Party loyal to the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. Despite the illegal status and difficult conditions in which we work, our Party succeeded in these tasks in the concrete conditions of Algeria. Today it is a much broader Party with deeper roots in the masses and with incomparably better prospects and possibi-

lities for development than the old Algerian Communist Party. Of course, we have no illusions about the way ahead being easy. On the contrary, we know that great difficulties lie before us, not only in the struggle against reaction and imperialism, but also in our relations with true patriots and revolutionaries who have yet to shed their anti-communist prejudices, with those whom we are yet to convince that Algeria needs our Party and that it is necessary for the advance to socialism. Fighting in the front ranks of the working people, our Party is playing and will continue to play an ever greater, primary role in their education in the spirit of socialism and internationalism, thereby facilitating the rise of the whole national liberation movement to a qualitatively new level.

We want, to the best of our possibilities, to establish fraternal ties with all the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of principles which, we think, are clearly and correctly formulated in Section Four of the draft Main Document.

Comrades, the National Leadership of our Party has authorised our delegation to sign the Main Document submitted for consideration to the Meeting.

Of course, a document is valuable only if undeviatingly translated into practice. As for our Party, it solemnly declares that it will fulfil the obligations it undertakes, subordinating its activity to the tasks and common principles we shall here jointly approve. Life has quite clearly demonstrated that national and international duties, far from contradicting each other, are in fact complementary and indissolubly connected aspects in the revolutionary activity of Marxist-Leninist Parties. Consistent fulfilment of these duties is an earnest of our further success.

The Document correctly points out that it is a duty of our Parties to support all the existing Communist and Workers' Parties. We believe that this is a duty of enormous importance in strengthening and further uniting our movement, a duty that should be singled out as one of our main principles.

If we insist on this, it is only because unfortunately we have witnessed, in matters of proletarian solidarity, serious deviations that should not be repeated. For instance, if a number of Parties considers it proper and necessary (and in our opinion, they are right) to develop relations with some national parties and with different progressive organisations, this should not be done in circumvention of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, which embody the interests and future of the working class. We believe that failure to abide by this principle cannot help in uniting our ranks and, moreover, threatens to produce tensions and even polemics between brother Parties, which would only harm the unity of our movement.

We fully agree with the idea that all of us must direct our efforts to developing friendly relations and co-operation with the broadest anti-imperialist and progressive forces. But we believe that relations between the Marxist-Leninist Parties must be given pride of place, and that there should be no departure from this principle in any case.

We also stand for the adoption of the other three documents, each of which in its own sphere will help invigorate our Parties' activity and restore unity, mobilise the broad masses for decisive battles against imperialism and reaction.

The celebration of the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, brilliant theorist,

great strategist of the revolution and founder of the world's first socialist state, will undoubtedly mark a new stage in the development of the revolutionary forces of the world. To mark this date fittingly, we must redouble our efforts in cementing our ranks and restoring our combat unity.

The Address of our Meeting and preparations to celebrate the centenary of Lenin's birth are fresh impetus for our Parties to continue the necessary struggle against any manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

As we have declared at the Consultative Conference in Budapest, the holding of the present Meeting cannot be an end in itself. We all regard it as a stage on the way to the unity and cohesion of all our movement, in particular from the standpoint of analysing profoundly all the problems facing us. From the standpoint of the results, it is already an important stage, a great success for the communist and working-class movement, an event of unquestionable historic importance.

We are sure that adoption of the Document, to whose preparation we have all made our contribution, will live up to the expectations of tens of millions of revolutionaries and the hopes of hundreds of millions of working people and progressively-minded men and women all over the world, who now look to Moscow where our Meeting is in session.

In conclusion, we should like to express our deep gratitude to all those who helped strengthen our unity, especially the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which not only provided us with the best conditions for our work and welcomed us with sincere hospitality, but also displayed a high sense of responsibility and spared neither effort nor means to ensure the results at which we have arrived. The best way to thank them is to march, staunchly and resolutely, along the way indicated by Lenin.

Long live the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties, the unity of all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism!

Thank you for your attention, comrades.

**NICOLAE CEAUSESCU**  
**General Secretary, Central Committee,**  
**Rumanian Communist Party**

Dear Comrades,

This Meeting of the Communist Parties was convened to hold a wide exchange of views on current problems of the struggle against imperialism, on the tasks of our Parties in achieving unity of action of the communist and working-class movement, of the entire anti-imperialist front, to fulfil the peoples' aspirations for social progress and prevent a new world war. These problems are of fundamental importance for contemporary international life, the destiny of mankind, the revolutionary development of society.

The conditions in which the Meeting is being held are distinctive both internationally and from the point of view of the relations between socialist countries and Communist Parties. We have in mind the complexity of the events taking place in the world arena and the role the Communist Parties have to play in world affairs today. We also refer to the fact that the Parties of five socialist countries and a number of capitalist states are not participating in this Meeting, that there exist divergent views, differences and elements of tension in our movement which affect the relations of co-operation between the socialist countries and between our Communist Parties.

When the idea of convening the Meeting was put forward, the Rumanian Communist Party declared, as you know, that the conditions for holding it were not as favourable as could be desired. Today we must say that, unfortunately, life has confirmed the correctness of our Party's viewpoint.

The Rumanian Communist Party decided to participate in the Meeting, animated by the desire to make an active contribution to its successful progress, so that the Meeting might create the prerequisites of overcoming the difficulties existing in the communist and working-class movement, normalising relations between all the fraternal Parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and strengthening the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces. It is our desire, despite the existing divergences and on the basis of what unites us, what we have in common and what is fundamental in our struggle, to act in such a way as to ensure that the Meeting serves the unity of tens of millions of Communists throughout the world, of the gigantic



social forces opposed to imperialism, that it serves the victory of revolutionary ideals, the ideals of peace and the prosperity of the peoples.

The preparatory work helped to overcome a number of difficulties, creating conditions for the participation of a great number of Parties in this Meeting. We appreciated the good start of our Meeting. But, as we emphasised in our remarks on the procedure of the Meeting, attacks against a Party which is not participating have resulted in giving the Meeting from the second day onwards a trend that affects the normal course of the proceedings and endangers the achievement of the goals of the Meeting, aimed at strengthening the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against imperialism, in defence of peace.

The delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party very earnestly analysed the situation created as a result of the attacks against the Chinese Communist Party and informed the Central Committee about it. While expressing concern about the evolution of the Meeting proceedings and the danger of an aggravation of tension between the Communist and Workers' Parties, the leadership of our Party decided that we should continue to participate in the Meeting in order to state our position with regard to the problems being dealt with and to do all in our power for this Meeting and the documents it will adopt to correspond to the set aim, that is, the tasks in the fight against imperialism and the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all the anti-imperialist forces, and at the same time not to lead to sharper divergences, but, on the contrary, to help find the ways to the unity of our entire movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Dear comrades, our Party holds that in order to understand correctly the international situation it is necessary to make a thorough, realistic and comprehensive analysis in the light of our Marxist-Leninist world outlook. That is the only way to reach scientifically valid political conclusions helping the anti-imperialist forces in their struggle.

The fundamental feature of the contemporary world is that the revolutionary, progressive forces are on the rise, that their influence in world political affairs increases continuously, that it is these forces, and not imperialism, which are determining the course of events to an ever increasing degree.

International life shows that the imperialist circles, and in the first place US imperialism, continue stubbornly to oppose the progressive development of mankind; in their efforts to maintain and consolidate their domination, they do not shrink from violating the sovereignty and independence of other peoples, the norms of international law, from launching attacks of all kinds against the revolutionary, democratic and national liberation movements. Imperialism organises armed aggressions, as in the case of Vietnam, maintains aggressive military blocs, goes out of its way to poison international relations and provokes conflicts and tensions in various parts of the world. One of the methods frequently used by the imperialist circles to expand their domination is to foster neo-colonialism: economic subordination of the new states and exploitation of their national resources.

We cannot help noting that in a number of capitalist countries the most reactionary circles have mounted an offensive against the democratic rights and

freedoms of the masses, subjecting the Communist Parties and other democratic organisations to a regime of terror and persecution, arresting and persecuting the progressive elements of the nation and militants in the social field; in some countries ultra-reactionary regimes are being set up with the backing of the big imperialist powers, with the most retrograde forces coming to the fore in social life, ready to betray the national interests of the peoples and open the path to imperialist domination.

Nor can we ignore the activity of reaction in certain West European countries, especially that of the revenge-seeking militarist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany, which, disregarding the lessons of history, want to continue with German imperialism's old militarist policy that has done so much harm to the German people and the entire world.

However, huge revolutionary, progressive forces are rising resolutely against the policy of the reactionary circles, inflicting powerful blows and smarting setbacks on imperialism. The defeat suffered by the United States in the war in Vietnam despite the huge concentration of armed force and military equipment is a point in case.

This again demonstrates that in our day the policy of force is doomed to failure, that no power in the world can defeat a people resolved selflessly and courageously to defend its national freedom and independence, its sacred right to decide its own future. Life shows that such a people enjoys the broadest international solidarity, the active backing of all revolutionary and progressive forces, of forward-looking public opinion everywhere, helping it to victory in its just struggle and rendering it invincible.

The policy of imperialist domination and diktat encounters energetic resistance by all the threatened nations. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are rising with vigour and in a militant spirit against imperialist domination, demonstrating their determination to live in freedom and to decide their own fate. The tendency of the big imperialist powers to expand their domination, to redivide the world into zones of influence, is opposed by the firm resolve of the peoples to defend their independence, to use their material wealth and their entire national potential in a sovereign way, according to their own will, to develop economic and political relations with all states on the basis of fully equal rights and mutual advantage.

It should be noted that a large and powerful current is swelling up against the hegemonic tendencies of US imperialism throughout the capitalist world. This is reflected in the mass movements headed by the working class, in the resentment against US policies even in certain government circles of the countries allied to the United States, in the dissociation of some capitalist states from a number of aspects of the big-power policy of force conducted by the United States. Conclusive in this sense is the inclination of some states to withdraw from the military bodies of NATO, the intensification of the tendency against the maintenance of the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance. As a result of this domination-oriented US policy, the contradictions between the USA and the other big capitalist states are deepening and the inter-imperialist struggle for the establishment of neo-colonialist domination, for seizure of markets and raw material resources, for dominant positions in international economic life is

growing in intensity. The contradictions between capitalist countries, especially the Common Market countries and those belonging to other bodies, are becoming deeper.

In recent years, the US policy of force, diktat and interference in the affairs of other peoples has somewhat weakened the political positions of the United States in the world, leading to its isolation and impairing its prestige in the eyes of world opinion, a fact that is also admitted in the United States. The scope of the social movements of the American democratic forces, the wave of mass actions in the United States—comprising the most varied social sections and political circles—against continuing the war in Vietnam, for a policy of peace, the intensification of the struggle waged by the coloured people and progressive circles against segregation and racial discrimination—those are all clear expressions of the difficulties faced by the US ruling circles.

Special note should be taken of the growing influence of the military in the governments of certain capitalist states and the ever closer blending of its interests with those of the big monopolies. In fact, economic, social and political life there is being militarised as a result of the policy of excessive arming and the growth of the armed forces. Historical experience has shown more than once that seizure of dominant positions by the military in political and social life is a peril to the general progress of society.

It is evident from the examination of the general over-all trends in the capitalist world that a process is under way continuously restricting the field of action and the domination of imperialism, accentuating phenomena of its disintegration; this creates new possibilities for the successful conduct of the struggle for the abolition of the imperialist world system. At the same time, it is obvious that imperialism has not changed its aggressive character, that its existence is still fraught with the danger of a new world war. We must not therefore underestimate the threat presented by imperialism. The vigilance of the peoples against its actions must be continuously increased, and broad union of all revolutionary and progressive forces assured to thwart its aggressive designs and safeguard peace.

Reality shows that imperialism is no longer all-powerful today, that it can no longer impose its will and domination whenever it likes, even by resorting to force; that imperialism's aggressive actions prove not its strength but its weakness, being an expression of its desire to stem the precipitous flow of the anti-imperialist movement in the world and the struggle of the peoples for freedom and national independence, an expression of its desire to hinder the progressive development of the modern world, the fulfilment of the peoples' aspirations to a better life, to independent development. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the over-all picture of the struggle between the anti-imperialist front and the forces of reaction points clearly to the fact that superiority is on the side of the forces of progress and peace. Hence the conviction that no immediate threat of war exists and that there is a positive possibility of preventing imperialism from plunging mankind into a new world conflagration.

Our Party holds that for the draft Document to correspond better to the requirements, some improvements are necessary in Section One, providing as objective as possible a description of the processes in the world, to avoid creating the

impression that the danger still presented by imperialism is being underestimated, yet also avoid overestimating that danger.

Comrades, the analysis of the world's social and political picture reveals deep-going changes in the international arena.

As is known, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind, opening up the way for proletarian revolutions, for the peoples' liberation from imperialist domination and for building the classless communist society.

Overcoming extremely great difficulties, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party created by Lenin, succeeded in accomplishing the tasks of the economic and social construction of the new, socialist system. During the Second World War, shouldering the greatest burden in the fight against Hitler Germany, the USSR made the decisive contribution to defeating fascism and delivering mankind from the danger of nazi slavery. Scoring outstanding successes in rapidly developing the productive forces, building the technical and material basis of socialism and advancing science, technology and culture, the Soviet Union has become a great socialist power.

In the early post-war, the revolutionary struggle of the working class, of the broad masses of working people under the leadership of the Communist Parties aimed at overthrowing the exploiters and building up the socialist society, was crowned by victory in a number of countries in Europe and on the Asian continent. Of great significance in international life was the victory of the people's revolution in China and the creation of the great Chinese socialist state. Of special significance, too, was the emergence of the Republic of Cuba as the first socialist state on the American continent. The victory of socialist revolutions in these countries and the creation of the socialist world system comprising 14 states deepened the general crisis of capitalism, exerting an ever greater influence on the progressive development of human society.

Battling against innumerable difficulties, the peoples of the socialist countries scored striking successes in developing the productive forces and their economies, in advancing science and culture and the material and spiritual life of the masses, and in consolidating the new social system.

In this context, I should like to refer briefly to some aspects of what the Rumanian people have accomplished along the road of socialist construction in the 25 years since Rumania's liberation from the fascist yoke. To appreciate fully what the new system has given the Rumanian people, one should bear in mind that before the Second World War Rumania was economically and socially one of the most backward countries of Europe. In its socialist years Rumania changed from a country with an underdeveloped industry and a predominantly agrarian economy, marked by survivals of feudalism, into a country with a dynamic economy, a powerful, vigorously growing industry based on modern technology, and a socialist agriculture. Today, industrial output is over 14 times greater than in 1938. Agriculture, too, has grown continuously and fully meets the requirements of the population.

With the consolidation of socialist relations of production in industry and agriculture, in all branches of the economy, the exploiting classes were abolished for good and the full victory of socialism was secured.

Development of the material basis of the new society and growth of the national income assured a continuous rise of the living standard of the working class, peasants and intelligentsia, of all working people in our country.

Another important success was the elimination of old legacies in education, the final removal of illiteracy, the raising of the education level of the entire people. This is reflected in the powerful development of free compulsory ten-year education. The vigorous development of science and culture and the flowering of the arts plays an increasingly important part in the growth of the socialist system, the education of the people and assertion of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the raising of the level of the socialist consciousness of the members of our society.

The programme for Rumania's economic and social development up to 1970, drawn up by the 9th Party Congress, is being implemented successfully and there are solid prospects of overfulfilling the set targets. At the present time, the entire Party and people are discussing the Directives for the country's development plan in 1971-1975, the fulfilment of which will bring Rumania up to a level approaching that of the economically and culturally advanced countries. After public discussion, these documents will be presented for endorsement to the 10th Party Congress, to be held at the beginning of August.

All results obtained by Rumania in creating the new social order are due to the inspired labour of the working class, fulfilling its role of leading class to the best possible advantage, to the activity of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of all the working people irrespective of nationality. These results demonstrate that our Party is creatively applying the general truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country.

At the same time, I must emphasise the important role played in these successes by the economic collaboration and co-operation with the CMEA countries and all the socialist states, and we are working consistently for the intensification, expansion and improvement of these relationships.

Naturally, comrades, we met with many difficulties in our work, there were mistakes as well, but our Party was able to take resolute action to overcome them. It goes without saying that if such mistakes had not been committed, and if the objective laws of social development had not been ignored at times, the results in building socialism would have been much better.

In recent years, our Party carried out thorough work in analysing the road covered so far, courageously revealing the deficiencies, criticising a number of abuses and illegalities committed in previous years and taking resolute steps not only to remedy them, but also to secure conditions ruling out the possibility of such negative phenomena in our society. In this we see a duty to our people and at the same time an obligation of an internationalist character, since it is well known that hostile propaganda makes the most of every negative aspect in the socialist countries to create difficulties for the Communist Parties and impair the activity of the revolutionary forces.

Our Party works for the continuous improvement of economic management and planning, for improving the forms and methods of guiding all social life. We pay much attention to the development of socialist democracy, proceeding from the fact that the new system abolishes every kind of oppression and eco-

conomic and social inequality among men, creating conditions for a powerful extension of democratic liberties, for a higher organisation of relations among all members of society, for the full flowering of the personality and the assertion of socialist humanism.

With the capitalist system undoubtedly representing progress as against the old, feudal system in the field of democratic liberties and civic rights, it is doubly obvious that the socialist system is called upon to create a society in which democratic liberties should be incomparably superior to those of the capitalist system. This implies a definite process which obviously obliges the Communist Parties to advance resolutely in that direction.

The essence of socialist democracy is rooted in the fact that the people, having become the master of political power and of the means of production, must directly participate in the entire activity of guiding economic and social life. In this sense, we wish to secure the organisational framework and a favourable climate, in which the working people could have their say openly on all problems and criticise without hindrance or repression any shortcoming, fully asserting their initiative, making proposals concerning the improvement of the entire activity of socialist construction. By public consultation and discussion of the most important problems of its home and foreign policy, our Party gains the assurance that the measures adopted by it fully correspond to the vital hopes of the entire people.

That the working people criticise certain negative phenomena or mistakes in various sectors of society does not mean that they call in question the social system of socialism; it expresses the desire of the working masses that such phenomena should be eliminated, and this is in keeping with the concern of our Party for perfecting the forms and methods of guidance.

The entire practice of socialist and communist construction demonstrates that the decisive lever, the main prerequisite for the creation of the new system, is to ensure the leading role in society for the working class in alliance with the working peasantry, with the intelligentsia and with the other working masses, to ensure leadership by the Communist Party of the struggle of the entire people, consistent mobilisation by each and every country of her own material and human resources, creative solution of the problems of the development of the technical and material basis, improvement of the new relations of production, of socialist democracy, of the entire social organisation. Successful implementation of the fundamental tasks of socialist construction represents the essential contribution of each country to the strengthening of the might of the socialist world system, to the victory of the cause of socialism and peace. At the same time, development of all-round collaboration and co-operation is an important factor for the continuous progress of the socialist countries. There is a close dialectical connection between the internal and external factors of the building of the new system, between the efforts of each people to promote continuous growth of its economic potential and the free and sovereign co-operation of the socialist countries; this is an expression of the unity between the national and international interests of the socialist countries.

Life itself has proved that socialism has become an invincible force, both in each country and on a world scale.

It goes without saying that we cannot forget for a single moment that there still exist imperialist countries that are doing everything to impede the development of socialism and making use of all means, including propaganda and information media, against the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, against the socialist system; yet the wishes of the imperialist reactionary circles and the possibilities of their actual implementation are as far apart as heaven and earth.

It is said sometimes that bourgeois propaganda and ideology are able to influence the Communist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries to the extent of diverting them from the path of socialism.

Doubtless, remnants of the former exploiting classes and of their ideology still exist in the socialist countries, and alien and backward views still penetrate from abroad under different guises. We must, therefore, wage a consistent struggle against the bourgeois ideology, we must pay the greatest attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, to the dissemination of our view of the world and society, an outlook that has forcefully asserted itself down the years under the most difficult conditions as the most advanced theory able to guide the peoples to a radical transformation of human society. However, it is both unacceptable and inconceivable that the working class, the peoples, the Communist Parties of the socialist countries that have overthrown the exploiting classes and foreign imperialist domination, that have won political power and built socialism in fierce class battles at the cost of immense sacrifices, would give up their revolutionary gains, their people's power, and socialism itself at the urging of bourgeois propaganda, no matter how wily.

Imperialism has not succeeded in stopping socialism when it won in one country or in the early post-war, when the power of the workers and peasants in the socialist countries was not yet consolidated, when there still were exploiting classes holding important economic and political positions. And today, when socialism represents a vigorous reality in our countries, when the people are the masters of the country's destinies and possess all the means of defence, when we have a powerful socialist world system, it is even less conceivable that any power could divert the peoples of the socialist countries from their chosen path or stop their victorious advance.

The invincibility of the socialist system is, first of all, based on the exercise by the working class of its historic mission of leadership, on the fact that power rests in the hands of the working people, on the unshakable determination of the peoples headed by the Communist Parties to strengthen and develop their revolutionary gains, to defend their freedom and independence. At the same time, it is based on the internationalist solidarity of the socialist countries, the communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces in the fight against any armed imperialist aggression.

As was indicated also by representatives of other Parties, serious divergences have arisen between socialist countries over the past several years, elements of tension have appeared, affecting their relations of co-operation and the unity of the socialist world system. Those representatives of Parties who have raised the problem of a thorough analysis of the causes of these divergences are right, because that is the only way to find the means for their removal, for strengthening co-operation and unity among the socialist countries.

In our view, we must start from the historically different conditions of development in which the socialist countries are carrying out their work. This leads to the appearance of variants in the assessment of certain phenomena and in the practical work of building the socialist system. But the fact that these different points of view and assessments grow into divergences and lead to tension, affecting relations between the socialist countries, is largely due to subjective factors, to the lack of understanding of the diversity of conditions of development, to non-observance of norms of relations among socialist countries.

Of course, it should be taken into account that the relations between socialist countries have no precedent so far in the development of mankind, that they are an entirely new phenomenon in international life, a unique experience in the history of human society. A number of defects and anomalies can appear in the development of these relations which, in our opinion, have a transient and remediable character. Such phenomena can and must disappear in the process of continuous improvement of internationalist co-operation among the peoples building the new system.

For several years, our Party has noted with alarm the sharpening of the public polemics and the aggravation of differences between Communist and Workers' Parties, especially between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party. We expressed the view that the policy of any Communist Party should not be criticised or condemned, either at congresses of other Parties or at international meetings and conferences. In the spring of 1964 the Rumanian Communist Party called on both the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party to refrain from extending or sharpening the polemics, and to search for ways of solving the questions in dispute. Unfortunately, events took a course that brought matters to a situation which we all know.

Comrades, to be sure, this is neither the time nor the place for analysing the causes of this state of affairs, nor is it on the agenda of our Meeting; we had no intention of referring to the matter if it was not raised in the discussion. Our delegation wishes to emphasise that the Rumanian Communist Party and our people are deeply troubled by the fact that the relations between the two big socialist countries have reached the point of border conflicts and clashes.

At the same time we note with satisfaction that the statement of the government of the Soviet Union proposes that these problems be settled by negotiation and that the Chinese People's Republic, too, has declared in favour of negotiations in its reply. As we see it, the way of discussion and negotiation is the only way in which problems of any kind can and should be settled among socialist countries; any other way can only cause great damage to the socialist world system, to our communist movement and to the influence of socialism in the world.

In this context, our Party believes that the censure and condemnation of the Chinese Communist Party voiced at this Meeting, like censure of any other Party in general, do not help in creating a favourable climate for settling the differences and controversies.

As we have already publicly declared and as we have told the Chinese



comrades, we disagree with their charges against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist Parties. At the same time, we have told the Soviet comrades and comrades of other fraternal Parties that we do not agree with their charges against the Chinese Communist Party.

While hearing some of the speeches at this Meeting we recalled that there had been cases in the history of the communist movement when grave accusations were levelled against some Communist and Workers' Parties, including those of some socialist countries, which later proved to be unfounded. We all know the extremely serious consequences such practices and methods had for the working-class movement and for the cause of socialism. Drawing all the due conclusions from the mistakes made in the past, when the Rumanian Communist Party participated in such campaigns, we here declare that we are firmly resolved not to repeat these mistakes and never again follow the course of condemning other Communist and Workers' Parties. Accusations, censure, name-calling and insults, from whatever quarter, can only sharpen the tension and deepen the disagreements; they do not create conditions for settling the controversial problems, for extending the co-operation and unity of our Parties. And calls of any kind, originating abroad, to replace the leading bodies of any Communist or Workers' Party, are even less likely to promote normal relations between the Parties.

We are deeply convinced that the only way to create conditions for normalising relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties, is comradely discussion, the tackling of different viewpoints and divergences from Marxist-Leninist positions, proceeding from the interests of one's own people, of the working class, the world communist movement and the socialist cause in the world. And in accordance with this spirit, we believe that our Meeting must contribute not to deepening the divergences but to smoothing the path for their attenuation and elimination. Only thus would we live up to the hopes of Communists throughout the world, the hopes of the working class and all the anti-imperialist forces.

Our delegation is empowered again to urge all Communist and Workers' Parties, whether they are taking part in the Meeting or not, to rise above the dissensions and disagreements and find the ways for uniting in the fight against imperialism, for socialism and communism. That is the vital requirement of the present anti-imperialist struggle, the main internationalist duty of the present day.

Only in unity can the socialist world system throw its full power and material, political and moral superiority into the international fight for peace and progress. However, to achieve this, we must assure close observance by all socialist countries in their relationships of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, independence and national sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in internal affairs, and comradely mutual assistance.

These principles, which comprise a single dialectical whole, cannot be considered separately or opposed to each other. Any weakening of international solidarity obviously harms the cause of each country and our common cause, but the principle of internationalism should not be invoked on any account to justify non-observance of the other principles, to justify interference of any kind in the internal affairs of a socialist country or fraternal Party.

The sovereignty of the socialist countries is not to be counterposed in any way to socialist internationalism; on the contrary, it is an essential condition for cementing solidarity, for free and conscious co-operation in the fight against imperialism, for the triumph of our common aims.

By developing their relations of co-operation in all fields on the basis of the above principles, the socialist countries will offer the world a model of fruitful co-operation by peoples, by free and sovereign states. Identity of the social and political order, of fundamental interests and goals, the common Marxist-Leninist ideology are objective preconditions for rebuilding and strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, for the development of friendly ties and fraternal co-operation.

The favourable results of the Warsaw Treaty Conference in Budapest and the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Moscow illustrate this point very well. They show that whenever we proceed from the desire to find mutually acceptable solutions, whenever the existing problems are approached in a spirit of comradeship, mutual esteem and with a mind open to the opinions and interests of the others, it is possible to reach common decisions and cement the solidarity of the socialist countries.

Comrades, the working class in the capitalist countries, headed by the Communist Parties, is a great force of our time engaged in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Despite indescribable difficulties, the Communist Parties in these countries are intensifying their struggle for the economic and political rights of the working class, of all working people, for freedom and democracy, for progressive changes in society, for the national independence of the peoples.

Broad social movements of the proletariat, of millions of working people, are under way in the capitalist countries.

In many capitalist countries, the proletariat plays an ever more important political role thanks to its revolutionary consciousness and militancy; the ruling circles are compelled to heed its will and demands. In the anti-imperialist struggle the proletariat acts with increasing unity; regardless of their political and philosophical conceptions and religious beliefs, the workers are cementing their solidarity. To achieve working-class unity is an imperative for the fulfilment of the workers' lofty revolutionary mission and the historic part they are called upon to play in society.

In this respect, efforts to achieve unity of action with the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, which in some countries embrace large masses of working people, are of particular importance. Of course, there are profound differences of outlook between the Communist and the Social-Democratic parties on a number of fundamental issues of social and political life. Furthermore, the policy of some Social-Democratic leaders, who refuse to co-operate with the Communist Parties, obstructs joint action. For all this, the experience of some countries shows that Communists and Social Democrats can act in unity, achieving success in securing the interests of the working class, of broad strata of people. It is therefore necessary to work perseveringly for close co-operation by the Communist and the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties.

Profound changes in international affairs were wrought by the disintegration

of the colonial system. The national liberation movement of the peoples still languishing under the yoke of colonial slavery is dealing powerful blows at the last remnants of that hateful system of exploitation and oppression. This struggle, which has the solidarity, sympathy and active support of all progressive mankind, plays an important part in the anti-imperialist movement. As a result of the downfall of the colonial system, dozens of new independent states have come into being, faced by the historical task of eliminating the economic and social backwardness inherited from imperialism, and embarking resolutely on the road to progress and prosperity. The struggle of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa against imperialism and neo-colonialism, in defence of their independence, national sovereignty and right to choose their own way of social development with no outside interference, has a strong bearing on the evolution of the modern world.

The struggle of the peoples in the Latin American countries is unfolding rapidly, centred on liberation from the tutelage of US imperialism, on independent economic and social development, on safeguarding vital national interests, and on developing relations with the socialist states. The movement of the Latin American revolutionary forces headed by strong detachments of the proletariat is a particularly important component of the world anti-imperialist struggle.

As you know, the economic gap between the advanced and the developing countries is growing wider. It is therefore most important that the Communist Parties work for reducing this gap and that these countries are given due aid in their fight for economic and social progress.

As life has shown, the right way to secure the economic and social progress of the new states, to safeguard and consolidate their national independence is, primarily, to intensify their own efforts, mobilise their entire material and human potential, and concentrate and unify all the progressive forces of each nation.

In many countries that have recently flung off the imperialist yoke, the state and co-operative sector is growing rapidly alongside the private capitalist sector. To secure the advance of these countries to socialism presupposes versatile support of the state and co-operative sector, which must become decisive in the economy of the country, and strengthening the revolutionary political forces.

As is known, in a number of these countries an important role is played in political life by the democratic and progressive movements. In some of the newly independent countries, reaction persecutes the Communist Parties and other revolutionary forces. In some, even democratic and patriotic organisations with anti-imperialist platforms ignore the role of Communists or refuse to collaborate with them, which cannot but injure the interests of the respective peoples. Historical experience shows, however, that progress in those countries depends largely on the existence of revolutionary parties based on the teaching of dialectical and historical materialism and determined to unite broad social forces in the fight for a democratic and independent development of society. Close co-operation between Communists and other patriotic progressive national forces, their joint struggle under the aegis of advanced revolutionary

ideas, is the sole and decisive factor in the progressive reconstruction of society, the independent economic and political growth of those countries.

These countries are greatly supported by their many-sided co-operation with the socialist states in the fight for progress, against imperialist rule, against the policy of neo-colonialism and in their socio-economic development.

One of the significant social forces of the modern world possessing a considerable revolutionary potential in the struggle against imperialism, for progress, is the peasantry—the natural and close ally of the working class. In many countries, particularly those with a less developed economy, the peasants constitute a substantial part of the population and play a significant role in social and political life. It is an indisputable fact that participation of peasant masses in political life, in the fight against imperialism, is now growing. That is why it is particularly important to buttress the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to put the Communist Parties in the front ranks of struggles fought by peasant masses for their economic and social rights, against monopoly exploitation, for a better life, just as it is particularly important, too, to draw the peasants of all countries into the great anti-imperialist movement.

In the conditions of the profound scientific and technological revolution, the intelligentsia is gaining weight in society and playing an ever growing role in material production and the creative sphere, and in accelerating social progress. It is an objective necessity of the revolutionary struggle to take into account the changes in the structure of modern society and the increasingly evident tendency of the intelligentsia to join the anti-monopoly struggle alongside the working class and the masses for the progressive reconstruction of society and the solution of urgent problems in the life of the peoples. For this reason the intellectuals can be drawn more broadly into the great social and political battles led by the Communist Parties, into the general anti-imperialist struggle.

In the present period young people are asserting themselves ever more vigorously, representing a giant potential for the progressive transformation of the world by virtue of their enthusiasm, their militant spirit and lofty ideals. The younger generation has a vital stake in eliminating the danger of a new world war, in securing favourable conditions in which to display and apply their energies and creative enthusiasm. Deep-going unrest has gripped the young people in the capitalist world over crucial problems of their existence, of how to organise their future, of what their life will look like tomorrow. The working youth is taking a big part in this movement, and the vigorous actions of the student youth, too, command attention. Ever more obvious is the outspoken desire of the young people to participate in the political struggle for a better future, a struggle which, even though comprising diverse trends, views and orientations, plays an important part.

The youth must find the adequate answers to its problems in the Communist and Workers' Parties, which can offer it a clear perspective of revolutionary social development. Given correct guidance of their craving for progress, millions of young people in the capitalist world can be a potent social force in the struggle against reaction, for democracy and peace.

An important role in the anti-imperialist struggle for progress and peace is played also by other social forces—women's organisations, middle strata, social

groups of varied political, philosophical and religious beliefs, personalities of culture and science, and members of bourgeois political parties favouring a realistic policy in matters concerning peace and social progress.

The growing contribution of all states to the settlement of problems of concern to mankind is an essential feature of contemporary political life. One might say that these days every state, every nation—big or small—bears responsibility for the future of peace and human civilisation, and is obliged to contribute actively to preventing a new war, to strengthening the friendship and co-operation of the peoples. It should be stressed that the small and medium-sized countries are playing an increasingly determinative role in world affairs and contributing more and more to the adjustment of international issues, establishment of relations of complete equality and respect for the will and aspirations of every people.

One of the basic features of our epoch is the fact that international problems, the problems of war and peace, have become the major preoccupation of hundreds of millions of men and women in all latitudes, and that these millions act with determination to safeguard peace, to prevent imperialism from unleashing a new war.

Dear comrades, the main objective of the united struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces is to safeguard peace and international security, thwart the aggressive policy of imperialism, defend the independence and sovereignty of the peoples and ensure the progressive development of human society.

To accomplish this in the modern world, it is of crucial importance to align relations among states, irrespective of social system, with the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, respect for the sacred rights of each people to decide without outside interference on the way of its social and political development. The very cause of détente, the fate of peace, hangs on consistent observance of these principles, infringements of which are the main source of danger for international security. That is why they are so widely acknowledged these days, with more and more states raising their voice in their behalf and acting to promote them and to ensure their observance. That is why we deem it necessary for the Communist and Workers' Parties to work perseveringly for the application of these principles in international affairs as a goal of major importance in the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces.

Eliminating the armed conflicts now in progress in the world is an outstanding aim of the anti-imperialist movement. We are in complete accord with those parts of the Document submitted to the Meeting that call on all who cherish peace and détente to intensify the struggle for a final stop to the US aggression in Vietnam, for conditions that would enable the Vietnamese people to decide their own destiny without outside interference.

We hold that it is an essential duty of the socialist countries, the communist movement and the entire anti-imperialist front to redouble their efforts at all levels in order to end as soon as possible the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, secure the withdrawal of US troops and those of its allies from that country and the cessation of the war imposed on that heroic people. The recent proposals

made by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam offer a realistic and constructive basis for progress in the Paris negotiations towards a political solution of the conflict, ensuring the right of the Vietnamese people to solve the problems of their development independently. The Party, government and people of Rumania have always given, and will continue to give, every material, political, moral and diplomatic support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for the independence and freedom of their country.

World opinion shows increasing concern over the continuing tension in the Middle East; it is, therefore, necessary that the efforts of all peace-loving forces should be directed at lessening tension in that region of the world, at resolving the conflict there on the basis of the Security Council resolution. In this respect, an essential condition is withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, ensuring sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence for all the states in the region, and settling the problem of Palestine refugees with due regard for their national interests.

We understand and firmly support the aspirations of the Arab peoples for complete national liberation, social emancipation and democratic, progressive development. In expressing our viewpoint, we proceed from the thesis that a people which denies the right to independence and independent existence to other nations, cannot be free itself. Clearly the imperialists are the only ones to gain from continued tensions and conflicts and perpetuation of a state of war in the Middle East, their aim being to divide the peoples, to fan strife and tension in order to maintain and consolidate their domination. This suits none but the reactionary circles in the countries of the region.

Disarmament, and nuclear disarmament first and foremost, is a vital cause of all men in the contemporary world. All know that the only radical way to stamp out the danger of a thermonuclear war is nuclear disarmament. Certainly, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is a step forward in that direction; however, it must be followed by further concrete steps reducing and eliminating the nuclear danger, banning and destroying atomic weapons, so that the force of the Atom, that great achievement of the human genius, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the progress of society.

Achieving European security is an important problem, on which depends the assurance of peace. On analysing the processes taking place in Europe and examining the new trends in the political arena of the continent, the socialist Warsaw Treaty countries produced in their Bucharest Declaration of 1966 and the recent Budapest Appeal, an ample and mobilising perspective of the possibilities and ways of achieving European security. The strong response which these documents evoked in the international arena confirms the keen interest of the peoples, of public opinion, in achieving a climate of active co-operation, détente, security and peace in the European continent. It should be noted that some Western states and government circles consider these documents an efficient basis for talks with a view to achieving real and concrete progress to a détente and security in Europe.

What is important for achieving security in Europe is recognition of the post-war historical realities—including the existence of the two German states—guaranteed inviolability of frontiers, the simultaneous dismantling of

NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, abolition of military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops to within their national boundaries, and renunciation of any show or demonstration of force. That is the alternative we must put forward to the policy of tension in international relations on the European continent as pursued by the aggressive, militarist and revanchist imperialist circles.

A system of collective security in Europe is not only a vital need for the peoples of the continent; it would contribute greatly to improving the general international political climate and to settling controversial issues on other continents.

Conclusion of regional agreements, creation of an atmosphere of confidence and good-neighbourliness in various parts of the globe, including establishment of denuclearised zones, would have special importance for international stability and peace.

Safeguarding security requires that the revolutionary and progressive forces work actively for the strictest observance of the norms of international law by all states, for the international recognition of such countries as the People's Republic of China, the sole lawful representative of the Chinese people, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea; for United Nations universality; for conditions necessary for the participation of all states in resolving the major problems of the modern world.

To achieve the aims of peace and security the process of détente must be continued and deepened, with economic, political, diplomatic, technical, scientific and cultural relations expanding broadly among all states, irrespective of their social systems, and outstanding international problems settled peacefully through talks and negotiations.

Animated by a sense of responsibility for the destiny of mankind, for the cause of socialism and peace, the Rumanian Communist Party and the government of Socialist Rumania will continue to act with energy and perseverance for the triumph of peace, security and progress.

Comrades, the Document presented to the Meeting speaks rightly of the need to fight against any signs of nationalism and racialism, as well as against hegemonic trends. As you know, nationalism expresses itself through failure to recognise the rights of other nations and nationalities, through unequal treatment and violation of their legitimate interests, through persecution and oppression of other peoples.

Reactionary imperialist circles, as we know, always resorted to nationalism and chauvinism to divide the peoples in order to exploit and oppress them barbarously. It is therefore the duty of Communists to combat most resolutely all manifestations of nationalism or racialism, chauvinism and hegemonism—all concepts typical of the bourgeois ideology and irreconcilably contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

As Lenin emphasised, to wage this struggle successfully, it is necessary to combat primarily every form of nationalism and hegemonic trend in the ranks of one's own nation. The nationalism of small nations or nationalities is largely determined and continuously fed by the policy of national domination and oppression. Therefore the fight for national liberation, for winning or consoli-

dating independence is part of the fight against nationalism, for friendship among the peoples.

The Marxist-Leninist approach to this problem implies a clear distinction between nationalism and the fight in defence of the national interests of each people. It would be altogether incorrect to consider assertion of the principles of equal rights, national sovereignty and the independence of the Parties as a manifestation of nationalism or violation of proletarian internationalism.

Internationalism unconditionally implies free and equal existence of the nations and development of independent Communist Parties as the fundamental and decisive premise for their fraternal solidarity. The duty of Communists is, first and foremost, to concentrate on organising the revolutionary struggle in their own country and, where they are government parties, to secure the building of socialist society. Concern for their country's progress and prosperity, for its economic and cultural growth which is not achieved to the detriment of other peoples, to the detriment or the negation of the interests of others, cannot possibly be represented as an expression of nationalism. On the contrary, it is only in this way that Communists fulfil their role of vanguard and leading force of their people and contribute to relations of respect and trust between the peoples, relations that are the foundation of genuine solidarity with the revolutionary movements of all countries.

There is no contradiction between the struggle in defence of national interests, for full equality of countries and Parties, and international solidarity. On the contrary, there is a close dialectical unity. One cannot successfully defend working class interests in one's own country without close co-operation with the working class of other countries. Similarly, one cannot be an internationalist without upholding the interests of one's own working class and people. Only by correctly combining national interests with those of the international struggle can we assure effective implementation of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Now as always, the Rumanian Communist Party is endeavouring harmoniously to combine its revolutionary struggle and efforts in building socialism in Rumania with the development of international solidarity. The internationalism of the Rumanian Communists has a long and solid tradition. It was displayed in the armed struggle for the victory and in defence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in countless manifestations of solidarity with revolutionary movements in various countries, in participation in the International Brigades that fought fascism in Spain, in the Resistance movement in France and other countries during the Second World War.

The Rumanian Communist Party gave effective assistance to the Korean people in fighting US aggression, is giving unstinting support to the heroic Vietnamese people, has given proof of its solidarity with revolutionary Cuba in the fight to defend its freedom and independence. It is giving all-round material, political, and moral support to national liberation movements and the struggles of colonial peoples.

As for international ties, our Party, guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, has developed relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries, and maintains close relations and intensifies its contacts with a large number of Communist and Workers' Parties in other



countries, as well as with national liberation movements on all the continents.

I have dwelt on this because it has sometimes been said, or hinted, that the Rumanian Communists follow a nationalist policy and are inclined to neglect their internationalist obligations. No, comrades. Nationalism and national narrowness are alien to the Rumanian Communist Party and people. More, the ideas of international solidarity, of proletarian internationalism, understood and interpreted as Marx, Engels and Lenin understood them, are dear to them.

As Rumanian Communists, we are firm defenders of our people's national interests, and we spare no effort in building socialism in Rumania. But at the same time, we make our maximum contribution to strengthening the world forces of socialism and the world positions of communism. And precisely because we are internationalists, we stand for the full factual implementation of equality between nations and between Parties. The Rumanian Communist Party will continue tirelessly to work for closer international solidarity with all Communist and Workers' Parties, will always fulfil its duty as a contingent of the great international communist front.

Dear comrades, the concluding section of the draft Document submitted to this Meeting, examines some of the problems of the development of the communist and workers' movement and of relations between fraternal Parties.

The Rumanian Communist Party proceeds from the fact that its revolutionary resolve and militancy, the attractive power of its ideology, make the communist and working-class movement the main political force of our time. In many countries, the Communist Parties have accumulated rich revolutionary experience, have enhanced their political and ideological strength, their organisational ability and their influence on the masses, on social and political life.

The increasing diversity of conditions and situations in which Communist and Workers' Parties have to operate is a distinguishing feature of the present-day revolutionary struggle. This tends to vary the tasks and problems facing the Parties; there are differences regarding both strategic and tactical lines; the specific objectives of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction; reaction to specific situations; approaches to theoretical and ideological problems relating to the evolution of contemporary society. That is why it is appropriate to recall what Marx said a century ago: "Since the various sections of working men in the same country, and the working classes in different countries, are placed under different circumstances and have attained different degrees of development, it seems almost necessary that the theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge" (General Council to International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, March 9, 1869).

It has, of course, to be stressed that knowledge and application of the general tenets of scientific socialism, of the objective laws of social development, is an obligatory condition for a correct orientation of the Communist and Workers' Parties. At the same time, experience proves that the proletariat, the Communist Parties, can assure the success of the struggle only by studying the conditions and concrete characteristics of the situation in which they function and acting accordingly in elaborating their political line, forms and methods of work, creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the existing situation. In this context, what Lenin said at the turn of the century retains all its validity:

"We think that an *independent* elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 212).

Many of the differences in the communist movement are associated with the changes taking place in the world, the result of profound social transformations in various countries and continents and of the rapid expansion of the productive forces and the technological revolution. All these new phenomena have to be explained, and this necessitates wide scientific Marxist-Leninist discussion. Of course, this requires a deep knowledge of reality, creative thought and a new spirit—the courage to see things as they are, and not as we wish them to be.

In the course of such discussions there could appear wrong views alongside correct ones. For we know, comrades, that in every branch of science, and especially in the social sciences, not only correct ideas emerge, and that we cannot advance without a confrontation of views. The important thing is for the discussion to proceed in a cultured, scientific spirit. Nobody could claim that he has the magic key to the solution of all the problems.

We must always start from the fact that what was correct yesterday can be obsolete, out-of-date today and no longer meet the requirements of historical progress. It is necessary to keep in mind that the forms of revolutionary struggle valid in certain circumstances, cannot mechanically be applied to other historical conditions or stages of development. This Marxist-Leninist proposition is confirmed by the different ways in which the revolution and socialist construction have been carried out in various countries, the variety of forms of the Communist and Workers' Parties' revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries, their different approach to the capture of power and socialist reconstruction of society. We know, for example, that a whole historical epoch lies between the development levels of advanced capitalist and many Afro-Asian countries, and determines differing viewpoints and a differing approach to practical problems.

Experience shows that in the practical revolutionary struggle, as in life itself, the general is realised through the particular; application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with setting uniform methods, and patterns of thinking and action, for all Parties. To absolutise certain forms and methods of revolutionary struggle, or certain experiences in building socialism, cannot help the Communist Parties solve the complex problems raised by social life and fulfil their mission in society. Only the Communists of the given country are able to know best the realities of its national, social and political life; they know how to solve, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the problems confronting them. Of course, mutual acquaintance with each other's problems, and exchanges of experience between Parties are very useful and necessary. This adds to our common fund of knowledge and strengthens the unity and solidarity of the communist movement.

I am not, of course, saying anything new. I am just recalling certain truths which are sometimes forgotten or neglected, with absolutisation of certain

experiences proclaimed to be generally valid and compulsory for all. In our opinion, this is one of the factors largely responsible for the present divergences.

Different modes of action in given situations, or different approaches to specific problems should not be a matter of dispute between Communist and Workers' Parties. We appreciate the fact that the Document before us, proceeding from the great diversity of conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, emphasises the right of each Party to elaborate its policy in full independence, guiding itself by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Each Party is responsible to the working class, to its own people, and at the same time to the international communist and working-class movement, for the way it accomplishes its revolutionary tasks and carries into life the ideals and aspirations of the working people. The better each Party fulfils its obligations towards its working class and people, the greater will be the confidence of the masses in its policy, the more powerful its vanguard role, the greater the prestige of the communist and working-class movement. In this lies its main contribution to the common cause of socialism and communism, to strengthening the power and cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement.

Historical experience has proved the correctness of the conclusions, long since reached by the Communist Parties, that, in view of the wide differences in the levels and development paths of the various countries, and the increasing diversification of the world revolutionary process, which call for an independent approach to the Parties' concrete tasks, there is no need for a leading centre.

What we need in the present period of sweeping economic and social change, and of the powerful assertion of the revolutionary forces, is bilateral and multi-lateral contacts, links and discussions between fraternal Parties on ideological and current political problems of the communist and working-class movement, on questions of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for socialism, democracy and peace. In this connection we would like to stress that our Party regards international meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties not as forums to frame programmatic documents binding on all Parties, or to issue directives and set policy lines. Such meetings should be aimed at assuring a free and principled exchange of views to work out joint positions and goals on fundamental problems of general interest, after which each Party can independently decide what concrete methods to follow.

The submitted Document calls—and this is a positive fact—for solution of controversial issues in the communist and working-class movement through comradely discussion and co-operation. We will follow and promote that method in our practical work.

The policy of the Communist Parties is subject to verification by life and the control of public opinion. People judge us not by declarations of good intent—even the road to hell is paved with good intentions—but by our deeds, by how we carry out our policy. That is why we shall act in such a way that the word is matched by the deed.

The over-all unity of our movement decisively depends on the unity and cohesion of each and every Party, on its organisational, political and ideological strength. The stronger and more united each Party is, the stronger will be the unity of the communist and working-class movement. That is why in relations

between Parties we must under no circumstances allow actions that tend to weaken the unity and combat capacity of any Party. In this connection we believe that each Party has the right to take adequate measures to safeguard its unity.

The draft Document emphasises that non-participation in this Meeting of some Parties should not affect fraternal relations and internationalist co-operation with them. This is a cardinal problem of principle. For every Party has the right to decide whether or not to participate in international meetings of the communist movement; similarly, the absence of a Party from such meetings should not affect comradely relations, co-operation and joint actions of Communist Parties. A Party's fidelity to internationalism is not measured by its participation or non-participation in meetings and conferences, but by the way its entire activity serves the revolutionary cause of its working class and people and the common cause of world socialism. We therefore believe that the Document we adopt should clearly stress the need further to develop co-operation between all Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our Party will continue its collaboration with all fraternal Parties, with those attending this Meeting and those not participating in its proceedings, with all anti-imperialist forces, for we are convinced that in this way we will be fulfilling our duty as an active detachment in the fight against imperialism, for socialism, peace and social progress.

Comrades, having examined the draft Document in its present form, the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party believes that it can be taken as a working basis for our Meeting.

We appreciate the fact that intensive work has gone into the drafting of the Document, that the representatives of Parties—including representatives of our Party—shared in the work of the Preparatory Committee, that there was a comprehensive and fruitful exchange of views which helped to narrow down divergences between some viewpoints. We consider that the Document contains a number of correct ideas and outlines a series of important general tasks in the fight against imperialism. That it does not contain critical remarks, or condemnation of any Party, is, we think, a positive fact. But it does contain some assessments which, in our view, ought to be improved, and our delegation is putting forward appropriate proposals to this end. Our documents should reflect common views, the effort for unity. Consequently, I agree with the comrades who suggested that the Main Document deal with questions on which we hold common views, leaving aside questions on which views differ.

Dear comrades, our motto in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, a historic event of world importance, should be closer unity of the revolutionary forces, intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle, development and enrichment of our philosophy, so as to carry forward the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism, in keeping with the new world conditions. We believe that this will be our greatest tribute to Lenin.

The communist and working-class movement is facing tasks that involve vast responsibility. Our era demands of all Communists that they rise above all divergences and animosities, that they place the general interests of the

working-class, the peoples, the anti-imperialist struggle, the cause of socialism and communism, above transient and minor divisions.

The Rumanian Communist Party will spare no effort, will continue to act with all its vigour and resolve, for the victory of the world anti-imperialist struggle, for the unity and cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement, of all the forces fighting on the great front of socialism, progress and peace, for peaceful coexistence and international détente.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its splendid arrangements for the Meeting, and for the hospitality it has extended to us. On behalf of the Rumanian Communist Party and the entire Rumanian people, we also address a message of internationalist solidarity to all the Communist and Workers' Parties, as well as wishes for their success in the fight for socialism, social progress and world peace.

**LUIS CORVALAN**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Communist Party of Chile**

Dear Comrades,

No revolutionary duty is loftier than the one which has brought us to this Meeting. It is the duty to strengthen the unity of action of the communist movement and work out a common standpoint regarding the principal tasks facing all of us in the present world situation.

This duty fully conforms with the interests of the peoples, of progressive mankind, and the vital need for more active support for the heroic Vietnamese people and all those who are fighting imperialism.

The stronger the international unity of Communists the more effective our struggle. There is no revolutionary fighter or politically conscious worker who does not appreciate the importance of unity as a militant weapon in the battles with the class enemies.

The Communist Party of Chile considers that the draft Main Document and other draft documents submitted to this Meeting by the Preparatory Committee accord with the aims of our Meeting and will serve as a powerful instrument in raising the unity of action of the communist movement to a still higher level.

We have no doubt that the Meeting will be an important milestone in the struggle for the international unity of our ranks on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We should also like to underline as a very positive element the fact that the Meeting itself and the documents before it have been prepared with the active participation of the Parties represented here. Each of them has had and has the opportunity of fully stating its opinion without being limited by time.

Divergences are not the principal thing at this Meeting. Nevertheless, existing divergences on various issues have been set forth openly and in comradely fashion, and this, in our opinion, is another service rendered by the Meeting. That different viewpoints are enunciated here does not alarm us because it is more useful to expound and compare them with other opinions. We are confident that this kind of divergence of viewpoints will not prevent us from leaving this Meeting more united than before.

In the draft Main Document attention is drawn to the methods employed

by imperialism, beginning with persecution and open violence against peoples and ending with manoeuvres to undermine the working-class movement from within. Moreover, depending on the situation, the imperialists resort to demagoguery and the use of bourgeois reformism.

Blood and mourning were left in the wake of the failure of the tour of Latin America undertaken by the oil magnate Rockefeller who met with a rebuff everywhere. The workers and students killed in recent days in the streets of Tegucigalpa, Guayaquil, Cordoba and other towns of the continent, the murders and repression in Haiti and Guatemala, mentioned at this Meeting, the genocide in Vietnam, all show that the imperialists and their agents stop at nothing in fighting the peoples.

The imperialists are well aware, and they are not mistaken, that we Communists are unyielding foes of imperialism and that it is our purpose to put an end to it. For that reason they fight us first and foremost. Where weapons and jails cannot be used they have recourse to more refined methods. They bring their entire propaganda machine into play. And it must be admitted that this work is being conducted with increasing subtlety.

The imperialists can no longer maintain that we Communists eat children. Now they spread other fabrications. They represent our Parties as conservative and fossilised, and give their backing to various anti-communist groups which seek to present themselves as more zealous revolutionaries than Communists are. They spread the theories of Marcuse and other ideologists, slandering the working class and trying to prove that it is being integrated into the capitalist system and is ceasing to be a revolutionary class. According to these theoreticians the main motive force of the revolution is the youth and peasants. They thus seek not only to sow confusion but also counterpose the peasants to the workers, the young people to the proletariat, the so-called youth power to the power of the working class and its allies, and replace the class struggle by a struggle between generations.

At the same time, in some Latin American countries the imperialists patronise and support pseudo-revolutionary movements, which are served up as an alternative to communism. An example is Christian Democracy, which has come to power in Chile under the slogan of "revolution in freedom" and, it goes without saying, did not accomplish any revolution.

Some comrades here have exposed the reactionary nature of anti-Sovietism. This is the hobby-horse of imperialism. It is noteworthy that since the Second World War the imperialists have been trying to smuggle it into the ranks of the communist movement itself, making special use of the differences created by the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which has blown up anti-Sovietism to such proportions that had we not seen it for ourselves we would find it difficult to believe. On the basis of objective facts we must energetically condemn actions of this kind. This condemnation must bring the necessary clarity to the question in order to rally the entire communist movement and not to hinder or make impossible the attainment of that aim.

In our country the paid agents of the US Embassy, reactionary political gamblers and even some bourgeois politicians who cannot be regarded as being in the same bracket with them, tirelessly allege that our Party is dependent on

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As Comrade Rochet correctly said here, the Communist Parties are independent and equal, and among them there neither are nor can be dominating and subordinate Parties, just as there cannot be one or several leading centres. Each Party works out its own political line. We Chilean Communists have daily proved and continue to prove this truth. But the reactionaries in our countries do not tire of speaking of an imaginary dependence. They go to any lengths in their quest for narrow nationalistic feelings and other vulnerable places in our ranks. Their purpose is to wrest anti-Soviet statements from our Party and compel us to act against the Soviet Union. But there they have broken and continue to break their teeth.

We consider that condemnation of anti-Sovietism is a principled stand.

Some people among us may like or dislike vodka, or they may agree or disagree with one or another opinion of the Soviet comrades. But the fact cannot be ignored that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the liberation cause of peoples and that it and its Party have played and continue to play the decisive role in the history of our epoch.

The tremendous achievements which the peoples have won and the revolutionary prospects now opening before the whole world would have been inconceivable without the existence of the Soviet Union, without its economic and military might, without its political weight in the world and its day-to-day struggle against imperialism.

On the other hand, how can one fail to agree with Comrade Brezhnev's realistic presentation of the problem in his speech? This identity of assessments is founded, naturally, on our own experience, on an objective analysis of the present situation.

The Communist Parties are profoundly national and, at the same time, internationalist. The Chilean people have erected monuments in the capital and other towns to the founder of the Communist Party of Chile, the printer Comrade Luis Emilio Recabarren and many streets and townships bear his name. The head of the Chilean Catholic Church himself mentioned him along with three or four other great sons of Chile during a solemn religious ceremony marking national independence celebrations.

A consistent patriot, Recabarren was also an outstanding internationalist. His condemnation of the first imperialist war, resolute support of the October Revolution, and the works devoted to it written during the period of War Communism, which was a difficult time for the Soviet people; his participation in the founding of the Communist Party of Argentina together with Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi and his condemnation of anti-Peruvian chauvinism in connection with the frontier disputes between our countries—eloquently show that Comrade Recabarren adhered to an exceptionally clear and principled position. Our Party and the Chilean working class have been brought up in this tradition of merging the defence of national interests into a single whole with proletarian internationalism.

In this sense, while of course observing the necessary proportions we could speak of the founder of our Party by paraphrasing the lines Mayakovsky wrote about Lenin: When we speak of the Party we mean Recabarren; when we speak of Recabarren we mean the Party.



Patriotism and internationalism are complimentary. They are a single whole. And Communists cannot counterpose them to each other or look for contradictions between them. The working-class struggle is national in form and international in content. It is quite obvious, as the draft Main Document points out, that the cardinal internationalist duty of Communists is to overthrow the bourgeoisie in their own countries. In our time this is possible on the sole condition that national and international factors blend in the fire of the class battle and that the struggle of each people merges with the struggle of all peoples against imperialism.

In conclusion of the above-said we consider it absolutely indispensable that the draft Main Document should be adopted in toto with its principled formulations, because the struggle against imperialism and an intensification of the joint actions of the Communist Parties can acquire the necessary revolutionary force only if they unite on a common ideological foundation and do not slide into narrow pragmatic concepts.

Comrades, today there are unprecedented real opportunities to isolate the enemy and to unite the broadest revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle against it. Fresh detachments are joining the working class and the Communists in the battle. Middle strata in town and countryside, young people and intellectuals are joining in the social struggle against the injustice and crime inherent in capitalism. A sizeable section of these classes and social strata display a truly revolutionary spirit, often using working-class methods in their action, acting together with the Communists and accepting socialism as their goal. This tendency has become most pronounced in Latin America since the Cuban revolution. The urge for change is so deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of our peoples, that it is making ever wider sections of the Catholics join the struggle, and even the clergy is in the grip of an unprecedented crisis.

Obviously it is not all gold that glitters. In these social sections we also meet with anti-communist prejudices and reservations, with clannish Leftist attitudes and alien ideology. What attitude is to be taken with respect to these new facts and phenomena of our day, which complicate the social processes?

In our opinion, all this is a component part of the mounting struggle of the peoples. Ultimately, it is the result of the deep-going crisis of capitalism, the result of the influence exerted by the socialist world and the activity of the Communist Parties. We take a positive view of these phenomena and are prepared to co-operate.

The Communist Party of Chile consists in the main of workers; at the same time, it is proud that in its ranks are a great number of intellectuals and students, men and women from every walk of life. We are striving to carry on a dialogue and joint action with the most diverse strata of the people, we carefully study their constructive proposals, and are prepared to examine the new phenomena. We do not believe that such an attitude contradicts loyalty to principles or that we have to make ideological concessions to take joint action with these masses.

A blend of loyalty to principles and broad scope of work, of the most vigorous defence of national interests and proletarian internationalism, far from weakening, has in fact strengthened our Party. Such is our experience.

Despite the efforts of anti-communism, we are the main force of the working-

class movement. At the last Congress of the United Working People's Trade Union Centre, which has in its ranks all organised workers and employees in the country, the 3,500 delegates attending elected a leadership in which all trends are represented, with the Communists in the majority. Communist influence has increased in the countryside, which makes real the possibility of an alliance between workers and peasants. We have become the main force among working-class and student youth. We have long since become such a force among writers and artists, and also in the country's two main universities. At the last parliamentary elections we won more than 16 per cent of the poll and in almost one-third of the provinces—over 20 per cent. Of the total of 150 deputies and 50 senators, 22 and 6 respectively are Communists.

In the last four years, under the Christian Democratic government, we worked in complex political conditions, fighting our adversaries who act in our own field, among the people, and secured an 83 per cent increase in our Party's membership.

We naturally face many problems in building up a mass Communist Party both from the standpoint of its growth and from the standpoint of its ideological and political grounding, so as to face up to the experienced domestic enemy, who, incidentally, still has large reserves at his disposal and enjoys strong support from imperialism.

The main direction of our policy is to unite all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces so as to establish a people's government capable of putting through the revolutionary changes which are on the order of the day and whose ultimate aim is socialism.

We encounter considerable difficulties in pursuing this policy. Apart from frontal action by the class enemy this policy comes up both against Leftist-sectarian attitudes and against bourgeois-reformist and Right-wing opportunist trends.

The great number of votes won by our comrades in France, who raised the banner of their people's combat unity, and the ignominious failure of the Leftist splitters at the polls, will, we believe, promote a timely understanding in our country of the acute necessity for unity of all the popular forces. Such unity is equally, if not more so, necessary in Chile, because it should be borne in mind that apart from defeating the internal enemy it is also necessary to withstand interference by imperialism and provocations by Pentagon-fostered military juntas.

Comrades, unity of action against imperialism is a dictate of our time. For the Latin American peoples this is as clear as daylight because our continent's history in this century has been marked by brazen US imperialist interventions, including armed intervention. Take only the last few instances, such as the abortive invasion of Cuba, the marine landing in San Domingo, economic sanctions and other threats which are now being applied to Peru.

At the recent sitting of the Preparatory Committee, we tabled various amendments to the draft Main Document. Some were adopted, others were not. But we do not feel offended. We think it quite natural that all proposals put forward cannot be adopted. We shall not insist on them in the Drafting Committee or at the sittings of our Meeting, although we should prefer to see

a change in some formulations, such as, for instance, the one about the ways of revolution. In our conditions, we have long since ceased speaking of a peaceful or non-peaceful way, and prefer to speak about "an armed or non-armed way". To be more precise, it is not quite right to call peaceful a struggle like the one being waged in Chile—and in other countries also, we believe—where the working people and the masses often resort to national strikes, take over plants and seize land to build homes, stage street demonstrations, which usually lead to clashes with the police. Thus, many of the people's gains are secured or maintained at the price of blood and lives.

We are absolutely sure that this Meeting will open the way to new and more resolute joint action against imperialism. We are all agreed that greater cohesion of the communist movement will result from a process in which joint action, bilateral and multilateral meetings, joint studies of concrete problems, and, naturally, time, will play their part.

To the best of our abilities we are striving to translate these intentions into practice. We found useful the meetings we have had with the various Parties, including those of Europe. We shall strive for an exchange of opinion, for joint action with all Parties attending this Meeting, and as far as possible with those which are not attending. In particular, we want to strengthen our ties with all our brother Parties in Latin America and, it goes without saying, with the Communist Party of Cuba as well.

While the imperialist propagandists are talking about "the decline of ideology", in an effort to make the people abandon revolutionary thinking and to enmesh them in the web of conformism and subordination to the injustices of bourgeois society, while madcap ideas are being spread about the proletariat losing its identity and the distinctions between classes being blurred, which allegedly dispenses with the need to change the existing system, there arises the need to stoke up with fresh vigour the flames of proletarian ideology, of Marxism-Leninism, work for their purity, and apply their truth to the analysis of the kaleidoscopic flight of history, to the new processes in life which is far from static. We are sure that the celebration of the centenary of Lenin's birth will help all of us in our creative application of his behests, and will operate as a new factor in uniting the international communist movement, and mounting united anti-imperialist action by all peoples.

## S. A. WICKREMASINGHE

Chairman,  
Ceylon Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Ceylon Communist Party most warmly greets the representatives of all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties that have gathered together at this conference.

It is not the wish of our delegation to make a lengthy contribution. Having listened to the contributions of several delegations that preceded us, we wish to avoid the grounds of common agreement and wish to confine ourselves to the issues on which common agreement does not seem to exist, and to the issues on which we feel strongly.

Nearly 15 months have passed since the fraternal Parties decided at Budapest to convene this international conference. This decision was hailed with great enthusiasm and high expectations by the Communists and all the other militant fighters against imperialism.

These forces were well aware that united action by all anti-imperialist forces and the cohesion of their vanguard, the international communist movement, had become a central and urgent task of the contemporary world struggle against imperialism.

The number of fraternal Parties present at this conference is even greater than those that attended the Consultative Conference in Budapest in March 1968, which decided to convene this international conference.

The four documents that this conference has decided to consider are the products of the detailed collective work of the representatives of more than 60 fraternal Parties, who have taken part in the various meetings connected with the preparatory work for the conference.

The delegation of the Ceylon Communist Party endorses and supports without reservations the four documents that the Preparatory Committee has sent to this conference and which are now on our agenda.

It is a special merit of the Main Document that it characterises correctly the balance of forces on the world arena between imperialism and its opponents. It neither overestimates nor underestimates the strength and activities of imperialism. It combines a sober and realistic evaluation of the relative strength of imperialism and our own forces together with an optimistic appraisal of the

revolutionary anti-imperialist potentialities inherent in the contemporary situation.

All this is a valuable corrective to erroneous trends that manifest themselves within our movement as a result of such wrong assessments.

We are glad that the Document submitted to us by the Preparatory Committee maintains the structure and retains the four sections of the draft that was submitted to the Central Committees for their consideration. To remove any section or sections of this Document would destroy its balance and weaken it. That is why our delegation disagreed in the Preparatory Committee with the proposal of the Italian comrades to retain only Section Three of the Main Document. This is also why we cannot agree with the suggestion of the Australian comrades to divide the draft Main Document into two documents, one which can be signed by all Parties present at this conference and the other, by only the Parties that agree with it. In our view, the main purpose of this historic conference should be to demonstrate the unity of our movement. To adopt the Australian proposal would be to demonstrate unity and disunity simultaneously. This, in our opinion, is the way to achieve results opposite to the purpose for which we have gathered here.

As has been already stated by several delegations, the main item on the agenda for our consideration is the question of the tasks in the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and of unity of action of Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces. If this purpose is to be served and if we are to cover as fully as possible the essence of the problems involved, we have to consider and adopt all four parts of the Main Document before us. It is only by the adoption of such a complete and balanced document that our movement will be able to overcome the difficulties that have emerged in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

It is sometimes argued that we would impair the possibilities of achieving the widest unity of our ranks if our Main Document deals with ideological questions or makes a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary tactics and strength of imperialism and the problems and opportunities that confront the anti-imperialist forces. Our delegation cannot subscribe to this opinion.

It is surely the duty of the Communists, who are guided in their activity by the scientific teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to make precisely the contribution that they are qualified to make—namely a scientific analysis of contemporary developments and trends that will give all the militant anti-imperialist fighters a deeper understanding of their enemy and of their own strength and potentialities. To avoid questions of ideology precisely at a moment when imperialism is stepping up its ideological offensive would be incorrect, as this can lead to disarming and disorienting our own forces.

Of course, the Document does not deal with every question on which differences may exist. But it is our view that it would be expedient, at the present stage, to concentrate on emphasising the highest level of what unites us and to lay aside other unsolved questions for later study and resolution. We cannot expect imperialism to remain passive until we have solved all the matters of differentiation among us.

Although we did not insist on a reference to this matter in our documents,

our Party cannot fail to take into account the fact that the fight for the unity of the international communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces has been complicated still further by the decisions of the recent 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China. Far from abating in any way the anti-Soviet, great-power, national chauvinist and splitting policy of the Mao Tse-tung leadership, the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China has, in our view, intensified this dangerous political course that has already led to most serious and tragic consequences in some sections of the anti-imperialist and communist movement where such policies held temporary sway.

It is clear from the substantiated references made in the speech of Comrade Brezhnev, that the Mao leadership has stepped on a dangerous course that would not only weaken our common cause but in fact give much encouragement to our enemies. There can now be no doubt that the Mao leadership has clearly broken away from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and has decided to excommunicate itself from the international communist movement. Maoism has been elevated to the position of a religious dogma and imposed on the people by force. It is seeking to extend its corruptive influence on the unstable and adventurist elements among the working classes in other countries. The Mao leadership is striving to poison the minds of millions of people in China. Day in and day out over the radio and in the press the Mao leadership slanders the Communist and Workers' Parties who are in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle. Our Parties are referred to as "running dogs of imperialism". It is in such circumstances that we are being urged to refrain from criticising the activities of the Mao leadership of China.

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party has instructed our delegation to do everything it can to help to make this conference an outstanding success. We express our confidence that the realisation of the high expectations in which the Communists and anti-imperialist fighters regard our conference, a confidence that has been so movingly expressed in the letters sent to our conference, will inspire all our work and make this international conference a powerful impetus to new world-wide efforts to defeat the common enemy of mankind, imperialism.

**REIDAR LARSEN**  
**Chairman,**  
**Communist Party of Norway**

Dear Comrades,

We convey our assurances of solidarity on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Norway to the Communist Parties represented at this Meeting. At the same time, we express the hope that the Meeting will be an important step to restoring lasting unity among all Communist Parties and to intensifying the struggle against imperialism.

The foreign and military policy of Norway, a member of NATO, is subordinated to the interests of United States imperialism and those of other imperialist states. Norwegian territory is a forward area in NATO's atomic strategy. It is therefore vitally necessary for our country to break away from the NATO system, the key task of the Communist Party of Norway and the country's other progressive forces being to win the majority of the nation for active participation in the drive towards this aim. That will extend the nation's possibilities for independent development.

Norway's anti-imperialist forces are in the process of growth. That growth has been particularly marked after US imperialism started the Vietnam war to rob the Vietnamese people of their freedom.

It should be said, however, that the progressive movement in our country encountered difficulties in its growth, some traceable, among other things, to negative phenomena stemming from the split in the world communist movement and from the serious problems and conflicts that arose among the socialist countries.

We think it is important to stress this here, at our broad meeting, because it is the duty and task of all Communist Parties to help overcome the negative effects of those aspects of activity that impede our work and struggle. We cannot bring into play all the possibilities of the world communist movement unless our principles accord fully with their practical application.

We regard the situation of sharpening differences between some Communist Parties and socialist countries over the recent years as a grave obstacle limiting the ability of the peoples to combat breaches of peace, national freedom and democracy by reaction and imperialism. This could only impair, rather than serve, our common interests.

The Communist Party of Norway considers it the principal task of both big and small Parties to work for the restoration of respect for the standards of co-operation and contact among Communist Parties as defined in the Statement of the 1960 International Meeting. Our Central Committee stressed this in its resolution back in October 1963 and has tried to act accordingly ever since.

We hold that the existence of divergent views among Communist Parties should be recognised and that these differences should be clarified and discussed in a comradely way consistent with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Difficult problems exist in the communist movement, a discussion of which at this Meeting could yield no beneficial results. However, unity among our Parties can be buttressed by joint action, even though not all controversial issues are resolved at once. That is our view. On the other hand, the relationships among our Parties will not be completely satisfactory until questions on which we lack agreement are discussed thoroughly and conclusively. Our discussions in the context of the world communist movement should not evade the sharp issues. We should not create the impression of a taboo on problems over which differences of opinion arose in certain serious situations. That kind of fundamental problems should be discussed and we must find suitable forms in which to do so. This does not imply any interference in the internal affairs of other Parties; what it implies is that clarity is needed on theoretical, ideological and political problems now creating difficulties for us.

We once suggested forming committees of representatives of different Parties to examine these problems, and should like to renew that proposal at the present Meeting.

One thing is quite clear: the present problems of the world communist movement can be resolved provided the sharp polemics between Parties cease and the Parties display mutual respect and understanding, and provided, too, a comradely atmosphere prevails at our international meetings. This comradely atmosphere at the present and subsequent meetings will serve to consolidate the unity of our ranks. As we see it, unity cannot be restored unless the differences between Parties, the different conditions in which the Parties work, and the indisputable right of each Party to formulate its own policy, are fully taken into consideration.

We hold that the agenda drawn up in Budapest for the present Meeting in 1968 offers opportunities to reinvigorate co-operation among Communist Parties. It will be quite realistic, we think, if the Parties participating in the Meeting concentrate on matters helping to unify our movement, while not allowing the fact that we lack agreement over some questions to escape us.

Thorough preparatory work has been done on the drafts of the documents submitted for the consideration of this Meeting, laying a good foundation for our discussion. However, we hold that the draft of the Main Document does not quite fit the framework of the agreement reached among the Parties in Budapest. We should, therefore, like to make a few remarks on the draft submitted as the basis for the Main Document of the Meeting.

The analysis of imperialism at the present stage, as set out in the draft, doubtlessly contains some interesting points. It fits our own views in the main. But the entire part of the draft is watered down by excessive detail. Further-



more, the first two sections contain points of a conflicting nature, with the formulations bearing the imprint of unsatisfactory compromises.

We are not content with the wording of these and other propositions, and disagree with some of the suggested amendments. Besides, we also have some suggestions of our own. However, as we see it, it is best to leave out the first two sections and work out an introductory part with a concentrated description of imperialism and of the anti-imperialist forces. We feel that the main attention in the Document should be concentrated on Sections Three and Four. Section Three, as you know, defines the tasks over which the Communist Parties can and must unite at the present time, while Section Four contains important points concerning relations among all the Parties of the world communist movement.

In our view, the last two sections also contain paragraphs that are not quite satisfactory. We agree that these paragraphs, like the Document as a whole, should be offensive and unequivocally oriented against imperialism. They could be made stronger by a brief reference stating clearly that the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, of sovereignty, equality and territorial immunity, should apply to relations among all countries.

In principle, the drafts of the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the call "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" coincide with our views. We should also like to express our satisfaction over the submitted draft of the document devoted to the celebration of the centennial of V. I. Lenin's birth next year, a great event in the life of all Communist Parties. We consider it proper that by paying tribute to the memory of V. I. Lenin, the Meeting thereby underscores the common Marxist-Leninist foundation of all the Communist Parties.

Comrades, you will realise from the above that we have our own opinion on some issues, divergent from that of other Parties. All the same, we feel the need for the Communist Parties to join forces more closely, because we have to resolve very big problems in common.

Fighting imperialism is the most important question of our time. Section Three of the draft Main Document defines that task as a struggle against a definite adversary, a struggle for concrete aims.

For the people of Norway it will be a struggle for the country's deliverance from NATO, from subordination to the imperialist states. It will also be a struggle for the erection of a system of European collective security that could lead to the abolition of the existing military blocs. That is an important sector in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, and insistently requires solidarity with the people of Vietnam and cohesion of all the peoples dominated by imperialism, oppressed or threatened by it. Still more insistently, it requires that all Communist Parties cement the unity of their ranks. Our Meeting offers opportunities for this. So let us make the most of them and achieve unity of action in the fight against imperialism, a unity which, as you know, is the prime compulsion.

We hope that the Meeting will bring us closer to this great and important goal.

## FRANZ MUHRI

Chairman,  
Communist Party of Austria

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Austrian Communists, we here convey hearty fraternal greetings to all Communist and Workers' Parties. We also want to extend hearty thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for providing good facilities for the two last sittings of the Preparatory Committee in Moscow, and for its hospitality to the International Meeting.

The draft of the Main Document, worked out in a succession of preparatory conferences and now submitted to the Meeting, outlines the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage, underscoring the need for joint action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces. In this our Party sees the decisive task of today. We therefore consider the Document a suitable basis, to which we assent. At the same time, it is our view that further improvements should be made with an eye on the results of the discussion at this Meeting.

In our view, the broad anti-imperialist unity of action that emerged in recent years in support of the heroic liberative struggle of the Vietnamese people, also embracing considerable forces outside the communist movement, is the biggest accomplishment of the anti-imperialist struggle. Alongside the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese, which played the decisive part, the solidarity movement helped to compel US imperialism to end the bombing of North Vietnam and accept the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as negotiating partners, and to start talks in Paris. The Communist Party of Austria gives its unqualified support to the proposals of the DRV and NLF as a sound basis for a peaceful solution affording the Vietnamese people freedom and the right to self-determination.

As our Party sees it, the Statement of the recent Budapest Conference of Warsaw Treaty member-countries, proposing an international conference on European security problems, shows that opportunities exist for organising joint actions over matters decisive for the peace in Europe. This initiative had a favourable response in Austria too.

Austria's permanent neutrality, proclaimed in 1955, is an important contribution to European peace and détente. We view this neutrality as an immense

gain for the Austrian people. And it is one of the crucial and most important tasks of our Party, of the Austrian working class and all our democratic forces, to safeguard it and combat all attempts to undermine its foundations.

We stand for active neutrality and demand that the Austrian government contribute effectively to relieving tension, to peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world. We hold that the government of neutral Austria should come out in defence of peace and freedom in Vietnam, that it should initiate actions facilitating the materialisation of the Budapest proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

On no account must we forget the lessons of history implicit in the coercive seizure of Austria by German militarism and imperialism. Nor shall we forget that the situation in 1969 is entirely different from that in 1938. We are aware that considerable anti-imperialist forces are active in West Germany and that resistance has grown to the brazen claims of the West German militarists, that demands to recognise the German Democratic Republic and the present frontiers in Europe are heard frequently these days among influential circles in the country, as well as the demand for a new eastern policy that would be new not in name only. We look with approval upon these trends and phenomena.

However, we think it dangerous to overlook the fact that German militarism and imperialism, resuscitated in West Germany, are still the main threat to European peace and security, and to Austria's independence. This is borne out by the policy of the Bonn government. Yet the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party of Austria are hushing up the danger. We cannot and must not ignore the fact that a whole agglomeration of overt and covert ties and interlacements exists between the West German and Austrian economies, and that West German influence in the Austrian economy has become more visible of late. To be sure, the key positions, formerly controlled by German capital in Austria, are now in the hands of the Austrian state. In recent times, however, systematic attacks are mounted against the nationalised sector in industry. In the effort to undermine and weaken the nationalised industries, attempts are made in one form or another to place important branches under the direct or indirect influence of West German monopoly capital, despite the clear terms of the State Treaty. Our country's history before 1938 showed that loss of economic independence leads to loss of political independence and to a rise in anti-democratic tendencies. For this reason, defence and further expansion of nationalisation in Austria is a prime national task.

Considering the dangerous tendency emanating from West Germany, we regard the existence of the German Democratic Republic as an important factor deterring West German imperialism. Campaigning for the recognition of the GDR by all European states is therefore an indispensable part of any policy aimed at securing European peace. We hold that the government of neutral Austria must play an active part in this effort.

In its European policy US imperialism leans mostly on West German imperialism. It is the chief supporter of the dictatorial regimes in Greece, Spain, Portugal and many other countries where the working people are fighting stoutly for freedom and democracy—and we consider their battles as our own. US imperialism is the chief bearer of colonialism and neo-colonialism, deepening

ing the rift and the contradictions between the industrially developed capitalist states and the developing countries, and at once sparking a mounting national liberation movement, one of the decisive factors of our time, a movement for which we entertain the deepest solidarity. Furthermore, US imperialism interferes in Middle East affairs. Our Party stands for a peaceful political adjustment of the Middle East conflict, based on withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories and recognition of the right to exist for all states of the area, Israel included. This is also consistent with the UN Security Council resolution of November 1967, a demand for the fulfilment of which is contained in our Document.

The draft of the Document contains the legitimate call to fight the man-hating ideology of racialism fanned by the imperialist bourgeoisie. In this connection, we propose that a separate sentence be inserted in the Document, expressing our attitude to the reactionary essence of anti-Semitism and calling for decisive struggle against it.

In the fight against imperialism we in Austria are oriented on united action with Socialists and Catholics of the working class and intelligentsia, and on uniting all democratic forces. The conservative forces are still highly influential in the Catholic Church and, primarily, among the Catholic intelligentsia. But new trends have surfaced, which make joint action on the basic problems troubling mankind, such as peace, national liberation, democracy and humanism, quite practicable.

Our Party organised solidarity actions in support of Vietnam, and there have been actions for ending the bombing of North Vietnam organised jointly with other peace-loving forces. The youth, particularly the students, acted sharply and firmly against the US aggression in Vietnam and against the dictatorial regimes in Greece and Spain. A joint movement has gained ground to combat attempts by West German capital infiltrating the country to undermine the nationalised industries. Factory and office workers have embarked on a struggle for the right to participate in running the economy, for new forms of direct democracy, something that could become a lever in changing society structurally. Broad growth of united action by all socialist and democratic forces is obstructed by the policy of social partnership and anti-communism pursued by the leadership of the Socialist Party. Despite the obviously aggressive capitalist class policy of the conservative government, the Socialist leadership succeeded in frustrating large-scale class battles and, among other things, in almost entirely paralysing the strike movement. A struggle of principle against the theory and practice of social partnership is, therefore, a crucial task for us at the present time.

Comrades, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are the mainstay of the forces of democracy, peace and socialism in the fight against imperialism in the international arena.

That is why they are objects of bitter attacks and unbridled anti-communist slander. The Right-wing Socialist Party leaders are trying to emulate the anti-communism of bourgeois propagandists. It is not for criticising the socialist countries that we rebuke the Socialist Party, but for discrediting socialism as such by their hostile attitude. This negative posture towards the socialist

countries is the reverse side of rejecting the socialist perspective for Austria. We, for one, consider it necessary to defend democracy, fight for its extension, for socialism, which is consistent with the national traditions and conditions of our country. True, our road to socialism will differ from that blazed by the October Revolution and from that of the People's Democracies.

The 50-year history of socialism is a chronicle of remarkable progress and grand accomplishments, possible only as a result of the socialist revolution. That revolution was tied in with far-reaching democratic changes. It ended the exploitation of man by man, ended the disgraceful fact that interests of profit affected vitally important government decisions, paved the way for workers' guidance and control of factories, repatterned public education from the bottom up and, for the first time in history, extended to the masses true development of the human personality. Also, it created the preconditions for the equality of nations and was accompanied by the most significant emancipation of women in history.

A few words are also due about the international role of the socialist countries, a role of world-wide historical importance, and especially about three of its aspects:

1. No classes or strata exist in the socialist countries with a stake in war or profit from arms production. That makes the socialist countries the most potent peace force of all. We owe it to the existence of the socialist countries that a realistic possibility exists today for averting wars in general and a nuclear world war in particular.

2. The October Revolution, the building of socialism in one country and then the emergence of the socialist world system after the Second World War, have become the mightiest international pillar for, and powerful stimulant of, the national liberation movement. Vietnam demonstrates most convincingly that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of US imperialism are diametrically opposite.

3. The economic growth of the socialist countries exercises a decisive international influence. Though the economic competition between the two systems, the growing economic power of the socialist countries, have not changed the substance of capitalism, they are a prominent and new factor in the political economy of modern capitalism, presenting new opportunities for the working-class struggle.

Socialism's 50-year history also shows that contradictions do arise in socialist society; although basically different in character from those of capitalism, they also require solving. The socialist revolution does not automatically safeguard anyone from mistakes, from divergences of practice from theory; nor does it lead automatically to economic prosperity and the unfolding of socialist democracy. What it does is create the foundations for it. It depends on people, on the revolutionary Party, whether or not, how, and at what rate these new opportunities are realised through the conscious use of the laws of socialism.

Our delegation holds that this proposition should be inserted in the Document. Putting it down will not in any way belittle the great achievements and world-wide political significance of the socialist countries, while enabling us to outline the actual state of affairs more conclusively.

The struggle between the capitalist and socialist world systems is a decisive area in the universal class struggle between the forces of socialism, democracy and peace and the imperialist forces. The Document points out rightly that the forms of political and ideological class struggle have acquired increasing significance.

For the Communist Parties this implies a higher standard and, particularly, a higher quality of work in the ideological and political struggle. Our Party, therefore, suggests forming an international information agency of the working-class movement that would assure rapid transmission of news and information from the socialist countries, as well as coverage of the workers' struggle in the capitalist world. Considering the vast communication media serving the imperialists, that kind of agency will be highly useful for the working-class movement in its daily struggle.

Comrades, during the preparations for this Meeting our Party agreed that the Czechoslovak events should not be put on the agenda, since it is obviously impossible at present to eliminate the differences of opinion over that issue. In the circumstances, we consider that the problems of intensifying the joint struggle against imperialism should be the focus of our attention at this Meeting.

However, our Party also holds that it is essential to discuss some of the rock-bottom problems of our movement. That differences exist in the communist movement is a fact, one which requires a deeper analysis. As repeatedly stressed during the discussion, this matter should be examined in an appropriate manner. Differences may be caused by the incorrect stand of this or that Party, but may also stem, as pointed out in our Document, largely from the highly varied conditions in which the Parties work from country to country. We should like to say on this score that it is necessary to find new forms of an open, business-like, comradely discussion of problems and differences among Communist and Workers' Parties based on authentic information about the viewpoints of all Parties concerned. We attach considerable weight to that kind of discussion of theoretical, political and ideological issues, discussion devoid of excessively sharp polemics, of name-calling and denunciations. We consider this a precondition for eliminating differences, a necessary component of the common effort to cement united action in the fight against imperialism. Therefore, we suggest establishing a discussion organ of the communist movement in which we could hold international debates concerning the experience and the basic problems of our movement and our struggle. Possibly, the existing journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, could be reorganised into that sort of discussion forum.

In our time, socialism's force of attraction, the force of attraction of its example, depends to a very great degree on extending the democratic rights and freedoms of the people in the socialist countries. It seems to us that some areas are lagging behind somewhat in utilising the possibilities of unfolding democracy inherent in socialism. That is why we welcome and support every step designed to extend democracy in the socialist countries. For example, we at once declared our solidarity with the course followed by the Czechoslovak Communist Party after January last year, a course of rectifying mistakes and deformations and of unfolding socialist democracy in accordance with the national con-

ditions and demands of the country concerned. We did so, because we thought that socialism and democracy are inseparable and must be indivisible. At our 20th Congress, we said: "To overcome the power of big capital is possible only through a socialist revolution. That revolution cannot be made by a minority; it must be the cause of the working class as a whole. Firm and stable political power of the working class defending socialism from its internal and external enemies, is a precondition for building socialism. At the same time, workers' power is itself a crucial new democratic gain, its mission being to build a better social system and unfold the broadest democracy for the working people. That is why any counterposing of the concepts of 'workers' power' and 'socialist democracy' seems to us incorrect." The broadest possible conscious participation of the working people in economic and political decision-making, for which exhaustive information and free discussion are a precondition, is therefore the best guarantee of the security and consolidation of socialism.

To achieve and strengthen united action in the anti-imperialist struggle, it is important to observe closely the standards of relations among Communist and Workers' Parties and between socialist countries as worked out by the communist movement after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and also recorded in the Document submitted to the present Meeting. This implies the principles of autonomy and sovereignty, equality, non-interference and proletarian internationalism.

Experience shows that any violation of these standards may complicate fraternal relations among Communist Parties, socialist states and peoples, causing conflicts, producing a new nationalism and thereby impairing the force of attraction of the socialist world, of socialist ideas, and damaging the fight against imperialism.

The urge towards hegemony by any Party in relation to any other is alien to the essence of communism, the essence of Marxism. Convinced that our movement cannot have several or even one leading centre, we firmly reject the attempt of the Communist Party of China to impose its "general line" on the fraternal Parties. And in accordance with the decisions of our 19th and 20th congresses we repugn this line and its content in principle.

As we see it, proletarian internationalism and the principle of sovereignty and non-interference comprise one whole. We regard them as two equally important, mutually-determinative class principles.

Recognition and full respect of these principles leads to the conclusion that there can be no model of socialism obligatory for all. Any mechanical copying of the policy and tactics of Communist Parties of other countries is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. Yet, as we see it, there are definite general and basic socialist properties, any departure from which on the pretext of national peculiarity is injurious to the socialist cause. However, national peculiarities and the increasing variety of the ways and forms of transition to socialism, of building socialism, must be taken into account.

Acting on this standpoint, our Party has worked out a conception of the way to socialism consistent with the national conditions of our country, envisaging phase-to-phase goals restricting the power of big capital and opening up the road to socialism. In Austria, too, a revolutionary reconstruction of society

cannot be secured without a strong Communist Party as the most conscious and consistent socialist force. However, we are oriented on a new type of revolutionary guidance based on equal co-operation of several parties. In many years of struggle the Austrian working class has won considerable democratic rights. These will remain as we advance to socialism, growing and expanding into qualitatively new democratic rights and freedoms. These latter will not be attained and guaranteed until the power of capitalism is eliminated.

In our view, strict observance of the principles of autonomy and sovereignty is a decisive precondition for creating and consolidating the new unity of the communist movement, a unity in variety, a unity serving international cohesion and doubling our strength in the fight against imperialism.

Comrades, as we see it, this Meeting should be the beginning of a deep-going analysis and discussion of the yet unsolved problems of socialism, of the communist movement and of the far-reaching changes in the world in the 50 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is an outstanding accomplishment by V. I. Lenin, the centenary of whose birth we shall soon mark, that he pinpointed and apprehended in theory the new phenomena that appeared after the death of Marx and Engels. Today, too, it is important for us to apply V. I. Lenin's creative method to resolving the problems of the modern world, the problems of our epoch.

We trust that our Meeting, which has drawn world attention and on which Communists pin great hopes, will contribute to cementing the unity and consolidating the fraternal ties of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and to our aim of securing unity of action in the fight against imperialism.



**TODOR ZHIVKOV**  
**First Secretary, Central Committee,**  
**Bulgarian Communist Party**

Dear Comrades,

I should like first of all to convey to you warm greetings from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, from all Bulgarian Communists, from all our people building a socialist society. Through you we greet the world communist movement, our brothers in class, aims and struggle.

Allow me, too, from the bottom of my heart to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee for their great contribution to the preparation of our International Meeting, for the conditions they have created for fruitful work, and for the comradely attention with which we are all surrounded in hospitable Moscow.

I also take the occasion to express our thanks to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which over a considerable period of time was a hospitable host to the Meeting's preparatory bodies and ensured good conditions for successful work in Budapest.

The fact that such a representative forum of the most powerful revolutionary movement of our epoch is now in session in Moscow is in itself of historic significance. This is confirmation of the community of our interests, objectives and struggle. It is an expression of the growing urge to strengthen our unity and cohesion, and an eloquent proof that Communist and Workers' Parties are loyal to the immortal principles of proletarian internationalism.

Sitting in this hall and listening to the speeches of delegates, one cannot help having a feeling of élan and pride at the sense of belonging to the great communist family; one cannot help feeling glad at the failure of those who tried to sow doubt and bring us to a split, one cannot help feeling determination to work and fight for the cohesion and unity of action of our movement, for the triumph of our cause!

The Meeting will undoubtedly generate the same thoughts and emotions in all Communists in the world, and will give another mighty impetus to the struggle for unity—not only in the ranks of the Communist Parties here represented, but also in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties whose representatives are for various reasons absent from this historic Meeting.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which back at its 9th Congress in 1966 came out for preparing and holding this Meeting, met for a special plenary meeting at which it examined and approved the draft Main Document. We believe that this Document gives a true assessment of the modern epoch and correctly formulates the tasks in the struggle against imperialism and for unity of action by the Communist and Workers' Parties. Our delegation supports the draft Main Document, and also the other documents submitted to the Meeting.

Comrades, we heard with deep satisfaction speeches by a number of fraternal Party delegates containing valuable considerations on the most pressing problems of our day, interesting experience drawn from life and the activity of various Parties, and important proposals for intensifying the struggle against world imperialism.

I should also like to share our great sense of satisfaction evoked by the speech of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, which is of exceptional importance for our common work, strategy and tactics at the present stage. We fully share its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present international situation, and the assessment, conclusions and corresponding tasks for the communist movement in strengthening its cohesion and unity of action in the struggle against imperialism.

Comrades, the development of the world revolutionary process over the last decade has forced imperialism to reappraise its strategy and tactics in every sphere of struggle—political, economic, military and ideological. Imperialism is straining hard to unite the capitalist states and the reactionary forces all over the world into a common front against the socialist world system, against the international communist and workers' movement, against the national liberation movement, and against all the forces of democracy, peace and progress.

Today, life ever more imperatively demands that we Communists *confront the alliance of imperialists with a united front of the working class and all anti-imperialist forces.*

In defining its strategy and tactics, the international communist movement must take account of both the growing aggressiveness of imperialism and the greater possibilities open to the anti-imperialist forces. Have we any right to underestimate the danger which springs from the increasingly aggressive policy of imperialism? No, we have no such right. Although modern imperialism no longer plays the part of chief and decisive factor in mankind's development, it remains a formidable and dangerous adversary, the main obstacle to the victory of socialism. Imperialism is not the social system of the future, but it is yet to be removed entirely from history's path.

In modern bourgeois society there are phenomena testifying to some adaptation by the financial oligarchy and the capitalist economy to the new conditions of struggle between the two systems. As a result above all of the growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism and the advance of the scientific and technical revolution, the economic and military potential of the leading imperialist states, notably the USA, has increased. A general tendency

to integration embracing the economic, political, ideological and military spheres is increasing in the capitalist world. The coalescence of the bourgeois state with the big monopolies, the vast concentration and centralisation in the economy, and the formation of giant military-industrial complexes have provided the imperialist bourgeoisie with some new possibilities for manoeuvring in the sphere of social relations and political affairs, and for combining brute violence and repression with demagogic social policy.

But that does not at all mean that imperialism has been cured of the deep-going insurmountable contradictions and sores which are intrinsic to its social nature, or that the world balance of forces has changed in its favour. What is more, the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism springs precisely from the deepening of its general crisis, from the inevitability of its demise. The dangerous provocations and military operations in various parts of the world are an expression not of strength but of desperate efforts to regain its long-lost historical initiative, and to affirm its domination.

It is obvious that modern imperialism is a source of constant danger to and attack on the rights and freedoms of the working people and whole nations, that it is a world gendarme and a brake on social progress. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that modern imperialism has not the strength to stop the world revolutionary process. This is most convincingly shown by the moral, political and military defeat of the US aggressors in Vietnam, the failure of imperialism's attempts to gain its strategic objectives in the Middle East, and its futile efforts to strangle revolutionary Cuba, and to restore the positions it lost in Europe and the rest of the world as a result of the Second World War.

World development is now no longer determined by imperialism but by the existence and joint struggle of three main revolutionary forces:

- the world socialist system;
- the communist and working-class movement in the capitalist countries;
- the national liberation movement.

The fact that the draft Document stresses the role of these main three streams in the modern revolutionary tide and the need for their unity is of fundamental theoretical and practical importance. Even greater importance attaches to this proposition in view of the recently intensified attempts to disunite these forces and even to range them against each other, something that can have grave consequences for each of them and for the whole revolutionary movement.

Important principled conclusions and practical tasks also flow from the proposition on establishing and consolidating the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, with the middle urban strata, the intelligentsia and other sections of the population in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and social progress.

A fitting assessment should also be made of the new phenomenon of the mass-scale revolutionising of youth and students in the capitalist countries. The class composition of this movement is rather heterogeneous. But its dissatisfaction with the capitalist system, its rejection of capitalist social relations and order, and its anti-war and anti-imperialist character are quite obvious. The youth movement is essentially a reflection of the growing crisis of the

bourgeois system, of an intensification of the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

However, this does not result in an automatic integration of the youth and student struggle into the struggle of the working class and the Communist and Workers' Parties. The experience of the last few years shows that the Communist Parties should work hard to direct the revolutionary youth movement along the necessary path and give it a lead. Otherwise, the young generation's protest and actions take the form of futile spontaneous rebellion, swiftly fall off and may produce either petty-bourgeois frustration and resignation, or adventurism, which is the mark of petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

The most dangerous consequence of the detachment of the Communist Parties from the revolutionary youth and student movement is that the latter is headed by "Left" opportunists of every stripe, Maoists and Trotskyites. "Ultra-Leftists" usually catch in their web and divert from the communist movement that section of young people which constitutes a natural reserve of the revolutionary movement and a source of growth for the Communist Parties' ranks.

Only a connection between the youth struggle and the proletariat's struggle, and leadership of the revolutionary youth movement by the Communist Parties create the necessary conditions for involving the broadest masses of youth and students in the revolutionary struggle.

Concern for the education and tempering of youth in the class and Party spirit, and for their theoretical, Marxist-Leninist advancement is our common primary duty to the revolutionary young people and the future of the communist movement.

Today, the forces of socialism, the forces of progress, the anti-imperialist front are in a process of ceaseless development. It is we who are on the offensive, not the imperialists. The struggle has, of course, its usual ebb and flow. It is a class struggle. But viewed historically it is a forward movement. It will not be easy to win, but victory will be ours and not the imperialists! In this context, the assessments and conclusions collectively worked out by our Parties in 1957 and 1960 have been confirmed.

Comrades, it is quite obvious that it is hard to speak about unity of action in a front which is rather diverse in terms of class, ideology and political attitudes, like the anti-imperialist front, if its main organising and homogeneous force—the communist movement—is not acting together and purposefully. In view of this the cardinal question which is uppermost not only in the minds of us delegates at this meeting, not only in the minds of all Communists of the world but also of all the participants in the anti-imperialist struggle is *unity of the world communist movement*.

Without dwelling on this problem in detail, I should merely like to draw your attention to some of its essential aspects.

Since its very inception our movement has had a clearly expressed international character. It has scored its historical victories under the banner of proletarian internationalism. In its unity and cohesion lies its future, the future of socialism and—we can well say now—the future of mankind. That is why, to use one of Engels's similes, we must continue to close all our forces for the

struggle into one fist and to concentrate them at the central point of attack (Marx, Engels, *Works*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 33, p. 317).

It is not some desire to engage in ideological disputes but the basic interests of our common struggle that demand that we should censure unequivocally attempts to range some national contingent of the working class against the world revolutionary movement; the national features of a given working-class movement to the common strategy of the Communists of the world, to the general regularities of the proletarian revolution and the construction of a classless society.

We stand for the equality of individual Parties, for the Parties' independence in determining their policy. But independence and equality of Parties and their internationalist duty are not mutually exclusive concepts; they are organically interconnected. That is why our delegation fully supports the proposition written into the draft Main Document saying that each Communist Party is responsible for its activity both to its working class and people, and to the international proletariat, to the international communist movement.

In our opinion, the main thing we all have to do for our movement at the present stage is to apply the principles of proletarian internationalism consistently and steadfastly in practice, in deed. The great Lenin taught us: "The thing is not to 'proclaim' internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 82).

There can obviously be no question of proletarian internationalism or a further consolidation of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces without *an active fight against Right and "Left" opportunism*. This problem is of exceptional importance for our movement, because it directly concerns the very nature of the Communist Parties, the existence and future of socialism. We share the stand of the majority of the Parties that we must follow a line of active struggle against departures from Marxism-Leninism, against manifestations of national narrow-mindedness in relations between Parties, and also between socialist countries.

*Nationalism* is one of the main sources of opportunism—both Right and "Left". We all know very well what social-chauvinism on the eve of the First World War did to the parties of the Second International. Even after the Second World War, with the colonial system falling apart, Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders took part in the governments of some bourgeois countries which, under the pretext of safeguarding "national interests", waged bloody wars against the national liberation movement.

Today we cannot, we have no right to, close our eyes to the danger of nationalism. Unfortunately, nationalist tendencies have also appeared in the communist movement, which has always taken a legitimate pride in its internationalism. Nationalism has become an especial danger to some Parties which are in power in their countries. It has turned out to be a fertile soil for the flowering of Right and "Left" deviations and ultimately for the counterposing of some Parties and countries to the other Communist Parties and socialist countries, for the flowering of the ideology of anti-Sovietism, which is alien and hostile to communism.

Our delegation cannot but voice its alarm over the course of events in China and the Chinese leadership's present policy and actions.

At the start of this decade, the Mao group's erroneous concepts could still be regarded as a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, but what the Chinese leadership is preaching and doing today is in fact a distortion and complete abandonment of our theory and practice, and a betrayal of the revolutionary struggle of the Communists and all oppressed peoples.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China essentially set itself the task of legitimising the destructive undertaking of the so-called cultural revolution. The new Rules adopted by it are a complete revision of the Marxist-Leninist principles of Party building and activity and officially lay down Mao Tse-tung's thought as the theoretical basis of the Communist Party of China. Under the new Rules, the CPC is virtually eliminated as a class organisation and is transformed into a "party of the leader" and his successor, Lin Biao.

Ideologically the Party of China is now being built as Maoist-Trotskyite, anti-Leninist; organisationally, centralisation has been carried to a point of absurdity. In methods of leadership it is a para-military organisation; in composition it is petty-bourgeois; in aims and tasks it is nationalistic and chauvinistic, and in foreign policy actions it is adventurist and anti-Soviet.

Having legalised the revision of the Party's programme and practice, the 9th Congress of the CPC has clearly created a new situation both in China and in the international arena.

The present Chinese leaders seek to turn China into a force openly hostile to the socialist community and to the security of nations. The efforts of the present Chinese leadership, who pursue an anti-Soviet policy and, by their actions, inject demoralisation into the international communist movement, objectively blend with the efforts of imperialism in its struggle against socialist countries, against the liberation cause of the peoples.

The perfidious attacks of the Chinese on the Soviet-Chinese frontier are the most flagrant manifestations of this policy. These acts of aggression by the Chinese leadership objectively give imperialism a free hand. In effect, the main thing that determines the activity of the present Chinese leaders is the urge to create every possible difficulty for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and support all and every kind of anti-Soviet forces and all and every kind of demoralising tendencies in the socialist community and in the international working-class and national liberation movements. To these ends they do not scruple to use any means, methods and forms. In the long run their actions negatively affect the balance of power between imperialism and socialism, the defence capability of the socialist camp and the course of the world revolutionary process.

All this deeply affects us Communists of the whole world. We cannot remain indifferent to these facts. That, and not because we want to interfere in the internal affairs of another Party or condemn another Party, is why we are compelled to analyse and weigh the new factors emerging after the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China. Whether we like it or not, we cannot help but draw the corresponding conclusions because these are exceptionally important questions.

Some leaders of fraternal Parties assert that here is a case of misunderstandings

and divergences just between two Parties—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China—between two states, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Had that been the case the question would have been simpler and the work would have been easier. But since such an opinion is current in some Communist circles, we feel it is our duty to stress that these are problems of principle linked up with our theory and practice and that they concern the destiny of our whole revolutionary movement and struggle.

I feel I must state our attitude also to the question of so-called “mutual recriminations”. In the past there have been calls, and at our Meeting, too, voices have been raised against “mutual attacks” between Parties. In our view this question has been formulated inexactly. Essentially speaking, there are no “mutual attacks”. In the given case—such are the real facts—it is a question of attacks and slander which the leadership of one Party, the Communist Party of China, has been systematically levelling in the course of several years at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties, at the international communist movement. In the given case it is a question of anti-Soviet and schismatic policy and activities in the international communist movement raised to the level of official Party and state policy.

We all know what great efforts have been made by the international communist movement, by all of us and, particularly, by the Soviet comrades, to surmount the differences between the Communist Party of China and the vast majority of fraternal Parties. These efforts have yielded no result because of the conduct of the Chinese leaders.

Comrades, we cannot understand how after the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China it can be recommended that the Soviet comrades should pass over in silence the situation in the Communist Party of China and keep the 14 million Communists, the 240 million citizens of the Soviet Union in ignorance of the anti-Soviet campaign being conducted by the Chinese leadership; to maintain a silence over the armed Chinese provocations, the attacks, and the blood of Soviet soldiers that has been shed; to say nothing of the calls to the Chinese people to be prepared for a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Isn't that really too much to demand of the CPSU and the Soviet Union?

Recommendations of this kind are now being made to our entire world communist forum as well. We are being advised to avoid touching on this question in any way or form. This would be tantamount to concealing from the international communist movement the disruptive activities of the Chinese leadership. And all this is suggested to us in the name of “strengthening unity”!

We would have heeded this advice and followed it if the Chinese leadership had not so rudely rejected the invitation to participate in the Meeting, if it had sent its representatives here to talk as equals with equals about our differences, our unity and the struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of our cause. But the Chinese leadership refused to take part in the Meeting and intensified its attacks on the international communist movement.

We therefore subscribe to what the comrades have said here about the need to expose the splitting policies and substance of the political, ideological and organisational theses and propositions of the present Chinese leaders as endorsed

by the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, and point out the great harm which they are inflicting on the cause of revolution.

I should like to emphasise that the Bulgarian Communist Party has always advocated a strengthening of friendship between the Bulgarian and Chinese peoples, between the socialist countries and People's China, a strengthening of our militant unity, of unity of action with Chinese Communists. We have deep faith in the sound, Marxist-Leninist forces in China, who despite the heavy blows inflicted on them and despite the present difficult situation will be able to uphold Marxism-Leninism and preserve the Communist Party of China to help it occupy a worthy place in our Communist family. Naturally, we are perfectly well aware that this will be a difficult and protracted process.

"Left" revisionism has not remained behind the Chinese Wall. It has appeared and gained ground in some other Communist circles as well. In pursuing its policy of splitting the Communist Parties and the international communist movement, the Chinese leadership doggedly seeks to organise these forces, split existing Communist Parties and, in opposition to them, set up "Left" parties which would impose "Maoism" on the whole world. These "Left" groups and pigmy parties are becoming centres attracting all sorts of apostates from the communist movement, Trotskyites, renegades and adventurists, and seats of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

When we analyse the reasons for the growth of "Left" opportunism we cannot help noting the role of *Right-wing revisionism* as a stimulant of the Leftist deviation. Apart from the harm it is doing the communist movement, revisionism precipitates the appearance of "Left" opportunism and promotes its growth in the shape of a false antithesis to the Right deviation. Revisionism is what turns many honest but ideologically immature people away from the Parties and pushes them into the embrace of out-and-out splitters.

The international communist movement cannot remain indifferent to this. It is an old truth that no matter how much they war among themselves in the realm of theory those who depart to the "Left" of Marxism-Leninism and those who depart to the Right, in effect help each other and ultimately come together under one and the same banner, the banner of anti-communism.

For that reason, while combating "Left" opportunism we must *under no circumstances underrate the other danger, that of Right opportunism*, especially when it gets the possibility of gaining the upper hand in some leadership, becoming official Party ideology and—where the Party is in power—becoming state policy.

Along with the "classical" roots of Right opportunism, a serious source of this deviation in the capitalist countries is the possibility now arising of a peaceful transition to socialism.

Instead of a policy mobilising all the class forces for the realisation of this possibility, instead of perseveringly drawing the middle classes into the struggle of the working class, there are in some Communist Parties tendencies towards a departure from class positions and adaptation to the aspirations of the petty-bourgeois elector. The possibility of accomplishing the socialist revolution peacefully is now beginning to be reduced solely to the possibility of victory



at elections. The parliamentary struggle is being regarded as the main and even the only road to socialism. The fact that the working class and its allies have a whole arsenal of peaceful and legal means of struggle is being buried in oblivion. Also being buried in oblivion is the extremely essential circumstance that peaceful transition depends not only on the desire of the Party and the working people but also on the behaviour of the national and world bourgeoisie and that it, consequently, by no means rules out an armed class struggle. To ignore and forget all this means not only to disarm the Party but also to replace the revolutionary education of the people by social-democratic illusions.

Rejecting the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism and emasculating its revolutionary essence, Right opportunism unavoidably slides into reformism and Social Democracy, becoming a source of disunity for the working class.

The major success scored by the Communist Party of France in the first round of the presidential elections convincingly showed that the foundations on which broad sections of the working people can unite are not unprincipled combinations but clear Communist positions. We note this with satisfaction and congratulate our French comrades. These results are a good and very timely lesson for the Communist Parties and all truly Left forces, including Social-Democratic forces in those countries where the conditions exist or might emerge for a struggle for the peaceful transition to socialism.

We consider that in the world today, when the forces of socialism and the working-class, national liberation and democratic movements have the advantage over the forces of imperialism on a global scale, the thesis of the peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism is correct. On the basis of the class balance of forces and the development of the revolutionary movement in its country, every Communist or Workers' Party has the right and is in duty bound to seek and find the most suitable forms, ways and means—peaceful, non-peaceful or a combination of the two—of seizing power in the specific conditions obtaining in the country. It is absolutely clear, however, that the Party can count on success in this struggle only if it relies on Marxism-Leninism and wages a consistent fight both against "Left" and Right-wing opportunists.

We have long been familiar with opportunism, the old enemy of Marxism-Leninism and the communist movement. It has always flourished when the danger it presented was underrated, and it has never relinquished its positions voluntarily. Our Party has considerable experience of combating opportunism, experience that has been accumulated since the end of the last century. Our experience shows that opportunism, both Right and "Left", can be defeated only when an open, clear, consistent and principled struggle is waged against it. That is why we consider that the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for its creative development, against opportunism, against bourgeois ideology remains a cardinal task of each Communist Party, from the standpoint both of its own interests and those of the international communist movement.

Comrades, another question I should like to deal with is that of the socialist world system as the greatest gain of the international communist and working-class movement, as the main factor of the further successful development of the world revolutionary process.

The emergence of the socialist world system has created a totally new situation in the world. The class struggle, while unceasingly unfolding in capitalist society, has, at the same time, grown into a struggle between states with a capitalist social system and states with a socialist social system. Today not only the world bourgeoisie but also the world proletariat possesses political, economic, ideological and military power organised on a state and an international scale. This power confronts that of imperialism as the main sobering and restraining force. If the world bourgeoisie should now try to settle the outcome of the class struggle by force of arms, the world socialist system would hit it with its entire might and, together with the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement, deal a crushing blow at imperialism.

The socialist world system is the principal mainstay of the communist and working-class movements of the capitalist countries. Its existence, strength and force of attraction have opened for the proletariat the possibility of accomplishing the socialist revolution peacefully in some countries. The socialist world system is the bulwark of the proletariat of each country where the socialist revolution will be triumphant in the near or more distant future. It is the principal ally and bulwark of the national liberation and democratic movement, the main guarantee of the independence of countries that recently broke away from the grip of imperialism and colonialism, and the major factor in the struggle against war, for the preservation of world peace.

It is because of all this and on account of the interests of our countries and the international interests of the communist and working-class movement that the Bulgarian Communist Party considers it its duty to struggle for and to contribute to the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the socialist world system, to the all-round development of its might.

This is expressed first and foremost in the consistent and steadfast building of socialist society in our own country. In this respect the Bulgarian people under the leadership of the Party have made great headway, both in the economic sphere and in the communist, patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the people and the youth.

Suffice it to stress that Bulgaria now turns out as many industrial products in approximately a week as it did in the whole of the pre-war year 1939. On the basis of the objective laws of social and economic development, of scientific socialism, we are now building a developed socialist society and are striving to apply the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Profound, qualitative changes are taking place in the sphere both of the basis and the superstructure. Creatively utilising the historical experience of the Soviet Union and that of other socialist countries and generalising our own experience, we have, in recent years, worked out an improved system of managing the national economy and guiding the whole of our society at the present stage. The new system of management is being introduced successfully and has a beneficial impact on the development of the economy, social relations, science, education and culture, and helps raise the living standards of the people. Even a most cursory comparison of the progress achieved in socialist Bulgaria with the development of the neighbouring capitalist countries over the past 25 years most convincingly

-shows the enormous advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

Besides building socialism in our country, we are also fulfilling our internationalist duties, strengthening our friendship and co-operation with all socialist countries, with Communist Parties and revolutionary movements in the whole world.

In this respect we attach especial significance to the *unity and solidarity of the countries that are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty*, to the constant development of our fraternal friendship and all-round co-operation with them, with their peoples, with their Communist Parties.

We regret that some European socialist countries have remained outside these communities. I shall not dwell on the causes nor shall I make an appraisal of this fact.

Nevertheless, I cannot by-pass the attempts to substantiate the alleged redundancy of and even harm caused by the existence of the Warsaw Treaty; and the attempts to incite and encourage in this way the nationalistic and opportunist forces in the countries of the socialist community for the purpose of disrupting it.

The opponents of all and any blocs put on the same plane the aggressive alliances of capitalist states and the defensive alliance of the European socialist countries. This position is untenable even from the standpoint of ordinary human logic or abstract humanism.

And how does this question stand in the light of the class struggle?

When capitalist states set up inter-state military-political organisations directed against the socialist countries, the working-class and national liberation movements in their own countries and in the newly independent countries; when these imperialist blocs not only threaten, but even undertake direct military action against socialist countries as happened in Korea and Cuba and as is now happening in Vietnam; when they endeavour to suppress progressive regimes and regain their lost positions in whole regions, as has been the case with Israel's aggression against the Arab peoples; when they bestow protection upon West German militarism and yet have for 20 years now refused to extend recognition to the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of workers and peasants in history; when imperialism strives to mount an offensive—using armed forces too—wherever it has a chance of doing so, is it not the right of the socialist countries, is it not their duty for the sake of their national interests, for the sake of the interests of the international communist and working-class movement, for the sake of the national liberation movement, for the sake of world peace and the existence of mankind, to draw all the conclusions and to do everything, to take absolutely all measures to strengthen their defensive might?

Such is precisely the situation in the world today. And that is why we are strengthening our political, economic and defensive might, the unity and solidarity of the CMEA and Warsaw Treaty countries.

We cannot agree with our critics who allege that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance restricts our economic independence. On the contrary,

socialist economic integration is essential for promoting the economic development of our countries and of our entire community; it is an important factor of our independence from the capitalist economy. Therefore, we welcome the decisions of the Special 23rd CMEA Session.

Neither can we agree with the assertion that the Warsaw Treaty allegedly stands in the way of relaxation of tension in Europe and in the world, and restricts the national independence and sovereignty of socialist countries. On the contrary, the Warsaw Treaty is the main obstacle in the path of anti-socialist and revanchist forces and is the main guardian of peace in Europe. It conforms not only to the fundamental interests of the world revolutionary movement, not only to the interests of the socialist world system and the alliance of European socialist states as a whole, but also *precisely to the interests of our national independence and sovereignty*. In view of all this we welcome the decisions of the Budapest Meeting and we will, as before, contribute to the cause of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Warsaw Treaty countries, to the cause of building up their defensive might.

As is known, at the Budapest Meeting the Warsaw Treaty countries submitted a proposal to convene an all-European conference on matters of European security. Is it not clear that we are opponents of war and supporters of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; that we oppose the partitioning of the world into blocs; that it is not we, but imperialism that is knocking together—on a voluntary basis or under pressure—blocs directed against us? Is there any need to emphasise once again what has been emphasised more than once: that the Warsaw Treaty was created in reply to the establishment of the military aggressive NATO bloc; that the day when NATO ceases to exist the Warsaw Treaty will also terminate its existence, for there will be no further need of it?

Speaking of the socialist community, we have also to dwell on questions of the *nature of power, on socialist democracy and on the leading role of the Communist Party in socialist society*.

We have to take up these fundamental issues even if they have been elucidated a long time ago by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and by the 50-year development of the Soviet Union and the 25-year development of other socialist countries. We have to do this because in the past few years these issues have again become the main objectives of attacks by our enemies, and have also found themselves in the centre of criticism levelled at us by some functionaries of fraternal Parties.

On the eve of the world's first socialist revolution Lenin said: "... Whoever expects that socialism will be achieved *without* a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a socialist" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 95).

We Bulgarian Communists not only do not conceal, but take pride in the fact that our state, our power is dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of people's democracy. We are convinced that it is the dictatorship of the proletariat that is the highest form of democracy both because it is the power of the majority of the people, and also because its ultimate objective is not perpetuation of domination by the working class, but elimination of the class division itself and the construction of classless communist society.

The history of mankind knows no other power, no other democracy which has had such an objective and has consistently worked for its achievement.

In the era of class society, state power expresses, and will invariably express, the interests and the will of the ruling class. There are various forms of state power. But behind this diversity of forms there are and have to be those common features that determine the nature of power as that of a specific class. Eclecticism in this case can merely dim the essence of things, but it cannot alter them.

The key issue of socialist power is the leading role of the working class, *the leading role of the Communist Party as the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat*. There is no socialist society, nor can there be one, without the leading role of the Communist Party, and this truth has been substantiated by mankind's entire experience, whether successful or unsuccessful, positive or negative, of the past half century. It is also proved by the fact that all attempts undertaken to alter the nature of the socialist system in this or that country begin with an open offensive against the leading role of the Communist Party.

There is nothing unnatural in the fact that our enemies would like to alter the nature of power in the socialist countries, "helping" us with theoretical advice and by subversive activity to replace socialist democracy by some form—any form—of bourgeois democracy. Who can doubt, for example, that the former Bulgarian bourgeoisie not only would not give the Bulgarian Communists the right to play a leading role in society, but would again, and with still greater fury, throw them into jails and concentration camps and shut their mouths with bullets?!

What is unnatural in this case is that certain Communist functionaries join in such criticism of the "undemocratic" nature of the system in socialist countries and of the ruling role of the Communist Parties there.

Criticising the social system in socialist countries they, unfortunately, deviate from the Marxist-Leninist teaching of the state, ignore the scientific, class analysis of the progress and requirements of socialist construction in our countries; they, in fact, proceed from the notion of "ideal" bourgeois democracy, of "pure" democracy: its multi-party system, opposition parties, struggle for electoral votes; parliamentary manoeuvres in forming this or that government, etc.

Needless to say, the fight for democracy in capitalist countries is of great significance. It mobilises and activates the working people, creates conditions for isolating reactionary and fascist forces, unmasking anti-communism, and for rallying anti-imperialist and democratic forces. But the building of a democratic bourgeois society is not the ultimate objective of the struggle of the working class, it is not the embodiment of its ideal. The fight for democracy in one or another capitalist country must, in the long run, create conditions for transforming the social system, for the transition to socialism.

We are aware of the nature of this struggle, of how complex and difficult it is. A quarter of a century ago we tackled the same problem. And, when speaking about the socialist system as the principal force of our movement, we do not in the least underestimate the fight of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries and do not consider ourselves to be "more important" or better than our brothers who are fighting in different conditions for the triumph of our common cause. We are very well acquainted with these conditions and we

know what conviction, what loyalty and what moral strength a person has to possess to be a Communist in a society which unhesitatingly employs all means—from moral terror and economic coercion to prisons and bullets—in its struggle against communism. We admire Communists in the advanced capitalist countries, the Communists of Asia, Africa and Latin America and from the bottom of our heart wish them success in their heroic fight for freedom and national independence, for peace, democracy and socialism.

As regards our countries, the struggle for political power is a bygone stage. This issue has been settled. Take, for example, the People's Republic of Bulgaria. For decades Bulgarian Communists, our working class, the Bulgarian people waged a grim struggle in order to seize power. Can anyone blame us for having absolutely no intention artificially to create a situation for the "free play of political forces", to give internal and external reactionary forces any chance once again to raise the question "Who will beat whom?"

The experience of the construction of a new society in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries clearly indicates that the essence of socialist democracy and the degree of its maturity are determined not by the existence of other parties besides the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union, for example, due to a range of specific conditions, the CPSU is the sole political party. In Bulgaria, as is known, besides the Bulgarian Communist Party, shoulder to shoulder with it, there exists and works for the benefit of socialism one of the oldest parties, the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union. Why then are the supporters of the theory of the multi-party system not satisfied at least with us? Why do they consider that there is "no democracy" in Bulgaria? Evidently the crux of the matter is not whether a given country has one or several parties. Obviously, the apologists of the multi-party system under socialism do not just want several parties. They want to see parties with a programme differing from that of the Communist Party. They need opposition parties which would fight against the Communist Party, weaken the socialist countries by their political and social demagoguery, disrupt the unity of the working people, foster the formation of groupings, inspire careerism and impede the building of socialism. Regretfully it should be admitted that there are some who assert that this would be in the interests of socialist democracy.

Understanding socialist democracy as an "ideal" bourgeois democracy *does not suit us*. Such an understanding runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and to the experience of socialist upbuilding in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. So far we know of no other successful experience.

A quarter of a century has passed since the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Our old bourgeois state has long been destroyed. Our socialist state, which is developing and improving on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, has been created in its place. It ensures and guarantees genuine economic and political sovereignty to the working people, to the entire nation. Our state does not serve a handful of exploiters, but the people, their real national and international interests. It pursues a consistent peace-loving foreign policy, a policy of friendship and fraternal alliance, co-operation and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalist states, a policy of respect, mutual

understanding and friendship with all peoples. Our socialist state is fulfilling important and complex tasks of political, economic and cultural upbuilding not in the interests of a handful of exploiters, but in the interests of the people.

The rule of the bourgeoisie in our country is long ended. The bourgeoisie, too, has been abolished as a class. Our industry and agriculture have long been socialist and are growing at a rate unprecedented in our history. The press, radio and television—all the mass media—serve the socialist cause. They bring up the people and youth in the communist spirit, inculcating the virtues of patriotism and internationalism, coming to grips with the survivals of bourgeois ideology and ethics, and working for peace and international friendship.

Who needs any revival, any artificial resurrection, any recurrence of bourgeois democracy in our society?

What we need is not formal democracy, but the conditions necessary for the development of real socialist democracy, that is, an increasingly broader participation of the working class, of all working people, in running the country, in guiding socio-political, economic and cultural life, which are, indeed, the serious questions that the Communist Parties are working on in the socialist countries.

Let me name just the main trends in our effort to improve, enrich and deepen socialist democracy in our country at the present stage:

- the place and role of the representative bodies of government, such as the People's Assembly and the regional and local people's councils, are being enhanced not only by extending their powers, but by affording them the necessary conditions for more vigorous activity in planning, in co-ordinating and controlling the growth of society according to plan;

- a number of measures are being taken to harmonise further the state and public principles in the guidance of different spheres of our life; for example, the Ministry of Culture, a government body, has been reorganised into a state-public Committee for Culture and Art, while organisations of the youth and women's movements now have been granted the right to participate in and to control the work of government bodies and agencies in matters related to the interests of the youth and women;

- socialist democracy is expanding in production through an extension of the rights and initiative of state economic amalgamations and enterprises in planning, management and organisation of work; the powers and resources of administrations and staffs have been expanded to take part in decision-making in questions of finance, incentives and distribution, promotion of technical progress, and the like;

- the powers and resources of public organisations, such as trade unions and the Patriotic Front, unions of writers, artists, composers, etc., have been extended.

As you see, comrades, we do not conceive socialist democracy as something rigid and immutable. Growth of democracy is an intrinsic requirement of socialist society and a natural result of its development. While raising socialist construction in Bulgaria to a new level, our Party wants to develop, extend and deepen socialist democracy in accordance with the opportunities and re-

quirements of the stage in which we are building developed socialist society.

Though this should be self-evident, I consider it necessary to say that we do not see our achievements in all fields, including the development of democracy, as the utmost that we could achieve. We are endeavouring to resolve problems, including those of developing socialist democracy, in the best possible way and build socialist society at the most rapid pace possible.

But we meet with grave objective and subjective difficulties, and therefore have unsolved problems and shortcomings, and we sometimes make mistakes.

Reality and practice, comrades, very seldom live up fully to wishes. That is doubly true of a society being built on new principles radically differing from those known hitherto. The Party and its Central Committee have no made-to-order prescriptions for overcoming difficulties and solving all problems unerringly. Life goes ahead, it will not wait, and leaves no opportunities for endless speculation.

Experience shows that difficulties, weaknesses and mistakes are best overcome and rectified if the maximum use is made of the collective wisdom of the Central Committee, the Party, class, and people. And we are doing our utmost to use this collective wisdom, to develop the existing forms of enhancing the collective principle in all links and at all levels of leadership, to devise new forms for it, and to raise the scientific standard of guiding society. We shall be grateful to every Communist Party that will show us our slips and mistakes sincerely and fraternally, and give us its advice. We do not consider that as any interference in our internal Party or government affairs. Besides viewing objective criticism as an expression of the wish to give us comradely help, we are also deeply convinced that success in building socialist society in Bulgaria is an international, and not merely a national, undertaking.

It stands to reason that in examining our slips and giving advice designed to overcome them, those who earnestly wish to help us, should proceed from the fact that we are building a socialist society, not any other, and should take into account the real conditions in which this is being done. We cannot agree with those whose criticism is at variance with our class positions, nor with those who criticise us without due knowledge and due understanding of the essence of the social, economic and political processes under way in our country and the other socialist states, overlooking the changes wrought in the consciousness and spiritual life of our people.

Comrades, we Communists are long accustomed to hearing from world reaction that our Parties are allegedly dependent on the CPSU, that we are "agents of Moscow". In recent years we have been hearing these fabrications also from some people in the fraternal Parties. Sometimes we are told this to our faces, and sometimes by innuendo. But in this case innuendo is less a display of tact and more expressive of a wish to deprive us of a chance to make a direct and clear retort.

As a Bulgarian Communist, I am compelled to declare clearly and categorically that those who sling mud at the socialist system in the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, are subverting the trust in socialism as a whole among the working class and the toiling masses.

For all of half a century now, communism and the Soviet Union, commu-



nism and the CPSU, have been indivisible for millions of people throughout the world, friend and foe alike. We cannot imagine the socialist commonwealth without the Soviet Union, nor the world communist movement without—let alone against—the CPSU. That is a basic truth.

More than three decades ago, the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party and General Secretary of the Communist International, Georgi Dimitrov, described the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU as the criterion of the actual revolutionism of political parties, movements and individuals. It is attempted these days to “substantiate” the absurd thesis that one can take a nationalist, more or less anti-Soviet stand, and still be a Communist internationalist!

We have no doubt whatsoever that Georgi Dimitrov’s thesis about the attitude to the Soviet Union being the criterion of proletarian internationalism is still valid. What is more, it is doubly valid these days. Not just because the services rendered by the Soviet Union to the world communist and workers’ movement, to all mankind, have increased over the past decades, but also because its might, its role in the world revolutionary process, have increased immeasurably. The significance of this thesis has also grown by virtue of the emergence of the socialist world system, a fact which apart from its immense positive impact also contains the possibility of breeding nationalist tendencies in the socialist countries and of counterposing some of the newer socialist states to the first and most powerful socialist country. The importance of this thesis has also grown by virtue of the fact that attempts are made in the modern communist movement to undermine proletarian internationalism on the pretext of defending the equality and independence of Communist Parties.

We Bulgarian Communists know from our own experience and the experience of our entire movement that the high international prestige of the Soviet Union and CPSU, the limitless trust, respect and affection shown for them by millions upon millions of people in the world constitute immense politico-moral capital for the world communist and workers’ movement. In vain are the hopes that one may undermine this prestige, and yet win the working people for communism anywhere in the world. The facts show that those who drift to nationalism and opportunism, who chime in with anti-Sovietism or fail to combat it resolutely enough, impair not only the correlation of forces between socialism and imperialism on a world scale, but also the positions of their own Party among the working class and the people.

As for us, we shall always be unshakably true to the behests of Georgi Dimitrov and the conclusions drawn from our revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism in our country, true to our faith in the future, which is linked with the Soviet Union!

Dear Comrades, next year we shall celebrate the centennial of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, one of the greatest men in history, the founder and leader of the great Party of Russian Bolsheviks. the man who, together with Marx, has given his name to the revolutionary teaching that has armed the international working class and proved its strength in practice, inspiring, organising and bringing about the world’s first victorious socialist revolution.

“With Leninism in our minds and hearts we shall win”, sang the Bulgarian

partisans, the Bulgarian Communists and patriots in the years of the anti-fascist struggle.

With Leninism in our minds and hearts, we participants in this Meeting are building socialism and fighting capitalism and imperialism, for peace and democracy, for the triumph of our great cause.

Lenin lives, Lenin is with us! Otherwise the world communist and workers' movement would not have scored such successes in the battle against the class enemy.

Lenin lives, Lenin is with us! Because we have grown and developed under the influence of Leninism, because the modern world communist movement has won all its victories under the banner of Leninism, because only under that banner can it win in future.

We Bulgarian Communists see no better way of celebrating the centenary of Lenin's birth than by successfully building socialist society, by fighting for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for loyalty in practice to the principles of proletarian internationalism, by mounting an irreconcilable offensive against bourgeois ideology, by working for the restoration and consolidation of the politico-ideological unity of the world communist movement, for united action by all its contingents in the struggle for the complete victory of our great communist cause!

Thank you.

## CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ

Member of Secretariat, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Cuba

Comrades,

The Communist Party of Cuba is convinced of the importance of achieving "united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war"—an aim which, as has been stated, the present Meeting aspires to achieve.

Still, our Party, as you know, considered it necessary to effect changes in several aspects of the present-day communist and anti-imperialist movement so that the Meeting should really measure up to the tasks of the above-mentioned offensive against imperialism. That is why we abstained from participating in the preparatory work for this Meeting.

We must say in all revolutionary frankness that our point of view has not changed. All the same, responding to the call of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and some other Parties with which we maintain close ties, we decided to take part as observers. We did so because the Communist Party of Cuba does not want its absence, falsely interpreted and artfully exploited by imperialist propaganda, to be used as a weapon by the enemies of the revolutionary world unity of Communists and anti-imperialist forces.

Our Communist Party is in full accord with the analysis of the nature of imperialism in the Main Document under discussion. In our view, its definitions will help destroy all illusions about the possibility of "taming" the imperialists. Although, as the socialist forces grow, imperialism endeavours to reach partial and temporary agreements with the most powerful socialist states it obviously has not rejected direct armed struggle against socialism (as duly noted in the Document).

At the same time, fighting against the national liberation movement of peoples anguishing under the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism, imperialism resorts to the barbarian cruelty that turned Vietnam into a vast holocaust, and to military interventions (in the Dominican Republic), as well as to financial and commercial manipulations and reformist manoeuvres. Fighting the working-class movement, imperialism alternately uses outright violence and social demagoguery, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, as

exposed in the Document; it tries to undermine the working-class movement from within and "to integrate it into the capitalist system". Undeniably, its efforts have had a certain amount of success not only in the United States, but also in other large developed countries and, undeniably too, Engels' forecast about the role of the labour aristocracy, correctly developed by Lenin, may well come true also in relation to broader sections of the proletariat in the large producing centres.

The Communist Party of Cuba also agrees with the exposure of the special role played by US imperialism. As the Document avers, unquestionably *"the events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements"*.

That is why we express complete agreement with the task set in the Document for the working class and all the anti-imperialist forces, "to curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism".

The Communist Party of Cuba holds, however, that to carry this urgent historical task into effect, it is necessary to assert continuously the concepts of Marxism-Leninism in the ranks of the communist and anti-imperialist forces, to draw on the latest experience facilitating the achievement of this goal and, at the same time, systematically to combat distortions which impede it and which, as we see it, assume chiefly the form of opportunist views. Those views we consider the most dangerous of all possible deviations at the present time.

By virtue of this necessity, the Communist Party of Cuba presumes that greater accent should be laid in the Document on self-criticism, on a realistic appraisal of current events and on the problem of the world communist movement's participation in them.

While stressing the role of the working class, of its allies and of the Communist Parties, it is also necessary to analyse the weaknesses of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and weaknesses in the actions of Communist Parties in different regions.

The Document points out correctly that "in the capitalist countries the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist movement". Yet it is also a fact that the events in Europe have shown what the working class and its organisations still need to fulfil this role properly, and that they have also shown that the old European bourgeoisie is still able to manoeuvre in order to come out of the crises by taking advantage of the lack of unity among the proletarian forces, the students, and other middle strata.

At the same time, while giving its due to the heroic behaviour of thousands of Latin American Communists, we consider as not quite precise the general formulation in the Document according to which in our region "the Communist and Workers' Parties stand in the van of the democratic forces and are the standard-bearers of the anti-imperialist struggle, fighting selflessly and courageously for the demands of the masses, for revolutionary reconstruction".

We should be insincere before this Meeting if we did not say that, in our view, this picture does not conform to the actual situation in some of the Communist Parties of Latin America.

We also agree with the Document that "the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle". But, as we see it, the internal differences in the socialist system, some of the erroneous concepts of the process of development to socialism, the consequences of which surfaced so dramatically of late, as well as the faulty appraisals understating the danger of imperialism and regarding as possible its evolution towards reconciliation injured the role of the socialist system in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. The general trend of the Document is a considerable step forward in comparison with the above-mentioned concepts.

It seems to us, too, that the role of bourgeois reformism in the general imperialist strategy should be brought out in bolder relief.

For example, in analysing the situation in Latin America the main accent is laid on the traditional aspects of imperialist penetration and the use of the most reactionary groups ("armed coups, reactionary dictatorships", etc). However, in the view of our Party "democratic" temptations presented as alternatives, taking the form of support rendered by Washington on definite conditions to reformist Latin American governments, are no less significant. These methods are all the more dangerous because they are used to stimulate reformist trends in the ranks of working-class, anti-imperialist and communist forces, breeding illusions about the prospects of gradually destroying imperialism in our countries in this way. A closer scrutiny of this problem would reveal, for example, that the establishment and expansion of diplomatic relations by Latin American governments with socialist countries, coupled with pronouncements of possible changes in the position of these governments towards Cuba, do not necessarily represent an earnest policy of repulsing US imperialism, but a mere manoeuvre to win time in face of difficulties, to deceive and mislead the masses. That is why we stand for a more thorough exposure of bourgeois reformism as a tool used by the imperialists to maintain their domination in countries of the Third World.

When describing present-day capitalism one cannot ignore those moral and cultural aspects which are connected with the accelerated process of industrialisation and the technological revolution, making the so-called "consumer society" unbearable and exercising a particularly depressing effect on the working youth and students, causing more and more frequent eruptions of rebellion.

As we see it, this issue is taken up but rarely because some sections of the communist movement are reluctant to admit what we consider an obvious fact—that for reasons that have nothing in common with what the apologists of capitalism call the permanent stability of the system, the material situation of broad sections of the working class and other groups of working people in the developed capitalist countries has improved since the Second World War chiefly at the price of growing poverty among the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and as a result of the unbridled militarisation of the economies of separate imperialist countries. In our opinion, a more exhaustive study of these aspects would facilitate a more accurate definition of the place occupied by the rebellious actions of the youth in the framework of the general struggle for the final destruction of capitalism.

Allow us now to express some ideas concerning the third section of the

Document and especially that part of it which deals with questions related to the struggle for peace.

The Communist Party of Cuba is fully conscious of the importance of the struggle for peace, against the aggressive actions of modern imperialism, especially US imperialism. It is a fact that championing peace enables us to unite in the anti-imperialist front the broadest forces, including large sections of the population not yet opposed to imperialism as a system of oppression and those which, by reason of their specific interests, will probably never join us in the fight against capitalism.

However, our Party assumes that for the purpose of developing a victorious anti-imperialist struggle and achieving the aim of *liberating mankind* from imperialism, proclaimed in the Document, we must draw a line of distinction between the methods and programmes of the struggle for peace capable of uniting all those who do not oppose capitalism, and even imperialism, on the one hand, and the more profound aims and programmes of those forces that come or may come into collision with imperialism, being determined to wipe imperialism off the face of the earth as a system, on the other.

It seems to us, therefore, that the exposition of this question in some parts of the third section could create some confusion as regards strategy and tactics.

Beyond question, the prime aim of united action by all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress should now be, as the Document stresses, *all-round support for the heroic Vietnamese people*. The people of Cuba, who have declared through their Party and government that they are determined to give their last drop of blood for the Vietnamese cause, again here declare their solidarity with the people of Vietnam. In this we see a cardinal duty of every honest man. The Cuban people approve the proposals contained in the Document, designed to bring nearer the day of victory for the heroic Vietnamese people, and approve the general content of the suggested Appeal. We fully support the 10 points advanced by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

All the same, our Party cannot agree with the proposition that *the main direction of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war, for world peace*.

To be sure, world peace is the universal wish of mankind. Only a man-hating minority personifying the most beastly features of modern militaristic imperialism, objects to it. However, securing peace is no more than a part, although a very important one, of the battle against imperialism. Past history shows that peace may be maintained for a long time, while there continues the most brutal economic, political and social oppression of the vast majority of mankind.

Safeguarding peace may be viewed as the main direction when we deal with a broad united movement of Communists and foes of imperialism, embracing other forces, including, as the Document points out, the peace-loving states. However, safeguarding peace cannot be "the *main direction* of united action of the anti-imperialist forces", because that would set a limit to our historical aims. It is crushing and eliminating imperialism that should be considered by the anti-imperialist forces as the *main direction* in their actions.

In our view, this is an unfortunate formulation. A clearer exposition of the

matter would help make more effective the correct explanation of the importance of fighting for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems which is given in the Document. The Communist Party of Cuba is in agreement with this approach, because it thinks that the definition pinpoints correctly, in a Leninist way, the relation between the peaceful coexistence of states and the struggle of the peoples against imperialist oppression. In that sense, we welcome the statement that "the policy of peaceful coexistence in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes, does not restrict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means, including the armed one... It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defence against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples".

Also, we give our backing to the proposition in the Document according to which the policy of peaceful coexistence "does not imply either the preservation of the social and political status quo, or a weakening of the ideological struggle", and that "mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence".

As we see it, these formulations in the Document, like the basic propositions in the Appeal in Defence of Peace, were indispensable. Recently we learned with great surprise that in the opinion of a leader of the Communist Party of a certain capitalist country, the armed struggle for independence in Latin America jeopardises peaceful coexistence and should, therefore, be repudiated by the communist movement.

Our Party is in accord with the idea that "the main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons; nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes". However, so long as this ban is not achieved, we shall retain our view, well known to the participants here, on the question of the spread of nuclear weapons.

Needless to say, in the fight for peace the Communist Party of Cuba supports exposure of the US aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the threats emanating from the West German imperialists and their associates in the United States against the German Democratic Republic. We are in accord with the call to world opinion to display continuous and active solidarity with the GDR and the KPDR and the entire Korean people, including those millions who live south of the 38th parallel. We also join in demanding the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

As indicated in the draft Document, it is highly important for the struggle against imperialism that Communists strive to do everything in their power "to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence".

Both the Communists and the non-communist forces opposing imperialism must make efforts in that direction. It says rightly in the draft that "any hostility or mistrust with regard to Communists, all repressions against them, contradict the cause of struggle for the national and social emancipation of the

peoples". However, to eliminate such mistrust, the Communists must possess the skill of always performing the role of vanguard, which is theirs not because they are Communists by name; they have to earn it in struggle and by showing the right example.

It is also necessary that in the struggle for unity against imperialism, the Communists, being representatives of the most mature and conscious ideology, should cast off all arrogance and sectarian limitations and use the most democratic methods in preparing for and effecting unity.

Those are some of the ideas of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba in relation to the draft of the Document, which we should like, in all sincerity, without pretensions, to present to the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties gathered here.

Other remarks would have arisen in a more detailed discussion, as was the case in the Preparatory Committee. However, there is no need to restate the reasons why we did not take part in its work.

We cannot overlook the references in the documents and in numerous speeches to Cuba's struggle for consolidating and developing the revolution in the conditions of blockade and US imperialist threats. We think highly of the statement that defending Cuba is "the duty of Communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world".

It is evident that "US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary Cuba", whatever forms its attitude towards our country may adopt, depending on the circumstances. The less successful its peace-making reformist manoeuvres in Latin America, the greater its irritation with Cuba and the greater the danger for us. This policy will inevitably fail, as is most clearly illustrated by the failure of the Alliance for Progress, the events in Peru and the wave of protests in Latin America over Rockefeller's tour.

That is why the death of Che Guevara is not the end but the beginning of a new period in the development of the revolutionary process in Latin America. The people of Cuba and their Party know the responsibilities and dangers this implies, and must show firmness in defending victoriously their national independence and revolution.

In defending the outpost of socialism in the Western Hemisphere, we have had the support of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the entire revolutionary movement. Here, in the homeland of the great Lenin, on the threshold of the glorious anniversary of his birth, in the country which was the first in history to destroy capitalist oppression and break the fetters of capitalism, we should like to stress on behalf of the Communist Party of Cuba the full significance for our struggle of the military aid, the economic support and the political and moral solidarity of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Comrade Fidel Castro spoke of this in his speech on January 2 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

As this friendship and co-operation developed, inevitable, sometimes even acute, differences arose. However, the Communist Party of Cuba holds that in the struggle of the peoples against imperialism the Soviet Union plays the role of main bastion, and this historic role in our time has taken the form



of support for the socialist revolution in Cuba, all the Arab peoples in the Middle East, and aid for the cause of the Vietnamese people. We shall never forget the immense sacrifices and efforts made by the Soviet people for the good of mankind, including its heroic, decisive contribution to the liberation of mankind from nazism, which cost it 20 million lives.

That is why we declare from this rostrum: Cuba will always without hesitation take the side of the Soviet Union in any decisive confrontation—as in the case of Soviet action against the danger of any country being torn away from the socialist system as a result of imperialist manoeuvres, so in the case of provocations and aggressions against the Soviet people, wherever these may originate.

Thank you.

## Representative of the Communist Party of East Pakistan

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of our Party, the Communist Party of East Pakistan, I convey our revolutionary fraternal greetings to this solemn gathering of Communist fighters from all over the world. Our Party congratulates you all that after long efforts we, almost all the Communist Parties of the world, despite serious opposition from some quarters, have been able to sit together do discuss our problems and to decide on our common tasks.

I also express our heartfelt gratitude to the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and the great CPSU for their initiative and their contributions in making it possible to hold this conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, an urgent necessity of the day to unify and develop the international communist movement.

The Preparatory Committee has submitted before us four documents—on the present tasks, on Lenin's centenary, on Vietnam and on peace. We are very much grateful to them that they have done the job after very frank, free and thorough discussions for a long period of time and have made the work of the conference easier. These documents were prepared after deliberations amongst representatives of about 70 Parties and they were supported by an overwhelming majority of them. Our Party approves these documents, all of them. As regards the Main Document before us, on the present tasks, I should mention that our Party considers the four chapters of it, its whole content, as an integral whole. While there is so much division and disunity in the communist movement today, so many anti-Marxist tendencies in a number of Communist Parties, this Document, we hope, will work as a good basis of unity of the Communists throughout the world on correct communist principles, principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It will enthuse and guide all the communist and revolutionary fighters in all the five continents who are carrying on the anti-imperialist struggle, in different forms and by different methods, for national liberation, for democracy, for socialism and for peace.

We have one suggestion to make, that in this Main Document or in a separate resolution, a mention is made that this world conference of Communist and

Workers' Parties considers the 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties as correct and valid, and that this Document should be taken as a continuation and explanation on some points of that document, not as an alternative to that. This should be done to avoid any confusion in the communist ranks and to avoid more than one interpretation, as was the case with the 1960 Moscow Statement.

Comrades, our Party has to work under very difficult conditions. Since the inception of the new state of Pakistan in 1947, our Party is illegal for the last 21 years. There is severe repression of the democratic forces, the Communists most of all. Alternatives for a comrade who gets known to the police as a Communist are either to spend his life in jail under inhuman conditions or to work underground. During these last years nearly a hundred of our comrades died in imprisonment, some of them beaten to death, some shot dead locked inside their jail wards, for disobeying humiliating jail rules, and the rest for lack of adequate nourishment or medical treatment. A number of our comrades have gone blind in jail. Many of our comrades had to spend 18 years of these 21 years in jail without any trial or in hiding.

Imperialism is the greatest enemy of democracy today. We have in our country very direct experiences of how the imperialists suppress the democratic movement in a newly independent country. Our country is ruled by the reactionary big bourgeoisie and landlords who have strong ties with the imperialists. We are fighting to release our country from imperialist war pacts, for democratic rights of the people, for parliamentary democracy ruled by the representatives of the people, elected by direct votes of the adult population, for the right to autonomy to all the five different nationalities inhabiting Pakistan and for improvement of the beastly living conditions of the people. In 1958, when through immense popular pressure an election was going to be held throughout the country, the reactionaries got help and support of the American, British and West German imperialists in establishing a military dictatorship there. The American imperialists practically initiated and encouraged this autocratic rule.

Students in our country are fighting big battles against the autocratic reactionary regime and now gradually the workers also are coming forward. We are glad to tell you, comrades, that though our Party is very small and inexperienced, we have a good hold on the student community and our influence amongst the workers also is growing. We have a hold on the national democratic movement. We are confident that, in spite of all oppression and repression, it will not be very long before our people, helped and guided by our Party, succeeds in wresting some democratic rights from the reactionary ruling clique.

Comrades, in this struggle of ours under severe conditions, the disunity in the international communist movement adds to our difficulties to a very great extent. Communist disunity not only disheartens our comrades, it demoralises other democratic forces too. We feel very much pained to see that today even some important Communist Parties on whom we look for guidance and help suffer from isolationist, nationalistic and liberal trends. It seems to us that to prove their independence, some Parties dissociate and differentiate themselves from the Soviet Union on important international issues which

are vital for the progressive development of the world. If such is the attitude of a Communist Party or a socialist country, then proletarian internationalism has got no meaning at all. Some Parties will not speak the truth for the sake of Communist Unity. If we suppress truth for communist unity, that "communist unity" will be devoid of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades, a peculiar feature of our present-day world is the existence of some newly independent states ruled by reactionary capitalists and landlords who, while following very reactionary and autocratic methods in internal politics, try to follow a somewhat neutral policy in international politics. They do not want a world war and they also develop friendly relations with socialist countries, especially for economic and military aid. They try to utilise this aid to serve more the interest of the capitalists than the people. Communist and democratic forces in these countries are fighting hard battles for democracy and social changes. We sometimes feel that the democratic movements in such countries do not always get adequate sympathy and moral and political support from all socialist countries.

As regards the activities of the Maoist Party of China, in our country they are not disrupting the communist ranks alone, they adopt any and every means to disrupt and defeat the democratic movement against the reactionary ruling clique. This is also our experience in the last December-January movement against Ayub Khan's autocratic and corrupt regime. While our Party and all progressive people in Pakistan consider it as a major patriotic task to work for good-neighbourly relations with India, which is in the vital interest of our people and which is a must to defend the minority communities in both countries against communal onslaughts, Maoist China encourages enmity between the two countries and even incites war between them. It may be an interesting, though sad, information for you that the Tashkent Declaration of India and Pakistan initiated by the Soviet government, to which Comrade Brezhnev has referred in his speech as an example of peace-loving Soviet foreign policy and for which declaration Comrade Kosygin is loved as a gentleman of peace by the common folks in our country, this Tashkent declaration was termed by China as a conspiracy of the Soviet Union and the USA against the Pakistani people.

But all these activities of Maoist China, though they do a great damage to our movement, are insignificant when we compare them with those "Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung", which are included in his heir's, Lin Piao's report to the 9th Congress of the Maoist Party of China in April last. In this report not only all our Parties who do not follow the "Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" have been characterised as revisionist, this report has slandered and calumniated the Party of Lenin, the Soviet state and all the other socialist states who co-operate with the Soviet. According to that report of Lin Piao which was adopted by the Maoist congress, the present leadership of the CPSU has usurped this leadership and has "turned the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat" into a "dark fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" and they are suppressing "the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries". These are not my words, I have quoted Lin Piao's. Here are more from the report. "The Soviet revisionist clique has been practising social imperialism and social fascism." Also, according to Lin Piao's report, the world socialist

community is "just like the New Order of Europe of Hitler" under Soviet dictatorship.

Comrades, I won't quote more. The whole report is full of such filth. But, would it be honest for us to ignore these and remain silent? Will this silence of a conference of 75 Communist Parties enthuse our comrades and progressives throughout the world? Will our silence dissuade Mao Tse-tung and his group, or rather encourage them? As I understand the logic of Mao's thoughts, our silence will be interpreted by them as tacit support and they will try to confuse the Chinese people and the Communists and progressives throughout the world by propaganda on that line. This world conference must raise its voice of protest. I think, we owe this not only to the CPSU and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but as communist revolutionaries we owe this as well to the success of the anti-imperialist struggle and the future of socialism. The Soviet Union is our strongest fortress in the fight against imperialism and reaction, for national liberation, democracy, socialism and peace. To discredit the Soviet Union is to discredit socialism and today this is the main ideological weapon of the imperialists to demoralise and frustrate the revolutionary ranks throughout the world. And now the Maoist group has taken up that weapon and is doing great harm to our cause. This conference of the Communists of the world should make it clear to all in unequivocal terms, as Comrade Kádár once said, that there is no and there can never be any anti-Soviet communism.

Comrades, we wish to put another proposal before you for the consideration of this conference. In our opinion, it is very urgent at this stage of the world communist movement that the Communist and Workers' Parties meet together regularly in periodical international conferences. Our conference should take a decision on it and elect a committee of conveners who will prepare for and call the next conference at the appropriate time and keep regular contact with all the Parties in the meantime.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the solidarity of world Communists!

## **AZIZ MOHAMMED**

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Iraqi Communist Party**

Dear Comrades,

The eyes of millions of working people in different countries rest upon Moscow today in the hope that our Meeting will be the beginning of a decisive turn in achieving and cementing the unity of the world communist movement, a turning point in intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle along the road to new victories.

That we are holding this International Meeting is a big success for the world communist movement, considering the grave difficulties we encountered in preparing it and the complications our movement experienced in the period of preparation.

By virtue of the hard, efficient work done after the Consultative Meeting more than a year ago, we have overcome many of the difficulties and were able to convene the Meeting. Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our sense of responsibility for the future of our peoples and all mankind, had obviously nourished the perseverance and determination of our Parties to convene this International Meeting. That it has successfully convened, coupled with the agreed decisions on the drafts of its documents—that, naturally, is the fruit of a common effort, particularly that of our Hungarian comrades and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who put in a lot of work and did everything for the Meeting to be convened and to run smoothly.

The last world forum of Communist and Workers' Parties was nine years ago. That is a fairly long period in modern world history, which unfolds with unprecedented rapidity. We have lost much time due to the attitude of some of the fraternal Parties, which thought that all Parties must participate in any international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and that non-participation by a number of fraternal Parties would only deepen the differences, deepen the rift, rather than consolidate unity. The facts have refuted this, because our efforts to prevail on the Parties concerned to participate in the International Meeting proved in vain, while postponing the forum did no good to the unity of the world communist movement. On the contrary, more frequent meetings of this kind bring our views and attitudes closer together, strengthening the

unity of our movement. Our present forum is in itself an important contribution to the unity of the world communist and working-class movement. After all, unity can only be welded through meetings and collective efforts based on fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism requires each Party to fulfil its duty to the working class and people of its own country and its duty of solidarity with all the contingents of the world communist movement, sharing in their collective responsibility. To weigh international proletarian solidarity against the principle of the independence of each Party, against the national sovereignty of each socialist country, means to ignore the common interests and destinies of the world communist movement. To give food to anti-Sovietism, or to condone it, means to undermine one of the key principles of international proletarian solidarity. The principle of solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU has always been, and still is, the touchstone of a Party's internationalism, the internationalism of each socialist state.

The vanguard position occupied today by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a fact shaped by history and justified by a half-century of experience, a half-century of revolutionary struggle for the consummation of the first socialist revolution in history and the building of the world's first great socialist state. The Soviet Union has always been, and now is, the main revolutionary force of our epoch, an invincible bastion of socialism, democracy and peace. Shouldering this vanguard role, it has to display the maximum loyalty to principle and, at once, bear bigger responsibilities than others, make greater sacrifices and show more initiative. The Soviet Union and its glorious Party have withstood immense difficulties, coping with their role and responsibilities with dignity and honour. We can say proudly here that our Party could never have revived as quickly and as effectively from the terrible ordeal that fell to its lot without the effective solidarity shown, in the first place, by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by other fraternal Parties. The malicious stand of the Chinese leadership on the disaster that befell our Party in 1963 was the very opposite of this internationalist attitude. The Chinese leaders used it as a pretext for attacking and discrediting the Soviet Union.

In our view, anti-Sovietism can have nothing in common with loyalty to socialism and proletarian internationalism. The Mao Tse-tung group that carries this shameful banner, no longer confines itself to just splitting the ranks of the world communist movement, or the Communist Parties; it is redoubling attacks on the Soviet Union and anti-Soviet agitation, directing its activities not against imperialism, but against the Soviet Union. The Mao group came to a point where it ventured on armed aggressive actions along the Soviet frontier. Our Central Committee discussed and condemned these subversive activities at its latest plenary meeting. The so-called 9th Congress of the CPC could not have shown more clearly that the ruling group in China has turned its back on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, creating a new situation with a gravely negative effect on world events and the conditions of the struggle waged by the anti-imperialist forces. Hushing up the Mao group's deviations and distortions of Marxist-Leninist principles, tolerating its frantic subversive actions, is incompatible with our responsibility for the purity of Marxist-Leninist

thought; nor will it help us buttress the unity of the world communist movement. We must courageously expose the opportunist trends and the nationalist and chauvinist sentiments on a basis of principle, with perseverance, as Lenin would, acting openly before the eyes of the working class and all working people. These are the reasons why our Party disagrees with those who evade the fact that the Chinese ruling group and none other bears the full blame for undermining our unity, for splitting our communist movement and following an unbridled anti-Soviet line. Our delegation holds, too, that neutralist positions on this score lack objectivity, because they shift part of the blame on the Soviet Union, which has for years actually displayed a sense of deep responsibility, great restraint and patience towards the subversive activities of the Chinese ruling group.

Dear comrades, the experience of our movement in recent decades has borne out the obvious fact that the tighter our unity and the stronger our international solidarity, the more numerous and complete our victories. Reversely, splitting activity that undermines the international unity of our movement has caused setbacks for some contingents of the world revolutionary movement, compelled them to retreat in the face of imperialist assaults and intrigues. Our present sufficiently representative Meeting is a big help to the world communist movement in firming up our international solidarity and achieving more complete and enduring unity, which is of extreme importance and of great benefit to the struggle of the peoples. The unity of the ranks and actions of the world communist movement will not only add to its own strength in the crucial struggle against imperialism, but also enable the national liberation movements and all anti-colonialist forces to continue their offensive and score fresh victories against imperialism. The national liberation movements, including the Arab, have learned from experience that victory against imperialism is bound up closely with the firmness of the socialist camp and the world communist movement.

The fact that all the fraternal Parties at this Meeting have declared their solidarity with the Arab peoples in the common struggle against imperialism, as well as in their struggle against Israeli aggression, for national independence and social progress, evokes pride and satisfaction in our hearts and the hearts of all progressively-minded people in our country. Like all Communists and progressives of the Arab world, we think highly of the stand taken by the fraternal Parties and all socialist countries on problems related to our liberation movement. We are particularly grateful to the Soviet Union, which rendered and continues to render the Arabs selfless military and economic aid and political support by virtue of its firm principles of solidarity with the embattled peoples. Allow us, therefore, to refer to some of the viewpoints on the situation resulting from the Israeli aggression. As we see it, it is essential to pinpoint the source of the aggression and to condemn the aggressor on the strength of Marxist principles and in the spirit of international solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine and other Arab peoples, victims of the aggression.

Comrades, our delegation heard Comrade Brezhnev's important speech with deep attention. In our view it contains a correct and exhaustive analysis of the peculiarities of imperialism at the present stage and enumerates the means securing closer unity and intensifying the struggle of the socialist camp, the



world communist movement and all the contingents of the world-wide revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. Comrade Brezhnev rightly emphasised the effective role played by the national liberation movement in the fight against world imperialism and the importance of the latest progressive changes and tendencies in some of the newly independent countries. Comrade Brezhnev also dealt with problems arising before these countries and stressed the immense significance of building and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting all progressive anti-imperialist forces, and firming up the alliance of the national liberation movements of these countries with the socialist countries and the international working-class movement. We are certain that the analysis contained in the speech, its ideas and principled approach to problems, help light the way of struggle for all the forces of national liberation opposing imperialism and, in particular, for the national liberation struggle in our Arab countries.

Comrades, our Central Committee studied the draft of the Main Document at a specially convened plenary meeting and empowered our delegation to vote in favour of it. Our Party should have liked a fuller programme document, one touching on all issues of principle. However, we hold that the submitted Document, all four sections of it, will, after the amendments are taken into account, provide a correct analysis of the international situation and serve as the basis for uniting the ranks and actions of the world communist movement and all the anti-imperialist forces. The Document is the result of common efforts by the Communist Parties participating in this Meeting, which proceeded in their appraisals from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Document defines the basic and vital tasks of the common struggle against world imperialism and can equip the forces of world socialism, the working class in the citadels of imperialism, and the national liberation movement, which is at different stages of development from country to country, with an effective weapon.

For our Arab countries the Document is doubly significant from the standpoint of the Arab struggle against Israeli aggression and imperialist designs and, at once, from that of the general struggle for political liberation, for democracy and social progress.

The Arab liberation movement has always been an object of imperialist attacks and intrigues, aimed at weakening or breaking its bond of co-operation and friendship with the countries of the socialist system, especially the Soviet Union, and at dominating the oil-rich Arab states holding important strategic positions. The attacks have become sharper of late due to Arab gains in the bitter liberation struggle against the imperialist domination, against imperialism's political and economic positions. Imperialism's aggressiveness has increased most in relation to those Arab countries where deep-going political and social changes have been effected. Israel's ceaseless acts of aggression against the Arab countries are but part of the imperialist plan to suppress the Arab liberation movement and wipe out its progressive gains. That is why the Arab liberation movement is still a crucial outpost in the struggle against world imperialism, while the fight of the Arab peoples against imperialism and Israeli aggression is an integral part of the world-wide struggle of the anti-imperialist front. At the same time, the struggle of the Arab peoples, supported by the socialist

camp and the world's communist and progressive movement, is a contribution to the struggle of world socialism, the working-class movement in the capitalist world and the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Exactly two years ago Israel started its undisguised barbarian aggression against the neighbouring Arab countries with the support of aggressive US, FRG and British imperialist groups. It continues to hold the occupied Arab lands, robbing their population of home and hearth, slaying, torturing and persecuting the people brutally. It intends to annex these Arab territories and stubbornly refuses to fulfil the Security Council resolution aimed at establishing peace in the region.

During the imperialist world war, colonialists occupied Palestine on the specious pretext of granting its people self-determination. However, what resulted was a Jewish national centre in Palestine, established in pursuance of the designs of world imperialism and Zionism, bringing on repressions against the Arab people, the victim of this act. Lenin opposed Zionism, because for the imperialist bourgeoisie Zionism is an instrument splitting the working class in each country by artificially isolating Jews from the rest of the people, from the common struggle against capitalism, and by organising Jewish emigration to Palestine with the purpose of setting up a colonial regime no different in substance from the racist regime in South Africa. Israel was not content with the borders demarcated for it by the United Nations in 1947, pursued a policy of expansion and went farther and farther along the road of aggressive wars and annexations. Today, it occupies all Palestine and, having crossed its borders, has seized vitally important areas in the neighbouring Arab states. Israel's rulers continue to declare brazenly that what they have taken by force has become an inalienable possession and make no secret of their aggressive expansionist designs.

Alongside all patriotic and progressive forces in the Arab countries and the rest of the world, our Party is working for the expulsion of the Israeli invader from occupied Arab territories and vigorously supports the Palestinian resistance movement. Our Party holds that the principal and most insistent task today is to compel the Israeli aggressor to withdraw from captured Arab land, guarantee the right of Arab refugees to return to their homes and to afford the Arab people in Palestine the opportunity to exercise its lawful national rights, including that of self-determination in its own land.

Comrades, our delegation supports the Main Document and calls on others to approve it, because it is a means for eliminating some of the weaknesses in the progressive regimes in the Arab and other newly free countries, and because we think it bears out the existence of many of the basic conditions essential for their victorious struggle against imperialism, for democracy and social progress. Our Party regards the Document as an unquestionable confirmation of the effective role that Communist Parties should play in the political life of their countries.

Some progressive regimes in the Arab countries, and likewise some national political parties and petty-bourgeois groups opting for "socialism", persist in their attempts to vulgarise the principles of scientific socialism and, all too often, to distort them. They divorce the possibility of radical social

changes and non-capitalist development from the character and structure of political power and from the role the working class and its political Party must play in political life and during this reconstruction. Some of them are also trying to impose a unitarian form of political organisation in order to justify disbanding the Communist Parties or dissolving them in that organisation. In many cases this is accompanied by a curtailment of democracy, by attempts to remove Communist Parties from the political arena and exclude them from the country's political life. Some of these regimes and groups do so in order to limit the vanguard role of the Communist Parties and deny the laws of transition to socialism or building socialism, including the essence of the Leninist proposition that a Marxist Party and one or another form of proletarian dictatorship are indispensable.

These phenomena and tendencies impair the revolutionary movements in our country and were one of the main causes behind the military defeat of the Arab countries after June 5, 1967.

Comrades, our delegation also calls on you to approve the other documents submitted for the consideration of the Meeting. We attach special importance to the document concerning the centennial of the birth of the great Lenin. It contains the basic postulates of Lenin's revolutionary theory, the revolutionary's weapon in fighting revisionist trends, dogmatism and adventurist "Leftism". It reaffirms Lenin's propositions on international solidarity and determined struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. Our Party stands firmly for unfolding a merciless struggle against nationalist and all opportunist tendencies, both Right and "Left". That is the only way to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist principles and to invigorate united action by our Parties based on these principles.

Dangerous tendencies surfaced in our Party, too, as represented by a divisive "ultra-Left" group of adventurers, impairing our internationalist positions. That these tendencies appeared was due to the adventurist policy and nationalist and anti-internationalist line of the ruling group in China. However, our Party has coped with this petty-bourgeois trend, fought it ideologically until it was destroyed, crushed by its own barren sectarian ventures.

Our delegation approves the draft of the document that calls for extending the fight for world peace and eliminating the seats of aggression and tension. We hold that the fight for peace is an international and patriotic duty of all Communist Parties and all sound forces the world over wishing to prevent the disaster of a destructive world war. Our delegation also approves the draft of the document calling on the international solidarity movement to redouble its efforts in behalf of the heroic Vietnamese people, for an end to the US aggression in Vietnam. We hold that this is an urgent task and the internationalist duty of all Parties and progressive forces the world over. Further, our delegation approves the draft of the resolution on convening a world congress of all anti-imperialist forces and states its readiness to help in convening it and to participate in it.

Adoption of these documents and our unanimity concerning the tasks of our common struggle against imperialism create a firm foundation for achieving and cementing the unity of the communist movement and add to our capacity

of mobilising all the anti-imperialist forces in the general offensive against imperialism and reaction.

We are convinced that any success achieved in that struggle will exercise a positive and immediate influence on the struggle of our Party and that of the people of Iraq, promoting the unity and solidarity of all forces fighting imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Dear comrades, our country, whose vast petroleum resources are controlled by imperialist monopolies, constantly the object of imperialist intrigues and plots, lived through important events last year. A two-phased military coup on July 17 and 30, 1968, put power into the hands of the Party of Arab Socialist Renovation and a few prominent army officers.

Our Party did not let bitter feeling and resentful recollections of the bloody reprisals showered upon Communists in 1963, when the Baath Party was in power, influence its attitude to these developments and proceeded from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the political situation, from the interests of the toiling masses and all people.

The Party of Arab Socialist Renovation announced that it would not follow the 1963 line and advocated a national front that would include our Party, saying that it had no intention of monopolising power. The new government acted to eliminate the consequences of the deplorable past, releasing arrested patriots and reinstating in their jobs most of the persons dismissed for political reasons, excluding a certain section of progressively-minded officers. Of late, the government has also taken bold measures consistent with the national interest against colonialism and the imperialist monopolies, recognising fully the German Democratic Republic, concluding an agreement on joint development of sulphur deposits with the Polish People's Republic and making a number of important and positive amendments in the agrarian reform law. All this had been demanded by the people, and our Party and all progressive forces had worked for it. Our Party backed these measures and called for solidarity in effecting and consolidating them.

One of the most essential weaknesses of the present government is that it does not try to find practical ways for a peaceful democratic solution of the Kurdish problem. Past attempts to solve that problem by armed force have failed. The wars succeeding each other in the past eight years yielded nothing but a loss of human life and property, economic ruin, robbing the Iraqi army of its ability to fulfil its mission of repulsing the imperialist Israeli aggression. Although the present government has taken a number of steps in harmony with the agreement concluded with the leaders of the Kurdish revolution on June 29, 1966, it has refused to recognise the Kurds' right to autonomy in the framework of the Iraqi Republic; nor has it embarked on peaceful negotiations to achieve agreement on a formula that would contain an acceptable solution of the crisis and remove the danger of more intensive armed clashes than those now taking place.

In criticising the position of the government, as well as the negative aspects of the Kurdish revolution and of its own struggle for a democratic solution of the Kurdish problem our Party is guided by its sense of responsibility for the interests of the people, Arab and Kurd alike, for the interests of unity and

of redoubling the joint struggle of Arab and Kurd against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

We hold that the way to eliminate the dangers overshadowing our country and resolve the present problems, the way of steady progress, requires close and sincere co-operation between our Party and other national forces in the country. That is what the ruling party proclaims as well, although it follows a policy of monopolising power and political and public activity.

Our Party calls for a national front, for a coalition government based on that front and loyal to the front's charter. It also calls for democratic freedoms, and above all freedom of political activity for the patriotic parties and forces, and for a complete and radical elimination of all survivals of political oppression, of all signs of enslavement and abuse. All this our Party regards as essential before a universal national front can be built, capable of rallying and guiding the people to eliminate the dangers and resolve the existing problems in the interest of the masses.

Our Party is working for a firm policy against imperialism and its oil monopolies, against imperialism's aggressive plans, for effective co-operation and close solidarity with the liberated Arab countries in eliminating the Israeli aggression and its consequences, for greater friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our Party is also working for a stronger army, for the reinstatement in its ranks of progressively-minded officers, for remedying the present economic situation and building up a prosperous national economy, for better living conditions, and for the enforcement of the political and social rights of the working class and other sections of the working people.

Our country is exposed to increasingly strong imperialist threats and intrigues. Recently, Iran denounced the 1937 border agreement and massed its troops on the frontier. Along with other national forces, our Party condemned this hostile act of the reactionary Iranian rulers and called for solidarity actions to repulse and frustrate the reactionary plan and the CENTO plot in the region. The danger of plots against the existing regime has also increased. The situation is complicated by the fact that many of the problems facing the country are still unsolved, this applying primarily to the Kurdish problem, the problem of democracy and of the establishment of a democratic regime, the national front problem and the problem of a policy that would deprive the oil monopolies of the rights they usurped in Iraq, improve the economic situation and raise the standard of living.

Dear comrades, in conclusion our delegation deems it necessary to declare that the basic principles and propositions of the 1957 and 1960 documents are still valid and that we approve and support the content and ideas of the documents our Meeting is about to adopt. We hold that these documents should reach all Communists and revolutionaries, that each Party should put them into practice creatively to suit the conditions and peculiarities of its country.

Allow me, too, on behalf of our Central Committee, to greet this Meeting and to express the wish that it should be the beginning of still more representative and frequent meetings. I hail all the delegations of the fraternal Parties and through them the Parties they represent and the working class of their

countries. I hail the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose hospitality our delegations are now enjoying and which applied so much fruitful effort to make the work of this Meeting a success.

May the unity of the world communist movement go from strength to strength on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Long live the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces!

## JANOS KADAR

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Esteemed Meeting,  
Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and of our delegation, I heartily greet the representatives of the fraternal Parties and all the participants in our Meeting. Especially, I greet our kind hosts, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and express our gratitude for its efforts, to which we owe the good facilities for successful work.

*From the beginning, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party supported the idea of convening an International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. We are glad that the vast majority of the fraternal Parties sent their delegates here. The fact that now, after nearly ten years, representatives of fraternal Parties from all continents are again assembled at this Meeting is, in our opinion, of historic importance for the development of the international communist movement. At present, when our movement has no international organisation, such a broad meeting and exchange of opinion is irreplaceable and extremely necessary for a correct Marxist-Leninist orientation.*

A struggle is under way throughout the world involving many hundreds of millions of people fighting for social progress, national independence and peace, against international reaction, which resists all freedom-loving aspirations. Still broader struggle against imperialism, and consolidation of our unity in that struggle is the most important international task of the Communist and Workers' Parties in our time. This is doubly true, because our unity is the foundation and condition for the anti-imperialist cohesion of the broad masses, peoples and nations, of all progressives of the globe. The position of the Consultative Conference, which came forward with the proposal of convening our Meeting and determined its character and role, was, therefore, absolutely correct.

The preparations for the Meeting showed that *a striving for unity has been growing stronger in the international communist movement in recent years.* Our Meeting is the result of the fact that more than 70 fraternal Parties, acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism, on our common class interests and aims, put aside ideological and political differences on separate issues and *subordinated everything to the interests of the common struggle against the imperialists.* Our determination to achieve unity brought us here to Moscow,

and further consolidation of that unity in the fight for our common aims will yield new mighty victories for the communist cause, the cause of peace.

Dear comrades, the work of the Preparatory Committee, pursued in a spirit of democracy and collectivism, was successful and created favourable conditions for our Meeting. The independence and equality of Parties was assured and practised throughout the preparatory period. The inalienable right of the representatives of all Parties to set out their Party's views and ideas freely, without any restrictions, on questions put on the agenda was ensured to the fullest extent. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party commends highly the work of all the representatives of fraternal Parties who participated in preparing the Meeting.

We are convinced that our Meeting will play a substantial role in making the anti-imperialist struggle more effective, and in cementing the unity of the international communist movement. *The task of our Meeting is to work out a principled platform and a programme of action to suit the demands of the struggle against imperialism, a platform and programme effectively supported by all Communist and Workers' Parties, by all anti-imperialist forces.* Our delegation has been instructed to do everything in its power for the successful fulfilment of these tasks of the Meeting and intends to spare no effort in that direction.

Esteemed comrades, it is an important condition for the success of the struggle against imperialism to subject the complex processes in the world to an all-sided Marxist-Leninist analysis from time to time. That analysis is practicable only through the collective effort of the fraternal Parties, invoking all their experience. Joint struggle and co-operation among the Communist and Workers' Parties is possible only on the basis of a political platform built on a truly principled Marxist-Leninist analysis. *We consider as successful the draft of the Main Document submitted to the Meeting by the Preparatory Committee: it measures up to this important requirement, equipping our Parties with an effective ideological and political weapon for the struggle against imperialism.* The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party holds that a good draft of the Main Document has been prepared; we are in accord with its evaluations and the line charted in it.

In our view, the draft Document contains a correct analysis and appraisal of the complicated and contradictory international situation and of its basic problems. Proceeding from the facts, it discloses the aggressive activity of the imperialists, pressed hard by the forces of progress and racked by crises, and reveals the danger implicit in the policy of the imperialist powers. The draft Document contains a correct appraisal of the potentialities of the anti-imperialist forces, and sets out their tasks.

The realistic conclusion is drawn that one of the main features of the international situation is the growth of the strength and influence of the socialist countries and of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and the steadily growing struggle of the peoples for freedom and peace. It is also beyond question that the situation has become more acute in recent years due to imperialism's heightened aggressiveness. We must understand the fact that *the imperialists are perseveringly trying to drive a wedge between the forces of socialism and to exploit the lack of the unity of our ranks for their own political ends.*

The correct conclusion is drawn from this that we must multiply our efforts



to repulse and frustrate the adventuristic designs of the imperialists, who are imperilling peace. Still valid is the important conclusion, confirmed by history, that the forces of progress, once united, can bridle the imperialists, safeguard the gains of the working people, of the peoples, prevent another world war and achieve the triumph of the cause of progress.

US imperialism is now the main force of world imperialism. Having amassed tremendous profits during the Second World War, the US monopolists tried to secure domination over the world. Under the odious banner of anti-communism, they have mounted an offensive against the forces fighting for socialism, progress and national independence. Although the US imperialist designs of gaining world supremacy have fallen through, and will also fail in the future, the imperialists have not given them up and, in concert with their allies and satellites, are organising more and more provocations against the socialist countries, the forces of progress, against the freedom and security of nations.

*The aggressive war against the Vietnamese people is the most barbarous and most undisguised undertaking of the US imperialists at present. At the same time, that war is a violation of world peace. The people of Vietnam are fighting heroically, with dedication, for their national freedom, for the right of self-determination, enjoying the sympathy and support of all progressive forces, all honest men on earth. We think it is only right that in a separate document our Meeting should declare our solidarity with the people of Vietnam, our determination to continue giving it every assistance in its just struggle until complete victory.*

The critical situation in the Middle East, fraught with new explosions that may erupt at any moment, evokes the legitimate indignation and alarm of progressives and peace champions throughout the world. Israel's ruling circles, a tool of the imperialists in the drive for their great-power aims, cling stubbornly to their aggressive designs. Backed by the US imperialists, they are doing everything to obstruct a just and lasting peace in that region. We stand for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict in conformity with the UN Security Council decision of November 22, 1967. In our view, every help should be extended to the attacked and imperilled Arab countries.

The Parties of the world communist movement, the forces of progress and peace, should also devote great attention to the European problems. *European peace is threatened most of all and most directly by the fledgling of US imperialism and its ally number one in Europe—West German revanchism and militarism.*

Acting on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the Hungarian People's Republic seeks normal relations and mutually advantageous and versatile ties with the Federal Republic of Germany, despite the different social systems. But adjustment and development of relations is seriously hampered by the fact that the FRG still refuses to recognise the borders that emerged in Europe after the defeat of Nazi Germany, refuses to acknowledge the existence of two German states and recognise the German Democratic Republic, an important stronghold of peace and socialism in Europe. At the same time, it encourages revenge-seeking and neo-fascist aspirations. That makes it incumbent upon the peoples to keep up their vigilance and to remember that German monopoly capital had plunged the world into the vortex of war twice in the lifetime of a single generation.

The last, Budapest session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries initiated a constructive move for European peace and the strengthening of European collective security. As a first step we suggested an all-European conference. The favourable response shows that it was a good and timely initiative. We are continuing our efforts in that direction. *Assuring peace and strengthening security in Europe require an appropriate contribution by the governments of all the countries of the continent, coupled with effective support and action by the people.* An important, determinative role in unfolding the social movement for peace and security is played, and will be played, by the Communist and Workers' Parties.

*To prevent a new world war that would cause unheard of devastation, to safeguard and strengthen peace is still the main problem of our time.* We live in an epoch of social revolutions, the road to which was blazed by Lenin, the Russian Bolsheviks, the Great October Socialist Revolution. We also live in a period of a rapidly unfolding scientific and technological revolution. History has given the Communist and Workers' Parties, our world movement, the noble task of *assuming the lead in the struggle to place the achievements of the human mind in the service of man's emancipation and happiness, not his extermination.*

We Communists are struggling for general and complete disarmament, we want the skies always to be clear and free of danger. And as long as this is not accomplished, we shall support all reasonable steps leading to that goal. We support the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and we equally support the Geneva negotiations examining possibilities for reducing the armaments race. We are working tirelessly for the materialisation of the numerous peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

The working people of the world, Communists and non-Communists alike, pin great hopes on our Meeting. They expect that we will strengthen the peace front opposing the aggressors. The Hungarian delegation supports the draft of our Meeting's Appeal in Defence of Peace, which reiterates that the Communist and Workers' Parties are ready to join hands with all forces and all honest men to avert the threat of another war hanging over mankind, and to safeguard the peace.

Dear comrades, the world communist movement has grown in scale. Fraternal Parties have been formed and function in nearly all countries. Their strength is growing steadily. Taking guidance from Marxism-Leninism, they chart their policy independently, work for the interest of their working class, their people, uniting forces under the banner of internationalism against world imperialism.

The conditions in which our Parties work are extremely varied. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries bear the responsibility for guiding their countries. In some capitalist countries the Parties constitute a powerful and legal force, in others they work and fight semi-legally or underground, exposed to brutal persecutions.

If we intend to co-ordinate our efforts on an international scale and to cement our unity in the fight against imperialism, our common enemy, we must care-

fully consider each other's views, and strive mutually to understand the situation of each in the best possible way. Battles fought by each of the fighting contingents of our world movement, the results of those battles, are for us equally important.

The socialist world system comprising 14 countries in three continents, the main force of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle, is the biggest historical gain of the international working-class movement. In terms of history, the new world system is still young, and its growth naturally poses many new and complicated problems. It is up to our Parties to solve these problems.

The development of the socialist world system depends on the solution of problems that arise in the individual socialist countries and, to no less a degree, on how well we use the immense potential implicit in the effective and multi-lateral co-operation of the socialist countries. *The Hungarian People's Republic thinks highly of the socialist co-operation that has taken shape in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is striving actively to expand its ties and co-operation with all the socialist countries.*

The common task of all the Parties of our world movement, whatever the conditions in which they exist and function, is to co-ordinate their struggle and join forces on the basis of our common world outlook and common class aims. Marxism-Leninism, internationalism and the identity of the vital interests of the workers and other working people of different countries, is the enduring principled foundation of our unity and cohesion.

In the epoch of capitalism the forces of progress and reaction confront each other not only within the borders of some given country, but also on a world-wide, international scale. Back at the time when international capital drowned the Paris Commune in blood, Marx pointed out that the working class had achieved international cohesion in defending itself against cosmopolitan capital.

In the face of international capital, we need still greater cohesion than a hundred years ago. Since the victory of the first socialist revolution and the formation of the Soviet Union, the fight between the forces of socialism and capitalism has been in the focus of world development. This has become more distinctly evident since the emergence of the world socialist system.

*In the present situation, monopoly capital does not shrink from attempts to overthrow the socialist system or, at least, to pry away this or that country from the socialist community. This is an indication of the common interests of world imperialism, the common class interests of the capitalists.*

The suppression in 1919 of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the first workers' state in Hungary, by the armed forces of world imperialism, the troops of the Entente, was an instructive lesson to be constantly remembered from the history of the Hungarian working class and our people. The counter-revolutionary regime imposed on the Hungarian people was overthrown in 1945, when the Soviet Army, which liberated our country, cleared Hungary of the nazi occupation forces.

Reality was such that in 1956 another difficult trial fell to the lot of the Hungarian people, who had embarked on the building of socialist society. Reactionary forces at home, goaded and supported by world imperialism, exploited

the now well-known mistakes that really occurred, exploited the confusion in the ranks of the adherents of socialism, coupled with the subversion by the revisionists, to spark off a bloody counter-revolutionary insurrection.

This attempt by the enemies of workers' power failed because *the revolutionary forces in our country, backed by the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the international communist movement, gained the upper hand.* During the work of the Preparatory Committee in Budapest, the representatives of the fraternal Parties had the opportunity to see for themselves that the people of Hungary having upheld and consolidated their power, are carrying on steadily and successfully with their work of completing the building of socialist society.

Hungary's example shows clearly that the imperialists are continuously striving, by various means and methods, to subvert and weaken, and if possible to crush, the new developing socialist countries, to crush their political system.

*Our Party, our working class, the people of Hungary, have learned from their own experience how and whereby counter-revolution begins and what it becomes later, when it gains the upper hand and acts openly, casting off its disguises.* The 1956 counter-revolutionary insurrection is a recent event and its lessons are still fresh in our memories. To our Party it showed clearly the role played by our own mistakes among the factors that imperilled the very existence of our People's Democracy, how these mistakes were used for their own ends by the enemies of our system at home and abroad, who acted against us and who was on our side.

The solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and of the world communist movement helped the Hungarian People's Republic during the difficult period in 1956. The international forces which helped our country constantly bore in mind that *the defence of the workers' power, of the gains of socialism in one country is a common cause, that it is in the common interests of all the socialist countries, of the entire international working class.* History teaches us that proletarian internationalism, unity and cohesion and mutual support in the struggle are the decisive, inexhaustible well-spring of strength for the people, for the working class of each separate socialist country.

The wide political discussion conducted over the Hungarian events in 1956 and now conducted over the assessment of the events in Czechoslovakia conclusively shows what an important question, from the viewpoint of the international class struggle, is the growth or possible slowing down of development, a critical situation in one or another socialist country, and also *what decisive significance attaches to the class approach in evaluating these events.*

In connection with the Czechoslovak events the representatives of some fraternal Parties have raised the question that the leaders of socialist countries should not confuse proletarian internationalism with state interests. We must see, and this has been confirmed by practical experience, that when *the destiny of one socialist country is at stake, this affects the interests of all.* International imperialism as a whole and each imperialist power individually are interested in weakening the socialist countries; moreover they would like the entire socialist world system to go out of existence. On the other hand, *the international*

*working class as a whole, the people of each socialist country, each Communist or Workers' Party individually are also interested in that any socialist country, encountering great difficulties and finding itself in a critical position, should be able to overcome them, should continue to develop and gain strength.*

In so far as it concerns the socialist countries, the relationship between proletarian internationalism and state interests must be correctly interpreted. The Communist Parties are the ruling parties in the socialist countries. The aim of the Parties and the peoples of these countries is to build a socialist society, communism. The social system in every socialist country and the relations between them are based on the same principles, they have the same aims and therefore their basic interests too coincide. *The success of every socialist country adds to the strength of the other countries, while difficulties in any of them are a burden for all the other countries. This is not a turn of speech, but actual reality.* Both the joys and the cares are shared by us in common.

No Communist Party, no socialist country can grow stronger at the expense of the others or at the price of their weakening. *That is why the leaders of socialist countries cannot separate questions of proletarian internationalism from the state interests of the socialist countries.* Should the leaders of any socialist country consider internationalism and the state interests of their country in isolation from each other, they would merely inflict harm both on our common cause and on the interests of their own country.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian People's Republic have never denied the fact that they cannot remain indifferent to the Czechoslovak events. It cannot be otherwise when it concerns allied socialist countries. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic are neighbours; both our peoples, who are building a socialist society, are linked by a community of historical destinies.

*At each stage of the Czechoslovak events the Central Committee of our Party and the Government of our country have been guided in all their actions by the principles of internationalism, a feeling of solidarity, and not by something else.* We are interested in one thing and we only want the problems in Czechoslovak society to be solved in a socialist way.

The internal problems of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be solved by the Communist Party, by the working class and the people of Czechoslovakia. We believe that they will do this, especially as the Central Committee of the fraternal Czechoslovak Party has recently taken matters resolutely into its own hands. *We sincerely wish the Czechoslovak Communists and the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples success in the struggle to defend and consolidate the gains of socialism.*

Dear comrades, the draft Document presented to the Meeting assesses the role of the socialist states in the struggle against imperialism, sums up the results of our countries' development and also points to existing problems and tasks. In our opinion, this is correct. We are striving to improve the work of our Party in conformity with the new requirements of our development and to extend our labour achievements in building socialism. At the same time we understand very well that if we do not work systematically to eliminate existing shortcomings, this can harm the cause of socialism. However, I must also emphasise that

*we do not allow and cannot afford to allow any vilification of socialism and attacks upon it on the pretext of combating its shortcomings.*

The socialist countries have many different critics. Our enemies are ceaselessly attacking our system under the most diverse pretexts. It has now become the fashion to identify the concept of the socialist state with bureaucracy. Naturally we still have bureaucratic manifestations and tendencies. We are fighting them by improving the work of the civil service, developing socialist statehood and socialist democracy, actively drawing ever new strata of the working people into social life, enlisting their help in solving various problems. We do not idealise the attained development level in any sphere of social life and are constantly striving to enhance it.

This is one side of the matter. The other side is that the socialist state, the power of the working people, is the most democratic state in history, one that has ended the exploitation of man by man and serves the people. Experience shows that the withering away of the socialist state has not yet set in, that in the divided world of today there is a need for its defence function, while its economic, cultural and organisational activity is needed for building a socialist society. Accordingly our Party is working to reinforce the state institutions, to develop the activity of the state.

*In Hungary no one can encroach with impunity on the state of the working people. This is determined by political, moral and state laws, and we will not allow the weakening or destruction of our state on the pretext of some kind of "innovations".*

Dear comrades, each country which has embarked on the socialist road has enriched practical experience with specific distinctions. Undoubtedly, the future will bring still greater diversity of the ways and forms of building a socialist society. Both today and in future our Parties must constantly bear in mind a prime demand of Marxism-Leninism: *to apply the general laws of building socialism and also to take into consideration the concrete conditions and the historical and national distinctions of their countries.* The ignoring of the general laws of socialism, just as neglect of national distinctions and conditions, upsets development, causes crises and leads to impasses.

Our Parties are independent. The socialist countries are sovereign and independent. The sovereignty of our countries, the national independence of our peoples are combined with socialist social relations and rest on them. At the given historical stage the sovereignty of our countries, their national independence are ensured above all by our alliance with the other socialist countries and also by the strength and further development of the socialist foundations of our society.

We must constantly remember that the independent activity and, particularly, the very existence of Communist and Workers' Parties, the sovereignty and national independence of the socialist countries and the possibilities of their development are incessantly subjected to attacks and threats by reactionary circles in the capitalist countries, by international imperialism. Our enemies, the imperialists, are fully aware that their counter-revolutionary plans directed against the socialist world system can be only successful if they manage to drive breaches and stir up contradictions between socialist countries.

*But the proponents of the ideas of socialism, even in the heat of the polemic, must not diverge from class positions. We Hungarian Communists most vigorously reject the views of those who, on the pretext of dividing socialist countries into "big" and "small", try to isolate and separate them from each other. We also reject the views of those who, under the slogan of struggle against the "policy of blocs", seek to place on the same level the aggressive military organisation of international imperialism and the defensive community of socialist states.*

We must fight with utmost determination and political courage against the different attempts of the imperialists to weaken and disrupt our ranks. It is necessary to step up the struggle against bourgeois ideas infiltrating our ranks, against revisionist and dogmatic views which distort the principles of Marxism-Leninism and lead people onto a false path. *Of the bourgeois views, the nationalist views, particularly the form of nationalism expressed in anti-Sovietism, are unquestionably the most dangerous for our movement.*

Dear comrades, we cannot but mention what is now the chief concern of the international working-class movement and one of the prime issues complicating the international situation. *Our draft documents make no mention of the policy of the Chinese leaders on the consideration that in the documents of the Meeting we should refrain from criticising individual Parties.* Nevertheless, when we speak of the anti-imperialist struggle and strengthening our unity, we cannot but consider the incontrovertible fact that today the policy of the Chinese leaders and their supporters is a serious obstacle to our striving for unity and that it greatly complicates and hampers the struggle against imperialism.

*Objectively, the present policy of the Chinese leaders is the greatest boon to international imperialism, it brings it advantages and inspires it with hope.*

It goes without saying that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party regrets that this situation has arisen as regards the Communist Party of China. But principles must not be sacrificed, and we cannot remain neutral either. In the given case it is a matter not of a discussion between two Parties or of some secondary question but of the general line of the international communist movement, of our struggle. That is why the Central Committee of our Party has again resolutely denounced the petty-bourgeois pseudo-radicalism, aspirations for hegemony, divisive activity, nationalism, anti-Sovietism, armed border provocations, the entire harmful political course of the Chinese leaders.

We continue to entertain sincere sentiments of friendship for and solidarity with the Chinese people who are now undergoing a grave tragedy. *We believe that the gains of socialism will not be lost in China, that the Chinese people with their great revolutionary traditions will be able to overcome the difficulties and rejoin our common struggle.* This above all conforms to the interests of the Chinese people themselves and also of all the forces and champions of progress. As for the hopes of imperialism, we must bury them, and, notwithstanding all the difficulties created by the Mao line, strengthen the cohesion of the Parties of the international communist movement, of the socialist countries in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Dear comrades, it goes without saying that the imperialists pin definite hopes on the differences between countries of the world socialist system and in the ranks of the international communist movement.

Acting as unsolicited advocates of "progressive socialism", "independence" and "sovereignty" the imperialists resort to military force, economic pressure, flirtation, outright slander and clandestine subversive activity to undermine our ranks. They would like to separate the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties from each other, but chiefly and above all from the Soviet Union which, from the moment of its birth, has been the main impediment to imperialist plans. *Its military might, political and moral prestige serve as the chief obstacle making it impossible for the imperialists to unleash another world war without the risk of hastening the hour of their doom.* The imperialists are compelled to reckon with the imposing strength of the Soviet Union; similarly, all the progressive forces should properly understand the role of the main bulwark of socialism and peace.

There is no Communist or Workers' Party whose history is not inseparably linked with the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the rise of Leninism, the activities of Lenin, who elaborated the ideological and organisational principles of the revolutionary Party of the contemporary working class, the party of a new type. *There is no socialist country which can say that its existence does not depend on the first socialist state, just as there is no country whose stable prospects of socialist development and security are not protected by the existence, internationalist policy and might of the Soviet Union.*

We often stress that all the Parties of the international communist movement, all the countries of the socialist world system are equal. This is really so, and this is a good thing. But recently little has been said about the fact that *although we are equal, we have an unequal responsibility and burden.* For, measured by any standard, *the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, which have equal rights with us and do not lay claim to more, bear an immeasurably greater responsibility than any of us.* Disinterestedly, acting in the spirit of internationalism, they have made, and are making, greater sacrifices than anyone else in the interests of communism, the freedom of the nations, for the prevention of a world war and for a happy future for mankind.

Those who share our ideology, the millions of workers and other working people throughout the world, have always had respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet people. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, by their victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution and by everything they have achieved since then *have assumed the progressive, honourable and at the same time very difficult mission of pioneer and the attendant privations and sacrifices, and have always worthily discharged that mission.*

To appreciate that mission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Land of Soviets, is not merely a question of emotion. It is a question closely linked with the agenda of our Meeting, with the struggle against imperialism, with our unity.

In the mortal combat with imperialism, in the struggle of the two world systems—capitalism and socialism—it is vital to strengthen our unity and confront imperialism with a solid front of socialist countries and Communist and Workers' Parties. *A correct, principled attitude to the Soviet Union is*



*a prime question of our unity, internationalism and cohesion of all the anti-imperialist forces.*

Dear comrades, I would like to refer to a great event in the life of the international communist movement which we will mark next year, *the centenary of the birth of the immortal Lenin*. We approve the propositions of the draft document in connection with this memorable date. It seems to us that all are in agreement that we can observe this great anniversary most fittingly by our revolutionary deeds, maintaining loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, faithfully following the Leninist teaching and strengthening the unity of our movement. In our work we must utilise everything Lenin left by his life and activity as a legacy to us, Communists, in order to advance further along the path blazed for the international working class, the peoples and all mankind by the Russian revolution, which he led.

Dear comrades, during the months of preparations for the present Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and in these days we have made a big step forward. The fraternal Parties which came to this Meeting unanimously recognise *the urgent necessity for further strengthening the political cohesion and unity of action of the international communist and working-class movement*. This is a paramount demand conforming to the common interests of our movement, of each fraternal Party and the international working class.

Unity can be achieved only on a voluntary basis, and it is created by joint purposeful efforts. It cannot be imposed from the outside. But it is necessary — such is the imperative of the time. *We do not think that unity on every question of interest to all can be attained in one day, but it is beyond doubt that if we work persistently our efforts will be crowned with success.*

We have arrived at the unanimous conclusion that in order to reinforce the anti-imperialist struggle, it is necessary, as well as uniting the Communist and Workers' Parties, to *unite all the anti-imperialist forces*. A requisite for this is the energetic activity and initiative of the fraternal Parties. Our Parties sincerely strive for co-operation with all who are prepared to work for social progress, national independence and peace. We propose an equal alliance to all who understand that the anti-imperialist solidarity of the peoples rests on defending the vitally important interests of the working people, of all mankind.

Esteemed Meeting,

Dear comrades, in conclusion I would like to emphasise once more that *the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party agrees with the submitted draft documents, considers them fully acceptable and recommends that the Meeting approve them.*

We are aware that the adoption and publication of documents which summarise and expound our positions are a highly important step forward, but there still remains much to do. After this Meeting our Parties will tackle the actual work of implementing the propositions enunciated in the documents. We are convinced that if subsequently we work as we did to convene the present Meeting, the results will soon be forthcoming.

Today, the eyes of people the world over, both of our friends and our foes, are turned to Moscow, to the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Let then the Meeting justify the hopes of Communists and other

progressive people of the world, the hopes associated with this international forum. *In conclusion I can assure the representatives of the fraternal Parties that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, that all Hungarian Communists are aware of their responsibility and are prepared to work and fight for the success of our common cause in close unity with all the fraternal Parties.*

Thank you.

## RODOLFO GHIOLDI

Member of Central Committee Executive,  
Communist Party of Argentina

Comrades,

On behalf of the Argentine Communist Party delegation, I declare our full agreement with the Main Document and with each of its four sections. I believe that the Document continues the good tradition of the unanimously approved 1957 and 1960 statements of the Communist and Workers' Parties. By applying Marxism-Leninism to the new situations and phenomena of the present decade, the draft formulates scientifically grounded conclusions and outlines a broad plan of anti-imperialist struggle. I take pleasure in mentioning these statements because they are part of our great treasure-store, and excellent examples of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The draft reaffirms that the chief contradiction is that between imperialism and the socialist world system. This refutes the erroneous view that the chief contradiction is between imperialism and the so-called Third World. That view is supposed to further the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle for national liberation; actually, it deprives that struggle of its genuine historic aims, since it tends to sever its contacts with the socialist world system and the international working class, its supporter and guarantor. This is corroborated by theory, by the Marxist-Leninist classics and by historical practice. For evidence will show that the great battles the colonial and semi-colonial peoples fought prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution ended in serious defeats because capitalism held sway throughout the world. But the first Russian revolution of 1905 already began to exert a strong and very beneficial influence on the East, and after the emergence of the first proletarian state insurgent oppressed peoples scored one victory after another. Imperialism could no longer deal with them as it saw fit: the anti-imperialist struggle had the support of the Land of the Great October.

In pointing out that in these years the contradiction between imperialism and the socialist system has become more profound, the draft notes growing imperialist rivalry and shows that new features in the capitalist system—continued development of state-monopoly capitalism and concentration, powered in part by extra-economic stimuli, and monopoly regulation arrangements—cannot check the spontaneous forces at work in the capitalist market. The draft also indicates that in this age of transition to socialism, imperialism directs its main blow at socialism, the national liberation movement and the

working class, but the sharpest thrust is against the socialist countries. This is all the more understandable because, as the draft says, the socialist world system is the decisive anti-imperialist force. The proposition that defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of all Communists, in whatever part of the world, is inseparable from Marxism-Leninism, indeed one of its cardinal elements. The draft emphasises the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism in contrast to the tendency, a few years ago, to embellish imperialism and idealise its institutions, such as the European Common Market, as the embodiment of "organic capitalism".

The draft reaffirms that the building of socialism, though assuming diverse specific forms, is based on common laws valid for all countries. This requires heightened vigilance on the part of all adherents of proletarian internationalism. The draft draws attention to the dangers fraught in national narrowness and its sequel, nationalism. It emphasises the role of the working class as the chief anti-imperialist force in capitalist countries, and thus refutes the view that that role is played by non-proletarian social groups. It singles out the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the entire anti-imperialist movement. And closely kindred with this thought is another, namely, that of all anti-imperialist trends only Marxism-Leninism can give a scientific and consistently revolutionary analysis of imperialism and the problems involved in combating it. The draft speaks of the new forces that are joining the anti-imperialist front, particularly the youth and the students, but also emphasises the need to expose the pseudo-revolutionary views which various groups are inculcating in these new forces. Reverting to the proposition set out in earlier statements, the draft indicates that the anti-imperialist movement does not renounce any particular form of struggle: it chooses forms that do or do not involve civil war, depending on the situation. Such is the attitude of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's position on this issue was determined by two principles: first, the Party must not bind itself to one form of struggle and, second, forms of struggle must be treated in their historical context. In relation to Latin America, the draft indicates that imperialism, jointly with the oligarchic forces, is engineering coups d'état and supporting military dictatorships. The imperialist press itself has been obliged to admit this. *Newsweek* of April 14, 1969, says that since the inauguration of the Alliance for Progress there have been nine coups in Latin America. To this should be added that their perpetrators were trained by the US army at centres in the US and Panama. According to *Time* of December 27, 1968, three of every four Latin Americans live under a military regime.

The October Revolution had a tremendous impact on the development of the Latin American revolutionary movement, and it can be said that its influence continues to grow. The Soviet Union and the socialist world system are a beacon illuminating the path of every liberation movement.

Fortunately for mankind, the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, in discussing Lenin's proposal for an armed uprising made in September 1917, repudiated the minority which opposed an uprising. The Central Committee meeting on October 10 (23), 1917, supported Lenin's proposal for an armed uprising by 10 votes to 2. The enlarged meeting of the Central Committee on October 16 (29) confirmed that historic decision by 19 votes to 2 with 4 abstentions. In

violation of elementary organisational principles, the minority, far from submitting to the majority decision, committed the infamous act of revealing preparation of the uprising in the Menshevik press. The Great October Revolution triumphed, and now, in this hall, we are able to discuss the problems of anti-imperialist strategy.

There is no underestimating the gains of the world revolutionary movement. And they are working under a delusion who, in an attempt to revise our Parties' fundamental principles, paint a gloomy picture of the development of socialism and the revolutionary struggle and a glowing picture of capitalism, as if socialism and the revolution were in a bad way, or were not doing very well, whereas things were going splendidly with the bourgeoisie. In this past period the socialist world system, the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation movement and the fight for peace, have prevented imperialism from unleashing a third world war. Israel's infamous "six-day war" against the Arab countries did not escalate into a seven-day or longer war because the Soviet Union and nearly all the socialist countries brought the aggressor to a halt, thereby foiling the insidious plans of imperialism and the Zionist oligarchy to suppress the progressive and anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East and turn the area into a seat of war and reaction. The world revolutionary forces did not allow Egypt and Syria to be defeated. The socialist world system has been developing at a much faster rate than the capitalist countries. Socialism plays a bigger role in world affairs. Socialist Cuba has consolidated its position despite threats, provocation and boycott by the US imperialist government. Such are some of the achievements of the anti-imperialist movement. As a result of all this there are much better conditions for struggle in the capitalist countries. The draft is fully justified in saying that imperialism no longer determines the course of events and cannot alter the balance of world strength. However, imperialist intrigue and conspiracies can lead to very grave situations if—as we have seen only recently—the revolutionaries relax their vigilance. Imperialism is now employing more subtle methods of anti-communist subversion and does not hesitate to use a Left image in order to penetrate our ranks and continue its work from within. Did not Milyukov "defend" the Soviets, but without Bolsheviks? Last year a sub-committee of the US House of Representatives recommended the appropriate US agencies to use Left, even ultra Left, anti-communist elements in fighting Latin American Communist Parties.

The development of the general crisis of capitalism is bringing once passive forces into the struggle, and a broad anti-monopoly programme could bring them into joint action. They will come with their illusions and prejudices, with their lack of experience, and the Communists will be playing the role of revolutionary teachers, re-training them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, doing so patiently and sincerely in the course of joint action. But we shall be doing them a poor service indeed if we refrain from repelling the drivellers who tell the students that they must fight the Communist Party which, they say, has become "senile"; if we do not repel those who use demagogic flattery to instil in the students the idea that they are the barometers of the revolution; if we allow generation-gap slogans based on the views of Ortega y Gasset to take root. Student unrest in various parts of the world has big democratic

and revolutionary implications. In this context, I would recall that in Argentina the movement for university reform, which later spread to many Latin American countries, began in 1918, and that the first leaflets concluded with the words: "Long live the Russian Revolution!", "Down with the war!".

At that time the students at Cordoba and the Communist-led provincial Workers' Federation formed an alliance. And it is gratifying to know that in the struggle now being waged in Cordoba, workers and students stand shoulder to shoulder in the streets against the police and the army.

The draft warns against deviations towards Right and Left opportunism. The Communists reject the false concept that draws no distinction between the two blocs. They reject the advocacy of non-alignment, concepts that tend to minimise the revolutionary forces and exaggerate imperialism's potential, and subjectivist voluntarism. Communists reject the views propounded by a certain Yugoslav academician that scientific progress puts an end to ideology and that internationalism does not presuppose the victory of one social system over the other. Some erroneous views are reflected in foreign policy attitudes, for example, in efforts to curry favour with the Bonn rulers.

The superiority of socialism over capitalism is becoming more tangible in every sphere, and particularly in the development of democracy. The liquidation of capitalism and emancipation from bourgeois oppression made the proletarian state, from its very inception, a million times more democratic than the most respectable bourgeois democracy. The consolidation of socialism and the building of communism are attended by extension of democracy, and this has found eloquent expression in the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Imperialist "Sovietologists" are trying in vain to discredit this trait of socialism. All these appeals for "pure democracy" are a favourite weapon in imperialism's anti-communist "psychological warfare". Lenin often referred to Engels' well-known remark that "pure democracy" is the last straw to which any bourgeois or even feudal regime will cling. Engels wrote: "In 1848, from March to September, the whole feudal-bureaucratic mass supported the liberals in order to keep the revolutionary masses in submission... At any rate, during a crisis and on the day after it our only adversary will be the *entire reactionary mass united around pure democracy* and this, I believe, must never be lost sight of" (Letter to Bebel, December 11-12, 1844). The events of 1968 have fully confirmed this prediction of Engels.

The national element is not something self-contained; it is dialectically linked with the international and, as is always the case in such inter-connections, the international cannot be sacrificed to the national. In oppressed and dependent countries, the national struggle slogan has a powerful revolutionary impact. At the same time, however, the 1960 Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties gives us a profound analysis of cases when inclination towards bourgeois nationalism manifests itself in the class struggle as an attempt to reach a compromise or agreement with imperialism. Basing himself on the theoretical tenets of Marxism-Leninism, Dimitrov could declare, at the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist International, that proletarian internationalism must be rooted in native soil, that socialism is the salvation of the nation, and that the proletarian class struggle acquires national forms.

However, the communist struggle against manifestations of national nihilism in no way implies that nihilism can be allowed in our internationalist attitude. But those who absolutise national specifics, who elevate the partial, local to a universal category and try to impose it on all the rest are sliding into such nihilism. The attempt to "Sinoise" the world is an obvious example of rabid chauvinism, and that is what we have in Maoism.

This problem has a special relevance for us Argentine Communists, inasmuch as in our own struggle it is important to rescue the workers and the masses generally from the influence of bourgeois nationalism, notably Peronism. National narrowness is the road to defeat.

Lenin urged Communists everywhere to take close account of the distinctive features and conditions of their countries. Replying to Serrati, who accused the Russian comrades of wanting to impose their pattern on others, Lenin said this was a fairy tale. Far from wanting others to imitate, "we want the very opposite", he said, for the Italian revolution will proceed in a different way. In condemning Lazzari for the Reggio Emilia deal with the reformists, Lenin remarked that the reformists were Italian, not Russian, Mensheviks.

But at the same time, Lenin insisted on the world-wide relevance of Bolshevism, urging Communists of other countries to draw on its theoretical and practical experience in order to be able correctly to approach and solve the problems of their own revolution.

The general laws of revolution and socialism operate in each country through concrete national phenomena. And it would be wrong to say that they are not applicable in certain circumstances. The Communist Manifesto does not ignore national peculiarities, but never did its authors maintain that it could be suitable for one country and not suitable for another. To retreat from proletarian internationalism and from the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism on the plea that there are inimitable peculiarities—sometimes called "new models"—is to set out on a false path. And the very first step on that path leads to disuniting the very concept of Marxism-Leninism, counterposing its two elements, renouncing Lenin's contribution on the pretext that it is purely the product of Russian reality. The petty bourgeois on the La Plata maintains that he is a Marxist, but not a Marxist-Leninist, because Leninism, in his view, is merely a national Russian phenomenon. The communist movement does not today need an international centre. But it does not follow that internationalism has lost its *raison d'être*. With a Communist International or without it, through bilateral or multilateral meetings, proletarian internationalism retains all its viability and strength, for it is an essential and important condition of the communist movement. Petty-bourgeois groups try to justify their anti-internationalism by claiming that they want a national communism. In other words, they are justifying it in the name of bourgeois nationalism. That has been the method of the fascists: German fascism officially designated its party as the National-Socialist Labour Party.

We cannot agree with the Australian delegation's proposal to deal with, and sign, only Section Three of the Main Document. The characteristic feature of this Meeting is free and democratic participation and co-operation of

Communist and Workers' Parties. Its purpose is to adopt, after the necessary discussion, the Main Document and other statements. It would be advisable and desirable for all participants, all delegations, to sign the Main Document. That would greatly facilitate full unity of the world's Communists. The draft is an integral, inter-connected document; the third section is insolubly connected with its theoretical substantiation, set out in the three sections we were asked to delete. The Australian comrade has ruthlessly attacked Sections One, Two and Four, citing among other reasons that they are theoretically weak, superficial and hollow. But instead of proposing something theoretically more profound, he simply suggests leaving only Section Three, and vastly abridged at that. But Section Three is, so to say, the practical part of the draft. We are therefore asked to indulge in undisguised and unmitigated pragmatism.

Communists sincerely want to join with other anti-imperialist forces in large-scale united actions. They believe that ideological differences with possible allies are no obstacle to mutual understanding for joint struggle. But that does not mean that they renounce their views on the anti-imperialist struggle, or that they abandon their other goals. And proceeding from that attitude, they are prepared to join their will with the will of others. If we were to confine ourselves to discussing the problems only in the light of Section Three, that would be humiliating ideological abdication.

The communist movement has always supported a united anti-imperialist front, while fully retaining its political and ideological identity. I shall cite only a few instances: the great Congress of the Peoples of the East, convened on Bolshevik initiative in Baku in 1920; the 1927 World Anti-Imperialist Congress in Brussels held with the support and participation of Ghandi, Nehru, Sukarno, Romain Rolland and other prominent personalities; the American Anti-Imperialist League of the 1920s, whose participants included outstanding Communist leaders, of whom I shall name Mella of Cuba; the 1961 Latin-American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace, which met in Mexico and declared in its final statement: "We are not alone", a direct allusion to the socialist countries.

I would add that at the Brussels Congress the Latin American delegation advanced these demands: against dictatorships, those accomplices of imperialism; for nationalisation of industry and land distribution; absolute freedom for Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other colonies; repeal of the Platt amendment; withdrawal of American troops from Haiti and Nicaragua; independence for Panama. In none of these instances did the Communists renounce their theoretical views or their independence.

And so, we reject the Australian proposal. Nor do we agree with the proposal that the Meeting discuss only questions which have the support of all delegations without exception, in other words, that we apply the unanimity principle used in some cases in the Security Council. But this world communist conference has nothing in common with the Security Council. It does not represent a single centre, though this does not mean that it is being conducted anarchistically, or that the minority can impose its opinion on the majority. But that is precisely what would happen if we were to accept the unanimity principle, when one dissenting vote could disrupt all our work. That is not a democratic



procedure; democratic procedure presupposes free and open discussion followed by formulation of decisions that reflect the majority opinion.

Maoism is not a variety of Marxism-Leninism, but an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist trend which, in addition, is working against the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, against world communist unity and against the socialist gains of the heroic Chinese people. Its provocations against the Soviet Union reveal the depths to which it has sunk. And it is important to note that while hurling abuse at the great Land of Soviets, Maoism is flirting with Portuguese fascists in Macao and British capitalists in Hong Kong. Maoism has destroyed the Communist Party in China in order to replace it by a military bureaucracy. I am convinced that the present Meeting will be of fraternal help to the Chinese Marxists-Leninists who live and work in strenuous, tragic conditions.

It is inadmissible to speak of the differences between the Communist Parties of the USSR and China as if both sides are equally responsible. The former is the victim of aggression and the latter the aggressor. But apart from that, how did the Chinese leaders react to the manifestations of good will towards Peking? We know that the Soviet comrades are always prepared to negotiate; this cannot be said of the Maoist leaders. Even now, they not merely rejected the invitation to attend this Meeting, where they could freely put forth their ideas and proposals, but responded with a veritable torrent of invective. They did not come but sent us a message of abuse. Let no one advise us, then, to act in a Christian way and offer the other cheek.

The struggle of the Argentine people is part of the united struggle of all Latin American peoples. Strengthening of the socialist world system is an active factor in our political life. Despite all the machinations of imperialism and reaction, the beneficial influence of the Cuban revolution continues to grow. Its flourishing youth can be seen in the vast achievements in every field. This has evoked a living and spreading response throughout Latin America, especially in view of the ignominious failure of the anti-Cuban Alliance For Progress.

The recent 13th Congress of our Party brought expressions of solidarity from all Communist and Workers' Parties. It emphasised the need for closer ties with fraternal Latin American Parties waging a great and difficult struggle. It especially emphasised its wish for united action with the Communist Party of the United States, for we are convinced our two Parties are fighting, on different fronts, one and the same battle against one and the same enemy. Our Party affirms anew one of its fundamental principles, namely, its indestructible and warm friendship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that reliable and invincible bastion of Marxism-Leninism.

The Vietnamese peoples' heroic struggle is central to the world struggle against imperialism and war. The cause of the Vietnamese is the cause of all peace-loving peoples striving for democracy, national liberation and socialism. The people of the world do not doubt that Vietnam will emerge victorious in its just war and will eject the imperialist invader. The Argentine workers and representatives of all the anti-imperialist forces are intensifying their political, moral and material solidarity with Vietnam. Last year, the Vietnam relief fund amounted to 15 million pesos, or 6 million more than in 1967 and

three times more than in 1966. Our Central Committee has decided to donate 5 per cent of Party income to Vietnam as a token of solidarity. Recently, in Hanoi, we handed over 150 kg. of valuable and much needed medicines and we are now collecting money for a new school in Vietnam.

Argentina is ruled by an unscrupulous fascist-type military dictatorship. It is conducting its terrorist campaign under the "ideological boundaries" doctrine, which alleges that the enemy should be sought at home, that is, in the working class, in the people. More recently the dictatorship has been resorting to wholesale murder in an attempt to stop mass action.

In his opening speech, Comrade Brezhnev noted that our Meeting is being attentively followed by the class enemy, the imperialists of all countries and their henchmen. The Argentine dictatorship did not want to refute this: a decree promulgated on June 4, on the eve of our Meeting, provides for a new formula of criminal offense, under which persons participating in international Communist conferences are liable to 10 years imprisonment. This fresh piece of brutality means that our struggle is becoming more difficult still. At the same time, however, it is proof of the dictatorship's weakness, proof of fear, rather than of strength and confidence. Despite everything, I believe that a good wind is blowing in Argentina, one that favours our struggle for a national democratic front that will open new vistas for a democratic agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, for advance towards socialism.

Forty-eight years ago I had the good fortune to participate in the work of the Third Communist International Congress. I rejoice in the thought that the delegates who at that Congress worked under the immediate guidance of Lenin, would be proud today of our Main Document.

Comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, thank you for your hospitality!

## JAKOB LECHLEITER

Member of Executive and Secretary, Central Committee,  
Swiss Party of Labour

Comrades,

We do not intend to repeat the analysis of imperialism, a subject on which many other comrades have already spoken. We wish to confine our remarks to some aspects of the position in Switzerland and set out our Party's point of view on the problems under discussion at this Meeting.

Since the end of World War II, Switzerland, a highly developed capitalist country, has enjoyed sustained economic stability. Business activity over the past 25 years has been at a high level, producing immense profits for the big capitalist concerns. There is no unemployment, nor have there been any major strikes. Economic stability and a high level of business activity are attributable to the fact that, due to a happy conjuncture of circumstances, Switzerland was not involved in the world war and entered the postwar period with its production apparatus intact. Another factor is the high skill level of our workers and the people generally. And still another is the fact that in the past 150 years Switzerland has not been involved in military conflicts and was able to profit from rehabilitation of war-ravaged countries.

Swiss financial capital has close economic and political ties with the West German and US monopolies. Export of capital and industrial expansion in many areas of the world is a source of additional superprofits. Swiss finance capital has an active share in imperialist exploitation of undeveloped countries. Switzerland has never had any colonies, consequently it has been able to make a handsome profit out of colonial exploitation without having to run the risks that face every colonial power. And today, too, it is not affected by the economic aftermaths of the liberation of Africa and Asia from colonialism. That is why it enjoys—quite unjustly—deep respect among ex-colonial peoples.

The proposition in the Main Document that no capitalist country is free from harsh cyclical economic fluctuations and recessions does not, therefore, apply to Switzerland.

Concentration is proceeding apace in industry and banking. Small, technically backward enterprises are swallowed up by their bigger brethren. Big firms in engineering, electrical engineering and chemicals, are combining to co-ordinate research and production. This steadily increasing coalescence of

industrial and banking capital reaffirms the correctness of Lenin's theory of imperialism and emergence of a financial oligarchy. And it is these forces that largely determine Swiss policy. Our Party's policy is to unite the popular masses to restrict the power of the trusts and monopolies.

A high level of business activity and unemployment in neighbouring countries have increased the influx of foreign labour power. Out of a total of 709,015 industrial workers in 1966, 277,470, or nearly one-third, were foreigners, with a higher proportion in building, textiles and the service industries. The difference is still wider in the case of women workers: 110,761 foreigners to 98,925 Swiss. True, the absolute figures have changed somewhat since then, but the ratio remains the same.

Most of the foreigners come from Italy, but there are sizeable numbers of Spaniards, Germans, Austrians, Greeks, Turks and people of other nationalities. Together, they make up a considerable segment of our proletariat, but are denied all political and democratic rights. Wide use of foreign labour tends to foster chauvinist and nationalist sentiments among the politically less conscious part of the population, because important problems of the infrastructure, primarily housing, posed by this rapid growth of the population, are not being adequately solved.

Big Business refuses to finance such projects and is shifting the burden onto the population by an anti-social tax policy.

All this is deliberately encouraged by the reactionary forces to split the working class. The Swiss Party of Labour is therefore giving priority to safeguarding the interests of these foreign workers and securing equal economic, social and political rights for them. The Party calls on all progressive forces to fight together with the foreign workers, and this, we believe, is a practical example of proletarian internationalism.

The favourable economic situation has, of course, influenced the position of the working people. Without abandoning the drive for maximum profits—actually in order to further increase profits—the capitalists have made certain concessions, for example adjusting wages to meet higher living costs. This helps the reformist trade-union leadership operate its policy of “peace on the shop-floor” and “social partnership”. It also fosters reformist illusions.

But the capitalists are dead set against any concessions that might even slightly infringe on capitalist property, and they obstinately refuse to budge on the demand for worker participation in industry: much-vaunted Swiss democracy ends at the factory gates.

Nor are all Swiss benefiting from the high level of business activity—hundreds of thousands have no share in it whatever. Living costs are steadily rising; the housing shortage continues, primarily because of the fantastic land speculation; rents have never been so high.

Economic stability is attended by a political stability probably unknown in any other capitalist country. For many years now, the Social Democrats have, under our plurality system, been in the government—they hold two ministerial portfolios. But like the trade unions, they are committed to a policy of “social peace”.

As a result of our so-called direct democracy, political struggle is largely

confined to parliamentary methods, referendums on certain issues, and legislative proposals. One such referendum was held on June 1, after a vigorous campaign by the students, and rejected a parliamentary law envisaging preservation of the patently obsolete structure of our higher technical schools.

Its outcome was decided only by the male population, since women enjoy the franchise only in 5 of our 22 cantons.

Our Party utilises every opportunity of this direct-democracy procedure to work for reform in the interests of the working people and endeavours to combine parliamentary with extra-parliamentary activity. And it has made considerable headway in this respect. Right now we are conducting a broad nation-wide campaign to overhaul the pension system, for social maintenance of our senior citizens is manifestly inadequate. All this has won the Party support, as evidenced by its election successes in recent years.

In common with other countries, there is a process of radicalisation among students, vocational school trainees and young workers. Its causes should be sought in the hopelessly outdated educational system, from primary school to the university, which does not meet even the rudimentary requirements of the technological revolution. However, these young people are coming to realise that the reforms they want are not achievable in a capitalist society and the economic conditions it creates. This is leading them to question the efficacy of capitalism and increasingly to turn their attention to socialism. And as in other capitalist countries, there is a good deal of ideological confusion. It is therefore important for our Party patiently and persistently to inject clarity on ideological issues and, first of all, promote the understanding among students and intellectuals that their only chance of success is to fight shoulder to shoulder with the workers.

The Party is campaigning for partial demands, but also for thoroughgoing reform; it is working to safeguard and extend the people's democratic rights; fighting to eliminate or lessen the burden of military spending, etc.

Ours is the only real opposition party. It is fighting for socialism basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, for a socialism founded on the great democratic traditions of the people.

For a small country like Switzerland, situated moreover in the very heart of Europe, the struggle for peace is a vital issue. Switzerland is a neutral country, and this calls for stringent observance of genuine state-political neutrality; an effective and constructive policy of peace initiatives; recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic; support for atom-free zones in Europe; immediate signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and, lastly, abandonment of the wild arms drive which accords with the strategic requirements of NATO and other Western blocs.

In the face of West German militarism, revanchism and neo-nazism, a European security system would be of first-rate importance for Switzerland. That is why we welcome the Budapest statement of the Warsaw Treaty nations calling for the dissolution of military blocs, and the Finnish initiative for a European security conference. We are urging our government to support that initiative and actively share in the preparation of the conference. Switzerland would thus

be significantly contributing to the preservation of peace. Our Party has consistently advocated such a policy in parliament and in the country, for it is the only policy that accords with the fundamental interests of our people.

The Swiss have always had a strong feeling of solidarity. And that is so today, too, with the wide movement in support of the heroic Vietnamese people in their fight for independence and freedom. Well to the fore in this, along with Party members, is our youth. There have also been powerful protest demonstrations against the colonels' dictatorship in Greece and in solidarity with the Spanish people. Spanish and Greek workers had an active part in these demonstrations.

The 9th Congress of the Swiss Party of Labour adopted this resolution on the struggle against imperialism:

"Faced with the sharpening class struggle of oppressed peoples and exploited classes, capitalism is increasingly resorting to violence, fascism and the threat and use of armed aggression. In this situation, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, which the Party considers a priority task, retains all its importance. But it must be tied in with support of all liberation movements and with efforts to expose, isolate and combat imperialism. The effectiveness of this struggle depends on the unity of the socialist system and of the international working-class movement."

Comrades, we believe that this unity must be achieved. And it can be achieved only through strict adherence to the fundamental principles we have jointly formulated, observance of which our Party regards as its bounden duty—assuring the independence and right to self-determination of peoples and states; the right of each Communist Party to define its policy, activity and road to socialism in accordance with proletarian internationalism, the concrete situation in its country and its militant traditions, and without interference by other Parties. Any violation of these principles will produce new difficulties, will lead to differences and splits, and will damage the entire international workers' movement.

Proceeding from this principled position, we rejected the attitude and actions of the Chinese Party, especially its interference in the affairs of other Parties and its attempts to engineer a split.

Similarly, proceeding from these same principles, we cannot approve the action of the five Warsaw Treaty countries in relation to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This does not imply interference in the internal affairs of another Party. Such events concern the whole movement.

We realise that, considering the wide differences between conditions and the levels of development in various countries, restoration of full unity will be a long and difficult process. We are aware of the difficulties and believe we should carefully, in a scientific way, examine the reasons for our differences and find ways and means of resolving them. Accordingly, we support the proposal on this subject put forward by the Belgian comrades.

We urge all fraternal Parties to do everything they can to avoid aggravating the situation by emotional polemics, and to help moderate the differences.

Comrades, proletarian internationalism and defence of socialism and the socialist countries, which, of course, is a natural obligation, cannot be inter-

puted to mean that every Party is under obligation automatically to welcome every measure of one of these Parties or states. For we realise that in the vast and difficult work of building the new social system there are likely to be mistakes and setbacks alongside victories and achievements. These are questions which the Parties concerned should discuss in a comradely atmosphere. Not every kind of criticism should be considered anti-Soviet and anti-socialist; it can be an expression of fraternal unity.

Comrades, on June 1 our Central Committee examined the draft which the Preparatory Committee has submitted to this Meeting. We highly appreciate the new method of preparing our Meeting through broad collective and comradely discussion, and heartily thank all comrades who contributed to this work. We are especially grateful to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for providing such good conditions for our Meeting.

The fact that 5 of the 14 socialist countries are not participating in this Meeting, and also the absence of a number of other Parties, indicates that, at this time, it is impossible to draw up a comprehensive document that would serve as a scientifically-grounded political and ideological basis for all Parties. However, we think that this Meeting is an important stage in overcoming our differences.

Our Party would have preferred a shorter and more propaganda-oriented document with the accent on practical anti-imperialist actions, similar to what we have in Section Three. We also think that some of the formulations are too general and are open to different interpretations; to avoid this, they should be re-formulated. Section Two, in our view, contains a number of formulations that tend to idealise relations between Parties of the socialist countries in a way that does not correspond to present realities, and, in the best of cases, can only be regarded as a wish for the future.

Our Central Committee, therefore, has instructed our delegation to insist on some of the amendments made in the Preparatory Committee and support the appropriate amendments of other Parties with a view to improving the Document. Our final position on the Document will depend on the adoption of these amendments.

We support the "Appeal in Defence of Peace" and the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!". Needless to say, our Party will fittingly celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin. Lenin lived and worked for a long time in Switzerland and exerted a considerable influence on the development of our socialist workers' movement.

Comrades, documents and resolutions are one thing, but even the very best documents can only be a guide to action. Our Party considers itself an inalienable component of the world communist movement. We are deeply attached to the Soviet Union, the first state to have changed the very image of the world, and to the community of socialist states, to all peoples battling for freedom.

We assure you that we will not evade our internationalist duty and will do everything in our power to contribute to the unity of our great communist movement in the fight against imperialism.

We can assess the significance of our work in Switzerland. But we know that every fresh achievement of the socialist countries helps our struggle, and that every achievement of another Party strengthens our Party.

That is why we welcome the delegations of all the fraternal Parties and through them, their peoples.



**WILLIAM KASHTAN**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Communist Party of Canada**

Our Party and many progressive people in Canada welcome the fact that this conference is taking place. The Communist Party of Canada has long pressed for such a world gathering as an urgent necessity, both to assess the march of events since 1960 and the new problems that have been posed by history, and to consolidate the unity of the international communist movement.

The fact that it is being held is of great historical moment. The enemies of peace and socialism hoped it would not take place. Their hopes have not been realised. Now that it is on, they hope nothing will come out of it, that unity will not be achieved. We are confident, however, that their hopes will be dashed again, and that all of us, conscious of the great responsibility we bear before the peoples of our countries and the working class of the world, will work to assure the success of this conference and not allow temporary differences to stand in the way.

Our Party is in full agreement with the Main Document before us. It was unanimously endorsed by our Central Committee following our 20th National Convention in April, which by resolution instructed the Central Committee "to work for the success of the international conference". We believe the Main Document correctly assesses present-day phenomena in their complexity and contradictions, the strategy of imperialism, and the tasks and responsibilities confronting us at this stage. We believe it will help to overcome tendencies, which have arisen, to one-sided interpretation of some questions related to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and will thereby make the work of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the coming period more effective.

We cannot agree with the viewpoint that only one part of the Document should be adopted. We believe a correct rounded-out analysis of imperialism and its strategy at this stage is fundamental to reaching appropriate conclusions with respect to the tasks we must undertake. Nor can we agree with the viewpoint which fails to take into account and draw all the necessary conclusions from the global strategy of US imperialism and its allies, their efforts to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the Communist Parties, to separate them, weaken them from within and lay the groundwork for the restoration of capitalism in one country after another, and the threat this poses to world

peace. Any complacency in this regard would seriously weaken the forces capable of resisting and checking imperialist aggression.

Differences in estimating the aims of imperialism and the relationship of forces on a world scale lead to different conclusions for action and undermine the cohesiveness of the world communist movement. Our Party agrees with the analysis on this question in the Main Document. This is the basis for our support of the conclusions arrived at, as it is the basis for our well-known position with respect to the events in Czechoslovakia. Our Party Congress expressed full support and solidarity with the present leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the steps it is taking to normalize the situation and strengthen socialism.

In the face of US global strategy we see the maximum co-ordination of action by all Communist and Workers' Parties as a prime necessity. Any other position would be narrow-minded in the extreme. Any thought of "going it alone" in face of imperialism's "bridge building" and subversion, on the assumption that it would bring some immediate gains to this or that Party, is indeed a shortsighted policy which will help neither the Party concerned in the long run, nor the anti-imperialist struggle.

One should have no illusions about the peaceableness of imperialism. Imperialism will only negotiate seriously given unity and cohesion of the socialist states and all anti-imperialist forces.

The international tasks projected in the Main Document fully correspond to the national tasks of our Party. Indeed, most of the points in it are also embodied in the main resolution of our 20th Convention. That is only natural, for how can there be a conflict of interests between national and international tasks in the face of the global strategy of imperialism?

The defeat of this strategy is an essential prerequisite for assuring the peace, independence and sovereignty of Canada, as it is for other nations. Every setback for US imperialism strengthens the patriotic and peace forces in our country.

Guided by this our Party has, over the years, placed at the centre of its work the struggle for real Canadian independence, including the adoption of a truly independent foreign policy for our country. The growing crisis of imperialism and with it a sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions have created more favourable conditions for this. Thus the growing pressure of Canadian public opinion to extricate Canada from the suffocating embrace of American imperialism has compelled our government to begin a review of its foreign policy with respect to Latin America, China, Africa and its commitments to NATO. Of course this also partially reflects the efforts of sections of Canadian monopoly to exploit contradictions between imperialist states to their own advantage.

As is already known, the Canadian government announced that it has decided to carry out a phased and controlled withdrawal of a part of its armed forces from the NATO alliance in West Germany. However, it was quick to add that the number of troops to be withdrawn and the timing of the withdrawal was subject to consultation with its allies. Even this timid step was sharply attacked by the American, British and West German governments, which are fearful that this example might be followed by other NATO countries. They

are striving to compel the Canadian government to retreat from its stated position. This is flagrant interference in Canadian affairs, an attempt to deny the Canadian people their sovereign right to determine the foreign policy of their country. This pressure from foreign states coincides with the efforts of the industrial-military complex in Canada which is closely related to the US military-industrial complex, to tie the country permanently to NATO and the NORAD military alliance, to the Washington-Bonn war axis as a means of securing war orders from the United States and Bonn at the price of the sovereignty and independence of our country. This same industrial-military complex is pressing the government to acquiesce in President Nixon's Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM Safeguard) system, which opens the door to a nuclear arms race and directly threatens Canada with destruction in the event of war.

The review announced by the Canadian government does not add up to adoption of an independent foreign policy in the interests of Canada. This has yet to be won. The government seems to veer in favour of "continental defence" as a substitute for an independent foreign policy. This holds real dangers for our country and would further undermine its independence. The Communist Party of Canada opposes such a policy and calls for a truly independent foreign policy along the following lines: withdrawal from NATO and NORAD and adoption of a policy of military non-alignment; a declaration that Canada is a non-nuclear zone; support for a European security pact and recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the post-war borders in Europe; recognition of one China; recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Democratic Republic of North Korea; support to the 10-point programme of the National Liberation Front as the basis for a just settlement of the war in Vietnam; a political solution of the Near East crisis based on the UN Security Council resolution of November 1967; support to the colonial peoples fighting for their liberation; extension of trade with the socialist and developing countries on a mutual advantageous basis; disarmament.

This programme meets the interests of the Canadian people, strengthens Canada's independence and security and, we believe, is a solid contribution to the world-wide struggle against imperialism.

There is a direct relationship between the struggle against imperialism and the struggle for peaceful coexistence. Some see the struggle for peaceful coexistence as a rejection of the struggle against imperialism; others see the struggle against imperialism as a rejection of the struggle for peaceful coexistence. In reality, there can be no such contradiction. To achieve peaceful coexistence and international détente imperialist aggression must be defeated. The struggle against imperialism and for peaceful coexistence opens up opportunities for the broadest unity to achieve social advance on all fronts. This is the basis for the unity of all the Communist and Workers' Parties and all forces for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress in the world. The strategy of unity advanced by the Main Document will make the forces of progressive humanity invincible.

Our Party sees the working class as the decisive, leading force of the struggle against imperialism. Indeed, without the leadership of the working class no effective struggle can be waged against imperialism, against monopoly. In

Canada the struggle against monopoly is mounting, the class struggle is growing sharper. Every effort of the monopolists and their stooges to build up the concept of "class harmony" and "class partnership", directed to preserve the privileged position of corporate wealth, is collapsing in face of the growing confrontation between labour and capital.

In the recent period, in an effort to disorientate the working class, the apologists of capitalism have tried to convince the workers that the scientific and technological revolution "has made the doctrine of the class struggle obsolete". The workers are repudiating this classless position by their actions. The class struggle of the workers is mounting. Chronic inflation, sharp rises in taxation, a 4 per cent annual increase in prices, high rents and interest rates, increased exploitation, job insecurity and growing unemployment—arising from the scientific and technological revolution—all these have led to growing strike action. There is a new spirit of militancy and consciousness in the working class, in which the young workers are playing an important part. The aims set by the workers are higher. While largely concentrated around wage demands, they are also increasingly taking up the fight for job security. These actions, and others which will follow, are a fitting reply to those who consider the working class a spent bourgeoisified force, unable to fulfil its historic role.

Monopoly is striving to change this situation by anti-labour legislation which would seriously curtail the rights of the workers to defend their vital interests through strike action. This is being pressed for with the specious argument that the working class is too strong and needs to be curbed so as to restore "the balance of power". In this way capitalist propaganda tries to obscure the fact that it is monopoly capital that is *in* power. The working class is answering that propaganda by the demand for a say in regard to technological changes and all other questions affecting its vital interests. The growing monopoly offensive is being met by the growing unity of the workers, expressed among other things in such actions as the removal of the anti-communist clauses from the by-laws of the trade union centre and labour councils, and the growing trend of merger of unions in a number of industries in face of monopoly concentration and the emergence of conglomerates.

The growing strength of the organised industrial working class and its consistent struggle against monopoly has been an important factor in stimulating organisation amongst professional and white-collar workers, as it has indirectly influenced the movement among the youth, particularly student youth, amongst whom anti-imperialist sentiment is rising. At the same time the inexperience of youth attracted by pseudo-revolutionary phrases has tended to separate them from the working class and the Communist Party. Our Party's efforts are directed to unite this movement with the working class, to create among its participants an understanding of the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary process, to bring scientific socialism, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, into the youth and student movement.

The increasing stranglehold of monopoly capital in agriculture, the technical revolution in farming and the chronic agrarian crisis, including the problem of markets, are calling forth a new wave of struggle and unity amongst masses of farmers. The process of differentiation is growing in the countryside with the

wealthy farmers aligned with monopoly and the masses of working farmers beginning to turn to labour-farmer unity for effective struggle against the monopolies. A new significant development is the movement to establish an all-Canadian farmers' union through which the working farmers could defend their interests.

These movements and struggles against monopoly capital and its policies are augmented by widespread sentiments and actions for peace and around democratic issues, for civil and labour rights and particularly the demand of the French-Canadian nation for their right to national self-determination. The demand for control of their national state in Quebec within a reconstructed federal Canadian state is laying the basis for uniting the national democratic forces of French Canada with the working people of English Canada in the common struggle against US and Canadian monopoly. The opposition to the American domination of the Canadian economy and foreign policy has become a major factor of Canadian politics.

It is around the issue of Vietnam that opposition to the US dirty war has been most strongly expressed. Both moral and economic factors are involved here. The Canadian people have felt the economic effects of that war in inflation and rising prices, in a distortion of the international balance of payments, and a currency crisis which could lead to devaluation of the Canadian dollar. At the same time moral revulsion against US aggression has brought new sections of people, young and old, into opposition to US policies and strengthened the demand that the government publicly repudiate these policies, that Canada adopt a truly independent foreign policy. It is this sentiment which has prevented the US government and its supporters in Canada from stopping the entry of draft resisters and deserters from the US armed forces, into Canada. It is no accidental that it was in Canada that the Hemispheric Conference against the War in Vietnam took place. Nor is it accidental that considerable material and medical aid has come from the Canadian people to assist the National Liberation Front in its just struggle. Not always clearly, those Canadians see in the Vietnam struggle an assist to their own struggle against US imperialism. For the Canadian people the struggle for peace and independence is in reality one struggle.

All these movements reflecting the desire for deep-going change create the basis for an anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist coalition, led by the working class. This is what our Party is striving to achieve in its work to bring about fundamental social change in Canada. We recognise that this is an intricate and complex process and that a major responsibility falls upon the shoulders of our Party—to help unite these various currents, strengthen its own influence and organised strength, and imbue the working class with consciousness of the role it must play. Here, neither impatience nor adventurism, or adaptation to capitalist pressures will serve the interests of the working class. It requires firmness in principle questions and the utmost flexibility in tactics, to accomplish these aims.

Lenin many years ago emphasised that the most important task before Communist Parties in the capitalist countries is to search after the forms of transition or the approach to the proletarian revolution. We are guided by this in our work to bring about a democratic alliance which could take Canada on

the high road to socialism. Therefore we see no contradiction between these national tasks and our international responsibilities as outlined in the Main Document before us.

The divisions in the international communist movement have created many problems for our Party and the international movement. The only one who has benefited from all this has been imperialism, which plays upon and inflames nationalism as a means of undermining the unity of action of Communist and Workers' Parties and of the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.

Our party is deeply concerned about the actions taken by the Maoist group to split the international communist movement. The Maoists speak about fighting imperialism but in their daily practice and in their basic policies split the forces which can effectively oppose imperialism.

We are equally concerned about their territorial ambitions. Our 20th National Convention sharply condemned the provocation perpetrated by the Maoists on the Soviet-Chinese border as contrary to all ordinary relations between states let alone to socialist internationalism. This going over from polemics to military provocation, from ideological struggle to state actions, shows how far the Maoists have departed from their commitments and responsibilities to the socialist community and the cause of peace and socialism throughout the world. Their adventurist position on the main questions of war, peace and revolution further underwritten in their 9th Congress are anti-Leninist. Maoism is an anti-Leninist disorder, an expression of petty-bourgeois nationalism. It is a departure from Marxism-Leninism which they have replaced by Maoism. This opportunism masked with Left phrases is a negation of proletarian internationalism, a form of virulent anti-Sovietism, and in the final analysis strikes at the very foundations of socialism.

We are confident that the Chinese Communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, and the Chinese people, will eventually assert themselves. Marxism-Leninism will sooner or later win out in its contest with Mao's petty-bourgeois nationalism. The place of China is with the socialist camp, with the world communist movement, with all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, independence and socialism. The defeat of Maoism, ideologically, on an international scale, the strengthening of our unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, is a significant contribution in this direction.

We see the Lenin centenary as an important part of the ideological struggle of Leninism against petty-bourgeois nationalism and petty-bourgeois radicalism, against opportunism and revisionism and in the bulding of a working-class Party independent from the bourgeoisie, firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It has become fashionable in some quarters to criticize the Soviet Union in the illusory hope that it will make a Party "respectable", forgetting that history redounds with facts showing that anti-Sovietism has always been the common factor drawing together all enemies of peace and socialism. All of us who are concerned with the struggle for peace and socialism must never forget that the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the world struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism. This does not mean that any one party is in a privileged position in regard to other Parties in the world communist movement. But

facts are facts, and it is the Soviet Union and the CPSU that carry the main burden and responsibility in the world-wide struggle. Anti-Sovietism, no matter how refined, any weakening of the socialist countries, their unity and cohesion, plays into the hands of the enemies of the workers of the world.

This does not deny that each Communist Party is independent and sovereign, responsible to the working class of its country. But it is also responsible to the international working class. For a Party to see only one side of its responsibility will cause it to fall prey either to nationalism or national nihilism. In our view the independence and sovereignty of Communist and Workers' Parties find expression in independence *from* the capitalist class and its policies and by standing firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only such a class standpoint which blends national interests and international interests can effectively cope with the global strategy of imperialism.

From our own experience our Party has recognised the need for a systematic ideological struggle against revisionism, opportunism and nationalism, all of which express the pressures of the capitalist environment and could lead, if not checked, to the transformation of the Party into a Social-Democratic type of party. Recognising this danger, our recent convention, expressing the conviction of the overwhelming majority of the members of our Party, called for a resolute struggle against Right and "Left" revisionism and opportunism which in our view is the main danger at this stage, and also to continue combating dogmatic, sectarian tendencies.

From our Party's experience we can fully endorse the statement of Comrade Brezhnev about the benefits derived from the various forms of discussion of mutual problems and co-operation between the Parties of different countries. Such discussion and co-operation, we believe, help to establish ideological unity—unity based on principle because no other unity can be lasting or durable—in the international communist movement.

The highest expression of that international communist discussion is this historic world conference which we are attending. The workers of all countries are looking to us to emerge from our discussions with the maximum of ideological unity as the greatest asset in bolstering and extending our unity of action. We must not disappoint them. We must find the strength and will to overcome whatever differences there may be among us and emerge with a unanimous agreement, for which we believe the Main Document before us offers us the basis. We are sure that this can and will be achieved.

As far as our Party and delegation are concerned, we are prepared to sign this Document as it presently stands.

**SANTIAGO CARRILLO**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Communist Party of Spain**

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Spanish delegation I extend heartfelt greetings to the Communist and Workers' Parties attending this Meeting and express our gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for all that it has done to organise and prepare the Meeting.

In speaking at this Meeting, we must not forget that we are addressing the world and that it is not only the Communists who are interested in the decisions and documents of this international forum.

The attention of the main political and social forces of every country, which follow communist policies with keen attention, is riveted on our Meeting. They are the working class to begin with, the peasants, progressive intellectuals, the young generation of workers and students, the petty-bourgeois democratic forces and even those groups of the bourgeoisie wronged by American imperialism. In our deliberations we will have to bear in mind that in the present situation, marked by the disintegration of the capitalist system, at a time when socialism has ceased to be a spectre and has become embodied in real achievements of mankind, new social phenomena are taking place that must be kept in mind at all times.

One of these phenomena is the massive revolutionisation of the student youth, who in the capitalist countries are fighting alongside the working class to change old power structures and build a better world.

Another phenomenon is the changes taking place in the Catholic Church, where considerable groups of clergymen and even some of the highest dignitaries refuse to go on serving as a prop of capitalism. They accept and advocate socialisation of the basic means of production. They take action along with the working class, upholding a democratic policy against capitalist reaction and imperialism.

There is a sphere of which no one has spoken here but which merits keen attention because today it is a political factor of the utmost importance. That sphere is the armed forces, in which the people could in definite conditions find allies to democratise the country and uphold national independence against imperialism. This problem is very relevant in our country, where the wide-



spread movement of protest against the American bases includes groups of servicemen who declare against the continued presence of these bases on Spanish soil.

We Spanish Communists are not afraid at all to raise these questions because they are real and topical not only in Spain but in many other countries. We must keep them in mind as revolutionaries.

The Main Document describes our epoch as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. It notes that there are real possibilities for the fundamental problems of our time to be solved in favour of peace, democracy and socialism.

In fact, present-day imperialism, headed by the United States, is characterised by brutality and aggressiveness, and at the same time by the inability to solve its own problems, by the failure of its attempts to preserve and consolidate its main positions in the world and by the bankruptcy of its policy.

The heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam is the outstanding case in point. We send heartfelt greetings to the Vietnamese people, who are resisting the American imperialist aggressors, inflicting telling reverses on them. The victories of the patriots of Vietnam are a source of inspiration and encouragement to all forces of liberation and revolution.

The colonial system of imperialism has fallen to pieces. Many of the countries once kept down by it resist the pressures and threats of their one-time masters. What is more, to assure their independent economic development, they seek assistance and support from the socialist countries in spite of various imperialist efforts and manoeuvres to prevent it.

Imperialism has lost important positions in Asia and Africa. It sustains telling blows in Latin America, where a revolt against the Americans is maturing among the peoples who see in the example of socialist Cuba the road to their own liberation.

When paid agents of American reaction assassinated our unforgettable comrade, Che Guevara, a hero of all the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and the priest Camilo Torres, who showed his solidarity with the people by taking up the guerrilla's rifle, they may have imagined that along with the two men they buried for ever the will of the Spanish-speaking peoples of America for freedom. But they were mistaken.

The assassins had no inkling that by burying the two men they had sown the seeds of the revolt against imperialism which is sweeping Latin America all the way from Tierra del Fuego to the Rio Grande. The armed struggle of the Dominican people against the American invaders, the impressive strike of the workers and the revolt of the students in Argentina today, as well as the recent explosion of student protest in Mexico and Brazil, the selfless fight of the peoples of Guatemala, Colombia and Bolivia, the mass political struggles in Chile, Venezuela, Ecuador and Uruguay, the patriotic position of the Peruvian military against Washington are all examples of rebellion and struggle for the national and social freedom of these countries, against reaction and imperialism.

The struggle is going on in Europe, where the outstanding development was the labour and student movement of May and June 1968 in France. That movement shook monopoly power and had strong international repercussions. Important

mass action by the factory workers, peasants, students, office and professional workers took place in Italy.

The struggle is going on in Spain, where the outlines of the country's free, democratic and socialist future are beginning to appear. Participating with the greatest enthusiasm in this struggle against the Franco regime—a struggle covering the whole of Spain—are the working class, students and young workers. These young people have fought in no war and want to live in a democratic country cleared of the survivals of a tragic past.

Our youth knows of the tremendous sacrifices our people had to make in struggle under the leadership of the working class and democratic forces, among which the Communist Party distinguished itself by its policy of unity, its fighting efficiency and discipline.

In the struggle now going on, the Communist Party again shows itself to be the main inspiring and motive force ready to give its very blood, to make any sacrifice. Comrade Communists of all countries, now that the bloody shadow of fascism is beginning to take shape and become a reality in West Germany, the cradle of Hitlerism, I want to remind you in my speech that Spain is the country where the first battles against fascist aggression were fought and that the Spanish people were the first to offer armed resistance to that aggression. I want to remind you of the men of the International Brigades who battled in Spain and the tragic fate of many of whom makes my heart heavy. Those men came to our country ready to die helping the Spanish people like brothers to defend their freedom and stem the bloody torrent of fascism that had begun to flood Europe. From this rostrum I want once again to acknowledge and express our invariable gratitude and friendship to the survivors of that heroic feat.

At the present stage of the struggle in our country, where our people are running such a risk—as those who join our ranks know—we are again losing our best fighters.

I want to remind you here of our heroes of yesterday and today. They are: Julián Grimau, a model of Communist staunchness and firmness, foully assassinated by the Franco regime; Narciso Julián, who has been in prison for over 20 years; José Sandoval, Ramón Ormazábal and Pedro Ardiaca, who are serving long terms of imprisonment; Comrade Horacio Fernández Inganzo, member of the Executive Committee of our Party, who was sentenced to death, served 15 years in prison and was seized again in Asturias.

I want to mention the leaders of workers' commissions: Marcelino Camacho, Julián Ariza, David Morín, Luis Hoyos, Trinidad García, José María Ibarrola, Vicente Faus, Manuel Otones and many more who were arrested for their activities in support of the working peoples' demands. Speaking of the heroes of the struggle against the Franco regime, we must not forget about the activity of the workers, students and intellectuals in the Basque Country, among whom Communists, progressive Catholics and members of the ETA nationalist organisation are prominent. By fighting for the national rights of the Basque Country, they are fighting for the freedom of all the peoples of Spain.

Comrades, the present epoch opens up new revolutionary opportunities for mankind. The scientific and technological revolution provides the material prerequisites of the victory of socialism and the abolition of exploitation and

poverty throughout the world, provided we, the revolutionary force of society, are able to change social conditions and put the enormous and growing productive forces in the service of man.

The Communist Parties are gaining in numbers and influence. Alongside them there appear new revolutionary forces that have emerged as a result of the sharpening crisis of imperialism and the fact that Marxist-Leninist ideas have spread far and wide. These forces are our natural allies in spite of the diversity of shadings of tactic or even conceptions. Lenin had good reason to write: "Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will *never* live to see it."

The socialist revolution, Lenin added, "*cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately 'purge' itself of petty-bourgeois slag.*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356.)

Lenin took into account the extreme complexity of the revolutionary movement. Today this complexity is even greater due to the expansion and deepening of the movement and because forces that are very different in origin and background are converging in it as in a great stream.

The national liberation movement in the countries oppressed by imperialism is the most important ally of the international working class. This movement has its own objects and characteristics which, indeed, vary from country to country and from situation to situation. It presents a very rich and varied gamut of particulars ranging from the glorious liberation war of the Vietnamese people—that example of revolutionary and patriotic consistency in which a Marxist-Leninist vanguard exerts a leading influence—to other movements which are more heterogeneous in orientation and composition and in which working-class influence is less marked.

Be that as it may, whatever the forces wielding a decisive influence on the orientation of the national liberation movement at this or that moment of its changing development, this movement is our natural ally. It objectively gravitates to socialism, for in our day the national struggle against imperialism logically leads people onto socialist positions and inevitably becomes part of the development process of the world socialist revolution.

Naturally, the Communist Parties, the Marxist-Leninist forces in each contingent of this great movement, are striving to give it as consistent an orientation as possible. We should not, however, feel perplexed or alarmed if these movements occasionally adopt tactics or advance conceptions that do not square with

ours a hundred per cent. It is impossible to achieve uniformity in so vast and diversified a revolutionary movement as the present. Only in the process of struggle, through one's own experience, which sometimes contains not only successes but setbacks, will it be possible to overcome differences step by step and achieve greater uniformity. But even then what we achieve will not be uniformity because the distinctions in situation and development, and the concrete features of each contingent will persist for a long time.

Marxism-Leninism, which is neither a static nor a completed theory any more than it is all-powerful—for no theory can in itself be all-powerful—Marxism-Leninism as a constant and continuous creative process of intimately interlinked revolutionary thought and action cannot approach the anti-imperialist liberation movement with ready-made, or stereotyped formulas. It must also enrich itself and develop through the experience of the movement.

It is already evident that in some developed capitalist countries, such as the United States, where the working class is under the ideological influence of imperialism, the struggle of the Negro people and the movement of students and certain intellectual minorities aroused by the world-wide revolutionary process and, very directly, by the unjust war US imperialism is waging against the people of Vietnam, play the role of a factor that can help awaken the class consciousness of the working people. Obviously, this process does not fit into certain Marxist patterns, which shows that life is richer than all theories and that our theory, Marxism-Leninism, should be open and should absorb all that the revolutionary experience of the masses constantly brings us.

The growth of the productive forces in the capitalist countries is deeply changing the social structures, but not in the sense alleged by capitalist ideologists, who speak of the "dwindling" of the proletariat and almost announce its "extinction". It is changing them in the sense that scientists and technologists, a large part of the intelligentsia, which formerly did not differ much from the bourgeoisie in social condition, are now drawing nearer the working class in social condition.

And the important thing is that these forces, whose numerical strength and mass importance are increasing and will increase day after day with scientific and technological progress, are becoming aware of this situation and are organising. They put forward demands, participate ever more resolutely and vigorously in the struggle against monopoly power, and are drawing nearer the ideological positions of the working class.

The student movement of protest and "challenge", which carries unquestionable weight in the revolutionary struggles of today, and which in Spain and elsewhere is increasingly merging with the struggle of the proletariat, is a phenomenon whose character is connected with awareness of the new social situation of a large proportion of today's intelligentsia.

The mass of young people, generally of non-proletarian origin, are beginning with great energy and militancy to invade the social life of the peoples. Objectively, they are becoming a valuable ally of the Communist Parties in arousing and drawing into the revolutionary movement forces belonging to the middle strata which so far have been under the political influence of the bourgeoisie and which these young people can bring into the fight for democratic objectives.

Judging by the experience of Spain, they can also play a very important part in developing the peasant movement and in radicalising it, can help mobilise the more backward sections of the working class. I repeat that by saying this we are not stating an abstract theory but are speaking on the basis of the concrete experience of the Communist Party of Spain.

These new forces objectively are operating as a very important factor helping the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist vanguard to bring wide social strata into politics and to radicalise them.

It sometimes happens, of course, that with part of these young forces a rebellious spirit, the inevitable immaturity, impatience and even certain prejudices typical of the classes and strata they come from lead to attitudes of revolutionary infantilism of an anarchist type. But we must not judge them summarily, let alone condemn them wholesale.

These attitudes occasionally mislead Communists, who regard such young people as outsiders prying into the revolution.

In a mass movement of this nature and magnitude, a movement involving hundreds of thousands of young people, we should not be surprised by such attitudes. We who have joined the Communist Party in times past do not forget the impatience, the idealistic confusion, the ardent spirit of "challenging" the society of the period that were typical of us young people who were beginning to be Communists. We remember how passionately we who considered ourselves the best interpreters of Leninism and the October Revolution joined issue with veteran leaders and their fighting methods, which were not always as harmful as we thought.

At that time there were also veterans of the labour and socialist movement who regarded youthful impatience and militancy as impermissible in developing the struggle as they saw it.

Now, too, veteran comrades sometimes show incomprehension and a reluctance to accept these new forces, to understand the new problems coming up in the Communist movement. And regardless of the goodwill of our comrades, that reluctance, far from helping the new forces mature for the revolution and join the Communist Party, moves them away from us and puts them within the range of certain propaganda campaigns.

The experience of our Party in these years—we might even say throughout its history—shows that the position of openness towards the youth is decisive for the viability and revolutionary consolidation of the party of the working class. If the Communist Party of Spain had not unconditionally opened its ranks to young workers, peasants and students, it would not wield the strength and influence it wields now. The toll exacted from us by fascist repression during the thirty years of the Party's illegal activity, by shootings, imprisonment, concentration camps, tortures and exile—would have bled it white. We would be no more than a heroic memory for posterity and would no longer be the living, active and militant reality we are in the political life of Spain today.

Allow me to say, without the intention of criticising anyone, that to become the leading force in the fight for democracy and socialism, the Communist Parties must not only have a correct policy but must be able to rejuvenate themselves and bring into their ranks great numbers of young people, who are

joining in struggle in a highly militant spirit and with a desire to achieve deep-going social changes. Our Communist Parties today should be characterised by a receptive attitude to new phenomena, a readiness to do what the Catholics call in their camp *aggiornamento*, that is, to update Marxist-Leninist theory and political action in a creative revolutionary spirit.

There is an immense difference between the world of today and that in which we Communist veterans began to fight. At that time the first socialist revolution was triumphing under the leadership of Lenin's Party, and every effort was aimed at preserving it, at defending that first gain, which was growing, encircled by the armed forces of the imperialist powers. What did the mistakes or shortcomings there could be with the first steps in a socialist experiment that was absolutely new in history—what did they matter at that time! Besides, Lenin, far from concealing those mistakes and shortcomings, spoke of them courageously, so as to use them as a lesson and be able to correct them. The important thing was to prevent imperialism from stamping out the hope, the example and the light which the victory of socialism was spreading all over the world, showing us all the way to the abolition of capitalism, to the socialist revolution.

We were right! We regret nothing! But the world is different now. Surely there is no one in our camp who does not know that imperialism is still strong, aggressive and extremely dangerous, that we will yet have to fight grim battles in order to deliver mankind for good from oppression and the threat of destruction which are concomitants of imperialism. But after the October Revolution the Soviet Union became a great power and the strongest bulwark of the cause of socialism due to the devoted effort of its people. It defeated the Hitlerite aggressors and paved the way for the development of eight new socialist states in Europe. Subsequently, on this basis, the revolution in China triumphed, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam came into being, the Cuban revolution, particularly cherished by us Spaniards, achieved victory. The colonial system began to disintegrate and dozens of countries freed themselves from colonial tyranny. In the developed capitalist countries today the scientific and technological revolution imperatively demands radical socialist change and points up the necessity for the working class and its allies in the struggle against monopoly to take power.

Since October 1917 and the formation of Communist Parties the forces of the world revolution have become so strong that historically imperialism has already lost its game although we may still suffer temporary reverses.

We are now faced with a new situation and we must not shut our eyes to it if we do not want to lag. We have not yet completed the victory over capitalism on a world scale and have yet to fight serious battles to achieve that victory, and now questions of a new type are coming to confront us that disconcert those who view the present situation with the same eyes as in the twenties and thirties.

What I mean is problems that crop up in what we may call our world, the socialist world. They are born of contradictions inherited by the socialist countries as a poisoned legacy from their capitalist and even feudal past, and of the differences in their development levels. With a subjectivist approach, these contradictions may and do become aggravated. Imperialist propaganda

plays them up, trying to make the masses distrustful of the superiority of socialism over capitalism and to conceal the far more serious, and insurmountable, evils of its own system. However, our position in the face of imperialist propaganda should not consist in denying obvious things—this would undermine confidence in our Parties—but in admitting the existence of these problems, in analysing their causes and showing in this way that we Communists can overcome these difficulties. This obliges our propaganda to speak of the problems of socialism without beating about the bush precisely in order to give our struggle against the capitalist system greater striking force. Socialism is already so strong that neither imperialist propaganda, its difficult problems, nor our own mistakes can in the long run check its progress.

In striving to update the thinking and action of Marxist-Leninist Parties, we must bear in mind the effects of changed social structures in the sphere of the political struggle. In Spain the balance of political forces has changed deeply and we think this applies in one way or another to some other countries. The Socialist Party, the anarcho-syndicalist movement and the historical republican parties, which played so important a role in the Second Republic and were within the framework of the Popular Front our chief allies in the war against fascism, have lost their one-time importance. But then a democratic and progressive Catholic movement has emerged, a substantial part of which is orientated towards socialism. This movement is destined to play, and is already playing, an important role. In the national regions of Spain—Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia—national sentiment, which Francoism has been trying in vain to stamp out, has given rise to new progressive political alignments that never existed before.

On the other hand, socio-political mass movements are developing among the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and other categories. They are of prime importance at this stage, and irrespective of their future character, they will retain their importance in one form or another. In Spanish politics these movements, which are not political parties properly speaking, are and will go on operating, despite their autonomy, as active factors in the fight for democracy and socialism.

On this basis, an alliance of the forces of labour and culture is being forged step by step, in line with our strategic conception of the advance to socialism in Spain. But at this stage our Party is willing to conclude a “pact for freedom” with all the political groups that may resolve to put an end to the Franco dictatorship, whatever their tendency.

In view of the present power of socialism in the world, we visualise socialism in Spain as a system under which the political, cultural and personal liberties which the bourgeois revolution wrested from feudal society and which in their day were—as they are even now in the face of fascism—a gain of vast importance will develop in close connection with the fundamental freedoms which socialism alone can ensure to mankind, doing away with capitalist exploitation, oppression and inequality.

According to our vision of socialism, a multi-party system and the co-operation of diverse parties having a socialist orientation are one of the characteristics due to the peculiarities of the Spanish revolution.

In setting this perspective before ourselves, we Spanish Communists proceed from the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the experience of our own political practice. Let us recall that during our national revolutionary war a multi-party government, in which we co-operated with the Socialist and other democratic parties, effected deep-going economic, political and social changes that indicated in outline progress towards socialism and turned republican Spain into the first people's democracy in Europe.

In the history of our country, that was the first milestone on the road leading to a new approach—not only to the struggle for democracy but even to the possibility of going over to socialism with the support of a broad coalition of the working-class and other democratic forces. We are not trying to impose our socialist perspective on anyone as an obligatory model (which would, by the way, be puerile), although we are convinced that socialism is a system which must and will provide the greatest freedom as it becomes stronger and thoroughly remoulds people's lives.

All this means that our Party sees its mission in winning power in alliance with other socialist and progressive forces of our country and in accomplishing the revolution by methods and in forms corresponding to the conditions of the Spain of today in the world of today.

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Comrades, as I go on to some problems of the world socialist system set forth in the draft Document submitted to our Meeting for consideration, I would like to repeat that we approve of the fundamental thesis that the socialist world, primarily the Soviet Union, is the decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, the solid bulwark on which the peoples fighting for national and social liberation rely for support.

After the Second World War a change of colossal importance came about which we have possibly not studied as yet in all its complexity, in terms of all the repercussions it had in our movement. That change was the formation of the socialist world system, which today comprises fourteen very different states with dissimilar historical traditions, economic structures and geographical situations, states which arrived at socialism in very different ways.

This new situation, which accounts for the increased complexity of the relations between our Parties and the socialist countries, does not in the least reduce our internationalist duty nor our solidarity with them. Now as in the past, we are on the side of the socialist countries, on the side of the Soviet Union, against imperialism. We are prepared in any situation to give them all the assistance and solidarity we can. No one can question this position of ours. Due to our Party's trying history itself, we Spanish Communists know very well the great value of proletarian internationalism. For our part, we have always shown fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union and other countries, and we took part in battles against Hitlerism on the most diverse fronts of World War II.

Our loyalty to Leninism is not a mere declaration, it is embodied in the activity of our Party, in its ability to lead the working people's struggle.



That is why we think the decisive criterion of proletarian internationalism at this stage is the ability of a Party to evolve a national and international policy furthering at once the revolution in its own country and the world revolutionary process.

One of the sections of the draft Document under discussion says very correctly: "The winning of power by the working class and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism."

The mobilisation and political maturing of the revolutionary forces in our country are taking place in the atmosphere of a great discussion on the problems of socialism in which members of our Party, our friends and allies participate. The class enemy steps in too, using the powerful propaganda media at his disposal to attack us and slanderously misrepresent and smear the achievements of socialism.

How do we take part in that discussion? First of all—and this is the important thing—we try to demonstrate the fundamental superiority of socialism over capitalism, stressing the decisive gains of the socialist countries in the most diverse spheres.

That does not prevent us as Marxists-Leninists from taking a critical stand when we consider that a negative phenomenon is occurring in a socialist country.

It is the duty of our Party to express, with a full sense of responsibility, its own opinion on the problems of socialism, because these problems affect political life in Spain and we cannot but state our opinion.

When we take a critical stand—it is worth stressing this—we consider that we are thereby upholding principles common to us and are fulfilling our duty to the working class of our country and the world. We are not prompted by narrow national considerations but by our proletarian, internationalist position.

That was the case when, last year, the five Warsaw Treaty countries took their action in Czechoslovakia. Our disagreement over that is known. It does not mean interfering in the least in the life of any Party. We must not withhold our opinion when events of international significance take place affecting the whole of our movement and causing concern to the working people and, first of all, to the members of our own Party.

At this Meeting, the most positive approach that would enable us to avoid an aggravation of the disagreement and give a crushing rebuttal to the speculations of imperialist propaganda is that recommended in our relevant amendment to the Document, namely, to proceed from reality as it is and declare that, despite the divergences over the events of August 1968, there is a firm resolve among us, the Parties represented at this Meeting, to maintain and strengthen our unity in the struggle against imperialism.

We think the Document under discussion has some other shortcomings. The Document would become more effective if it avoided some triumphalist expressions and acknowledged obvious realities, such as the existence of contradictions between socialist countries. This would, furthermore, stimulate the progress of contemporary Marxist thinking in a sphere in which it is clearly behind times.

This is not only a theoretical matter. Enriching Marxism-Leninism by studying these problems will help the Communist Parties to reduce differences and contradictions, prevent them from assuming acute forms and find ways of reaching early solutions to them.



Comrades, our movement is faced with the task of overcoming the divergences existing today.

We note with satisfaction the presence here of 75 Parties, but we cannot shut our eyes to reality, cannot ignore the fact that some Parties are noticeably absent.

A long-range policy should be aimed at restoring the unity of the *whole* of our movement regardless of all the negative or situational factors that may emerge.

The Main Document submitted to this Meeting says: "It is an internationalist duty of each Party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all Parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement."

The Document contains the important statement that the Parties represented at the Meeting "consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and co-operation between all Communist Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present Meeting".

The Communist Party of Spain is ready to act in this spirit. In the interest of the unity of our entire movement and all socialist countries, without renouncing the possibility of expressing our points of view on what we regard as harmful positions, facts or phenomena, we will strive, however, to do so in a fair confrontation, through political arguments, refusing to be exasperated in reply to someone else's exasperation.

The Main Document submitted to this Meeting sums up an aspect of inter-party discussion. It is therefore essentially political in character and puts on record the points of agreement. However, our Party has made serious reservations on some points which we would like to be more in keeping with reality. These reservations have always been voiced in a constructive, unitary and internationalist spirit.

The months of discussion preceding our Meeting revealed the advantages of the collective method of work. This is undoubtedly a positive thing compared with past practices and it should be retained, consolidated and carried forward. The numerous amendments proposed by various Parties reveal not only a keen interest and active participation in the discussion but an increased ability to contribute diverse experiences to our common treasure-house.

For that reason and for others, this Meeting is different from the Meetings of 1957 and 1960.

The Document is not presented as a "programmatic charter" or a "general

line" for the Communist Parties. We might say that it is the result of extensive debate, is eminently political in character and contains a number of important new elements but also areas of ambiguity. And then, necessarily, owing to the situation in our movement, there are obvious gaps.

We think a characteristic of the present situation is that the factors for unity considerably outweigh the factors dividing us, and that a strong will for unity in the struggle against imperialism has been displayed despite all divergences. We must avoid summary condemnations and the method of anathematising and putting on labels. This does not mean renouncing criticism or self-criticism, nor dispensing with the necessary confrontation of ideas. Our line of action has been to state our occasionally critical views sincerely, in a spirit of cordiality and comradeship, according to what we consider a standard between revolutionary organisations of the working class. Communist criticism and self-criticism are basic and indispensable elements of our movement. Diplomacy is foreign to our methods of relations.

There is a problem to which we attach particular importance and which I would like to deal with so that you may have an accurate idea of it and interpret our position correctly. I mean the need of a *new unity* of the world communist movement.

Logically, the new situation calls for appropriate new forms of unity.

We emphatically state beforehand that the solid theoretical basis of this new unity can be nothing but the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. However, we must also take into account the new features of the present stage of our movement. Since there exists no leading centre nor a leading party—and this was stressed in a number of speeches—it is evident that the method should also be different from that used earlier, when our movement did have such a centre and such a party. At present unity can only be achieved on the terms of complete independence of the Parties in shaping their policy line, in applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the actual conditions of the country concerned, as is stated in the draft Document. Recognising diversity does not lead to disunity. On the contrary, being based on our principles, it is a factor for enriching our movement.

During the preparatory discussions a conception we do not share was occasionally put forward, namely, that of majority and minority, and of even *overwhelming* majority. We wish to stress with the best of intentions but also with the utmost frankness that, unlike the situation in our Parties, the world communist movement is not governed by the principle of democratic centralism. In our movement, fundamental problems cannot be solved by voting nor by a majority vote. But apart from this, it is not certain that there is a majority and a minority. On some issues we all agree, on others some Parties agree while others do not, but the very same dissenters are sure to agree on other issues with some of those with whom they disagreed before while the area of dissent will involve still others.

On the other hand, if we finalised the concepts of "majority" and "minority", we would push our movement towards new splits. Our Party, which is aware of its internationalist duties, forms an integral part of the communist movement on an equal footing with others and it is not prepared ever to be a minority

The right method would be to discuss the problems in a spirit of understanding, trying to reach common conclusions. To be sure, that is a longer road requiring greater patience and more in the way of arguments, but there is no other road if we really want to advance to unity. Experience has shown us that by this method we have achieved results which at first seemed impossible.

We are stating these views with utmost clarity because we are deeply convinced that, by using proper methods, our communist movement will be able to accomplish its great historic tasks. We are convinced that here, too, the new will in the end triumph over what life has passed, that we are the bearers of the future and will make it a reality.

Comrades, we are confronted with an enemy, imperialism, who will go on doing its utmost to prevent or delay its inevitable disappearance from the historical scene.

Despite all adversities, the grimness of revolutionary battles and the severity of persecution, we Communists retain an unshakable faith in our ideals and confidence in the working people. We know that, given a correct, unitary Marxist-Leninist policy, nobody and nothing can defeat us, that the socialist transformation of the world initiated by the Great October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of our teacher, Lenin, will be crowned with success.

There are hard tests ahead but we will withstand them in doing our revolutionary, internationalist duty.

## LUIS CARLOS PRESTES

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Brazilian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee is proud to share in the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and is convinced that it will adopt correct decisions.

Beginning with 1965, our Party leadership has supported the idea of convening such a meeting and endorses the initiative of the CPSU, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' and other Parties. We followed the preparations for this Meeting with keen interest, and to the best of our modest opportunities we tried to facilitate the success of this important undertaking, in which we see—and here I quote the resolution of our Party's 6th Congress—"the best way, in the present circumstances, of rallying and strengthening the unity of the international communist movement as a necessary precondition for effective struggle for world peace and against imperialist aggression and provocation".

We welcome the results of the Preparatory Committee's work and declare our full agreement with the amended Main Document now submitted to this great forum. We also agree with the statements of solidarity with Vietnam and in defence of world peace. The document on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin ought to be fully approved. We take pleasure in announcing that our Party's Central Committee has drawn up a plan for the celebration of this great centenary, which will be made the occasion for more extensive study of Lenin's ideas by Party members, and their dissemination among the people.

We want to emphasise that the preparations for this Meeting have had one more important result. They helped to improve the situation that existed before February 1968 and did much to strengthen the unity and solidity of the Parties by drawing a large number of fraternal Parties into the preparatory work. This has to be emphasised also because it furnishes fresh proof that fraternal and democratic discussion of all issues on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the correct path to promoting communist unity.

The facts thus show that it would have been wrong passively to wait for the opportune (so far unrealistic) moment when all the Communist and Workers'

Parties would agree to hold an international meeting, since participation in it must, of course, be on an absolutely voluntary basis. It was not a matter of denying that there are differences within the communist movement—their existence is openly admitted in the draft of the Main Document—nor of expelling any Communist Party. We were able to find common ground, and despite differing viewpoints on individual issues, we formulated a policy of united action against imperialism based on Marxism-Leninism, and worked out a strategy and tactics to counter imperialism's global strategy. And as this policy is tested and corroborated by practice, it will act as a powerful factor of attraction for fraternal Parties not represented here and for the revolutionary and progressive forces the world over.

Comrades, we can take justified pride in the results achieved. The attention of millions is centred on Moscow. Both our friends and enemies are fully aware of the importance of the work we are doing here.

It has to be said that some differences still persist, and no one intends to conceal them. But it should be perfectly clear that, though serious, the differences are not many. On the other hand, we agree on many more issues than on which we differ. For the spirit of unity, cohesion and common interests in our common struggle predominates. The most important thing in the present period is to find common ground.

The presence at this Meeting of representatives of 75 revolutionary detachments of the world communist movement is in itself of vast importance. But the Meeting is especially important because the overwhelming majority, if not all of its participants, have drawn up and agreed on a programme of struggle against imperialism, and have indicated the basis for united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties. At this juncture in history, the very fact that the anti-imperialist struggle is being extended is of immense importance.

The Document presented for our examination scientifically analyses the cardinal problems of our age and shows how they can be solved in conformity with the interests of nations and the whole of mankind.

Taking as its premise the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and by collective analysis, the Document gives us a correct definition of the present epoch: it shows the forces that determine the direction of mankind's progress; analyses the alignment of forces in the world arena; elaborates anti-imperialist tactics and examines the problems involved in united action of the Communist Parties and all the forces battling for progress, freedom and independence. That is why we are convinced that the draft we are now discussing is rich in ideological content and gives the Communist and Workers' Parties a powerful political weapon in coping with the momentous tasks history has posed by placing them at the head of their peoples.

We would like to emphasise the proposition formulated in the draft that the socialist world system is the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle, in which the Soviet Union plays the leading role. We in Brazil know from our own experience all the evils of imperialist monopoly exploitation. Our people therefore fully appreciate the policy of the socialist camp, particularly of the Soviet Union, and their assistance in combating the oppression mechanism imperialism and internal reaction have built in Brazil.

The draft of the Main Document says—and we fully agree with this—that the confrontation between socialism and capitalism is the central characteristic of our epoch. This should remind Communists throughout the world of their duty to concentrate all their practical activity on enhancing solidarity with, support and assistance for, and defence of the socialist camp, notably the Soviet Union, the main target of malicious imperialist attacks and slander. There can be no wavering or indecision on this question. The enemies of the peoples and of the whole of mankind are exerting every effort to sow discord, doubt, confusion and division in an attempt to deprive the proletariat and peoples fighting for independence and progress of their staunchest ally, friend and defender. We wish to emphasise the indestructible unity between the anti-imperialist struggle, the proletarian struggle for social emancipation, and proletarian internationalism. More, we are firmly persuaded that as long as imperialism exists, it is the prime duty of every Communist actively and determinedly to defend the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

That has always been the position of the Brazilian Communist Party, and that is why, like other Communist Parties, it has been the object of attacks and libellous accusations. Ours is a truly national Party. We are consistent patriots because we are internationalists. In fighting for the interests of our people, we are never oblivious of the common interests of the world revolutionary workers' movement.

We accept the analysis of the position in Latin America as set out in the draft submitted for our examination. It would be premature, we think, to give a more detailed analysis in a working document meant for a definite historical period. The position in Latin America is a very complicated one, and the picture differs substantially from country to country. The deepening structural crisis which, we think, extends to the whole of Latin America, defines the rapid, at times wholly unexpected, changes in the alignment of political forces. Opportunities for democratic progress suddenly arise in countries which only yesterday were under reactionary regimes, with reverse processes in other countries.

Imperialism and the ruling classes are modifying their tactics in order more effectively to safeguard their interests. They resort now to one, now to another method which, as Lenin taught us, succeed one another or are employed in different combinations. Besides, though in Latin America we are faced with one and the same enemy, and though most Latin American peoples are passing through the same stage of revolution, differences in the development of the revolutionary process in various countries increase from day to day. This is due to uneven capitalist economic development, which is also becoming more pronounced. And it is precisely this uneven economic and social development (which sometimes assumes extreme forms), that makes for such a diversity of forms of democratic and revolutionary struggle in each country and at each stage.

As for relations between fraternal Parties, the Brazilian Party has always maintained that they must rest on mutual respect and recognition of each Party's independence in shaping the tactics of the national forces to suit the specifics of the revolutionary process. In our understanding, communist solidarity implies, first and foremost, support of the revolutionary struggle each Party is waging

in its own country, and effective assistance in operating its policy, thus helping it attain its national aims. Bilateral or multilateral meetings can help resolve differences. That is the only correct way of encouraging criticism that does not lead to factionalism. We therefore accept the Main Document's formulation on adherence to proletarian internationalism, on mutual assistance and support, on the equality and sovereignty of the Parties and non-interference in their internal affairs.

We stress these principles governing relations between Parties because ours was one of the first Parties to feel the consequences of the factional activity which representatives of the Mao Tse-tung group started and openly supported. To safeguard the unity of our own Party, and after fraternal but ineffectual appeals to reason, we were obliged openly to come out against the Maoists' anti-proletarian and anti-Marxist attitude. Our 6th Congress pronounced against the erroneous theses disseminated by the Mao Tse-tung group and its unsubstantiated charges against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, more recently, have developed into bloody provocations and flagrant violations of Soviet frontiers. It should be perfectly obvious that by acting in this way, the Mao Tse-tung group is retreating from Marxism-Leninism and is severing its ties with the international communist movement, a prime duty of which, as we have already pointed out, is defence of the Soviet Union.

For us Brazilian Communists, international communist unity against the common foe is a central factor and an earnest of victory. The reactionary military coup of April 1964 was a heavy defeat for our working class, national-democratic movement and, particularly, our Party. Its 6th Congress declared: "Brazil is now oppressed by a dictatorial military, pro-imperialist, anti-democratic and anti-labour regime." Government policy is now oriented on abolishing national sovereignty and suppressing the democratic and progressive aspirations of the people. The course imposed on Brazil makes it more dependent on US imperialism. The new regime draws its support from the most reactionary forces. Having established tight control of the armed forces, it is using them not to defend the country against external attack, but to keep the people in a state of submission. It stints no effort in converting the country into a pliant weapon of armed aggression against fraternal Latin-American peoples.

Ours is the only political party with a nation-wide organisation, for all other parties have been dissolved and the dictatorship depends mainly on the armed forces. Yet, the working class and other sections of the population are resisting and fighting the dictatorship.

This struggle is assuming wider dimensions, the regime is retaliating by curtailing the people's rights, using more brutal methods, and implanting fascism. Government decrees abolishing the people's democratic rights and gains are promulgated one after another. Last December, there was another coup which placed the country under a semi-fascist military-police dictatorship. This was the answer to the mounting struggle for the demands of the workers and peasants, to the anti-regime demonstrations, particularly the 100,000 strong demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro.

The press and all other mass information media are subjected to stringent censorship. Parliament has been dissolved and more than one hundred Deputies



and Senators have been unseated. The Ministry of Justice which, under mass pressure, had begun to release political prisoners, is no longer a sovereign body, and habeas corpus has been revoked throughout the country. The people live in what can only be described unmitigated terror and constant threats. Political prisoners are tortured, many are murdered.

Trade union leaders are arbitrarily dismissed; student leaders are imprisoned and prosecuted; hundreds of students have been expelled from the universities and forbidden to continue their studies for three years; progressive-minded professors, many of world renown, are dismissed for refusing to support the dictatorship. However, the December coup and the subsequent repressive measures have not solved any of the government's problems. If anything, they have produced new and even more troublesome problems, which have further aggravated the contradictions among the forces supporting the dictatorship.

Following the 1964 defeat, the Party had to solve serious ideological problems and combat factional activity. Yet, we managed to preserve our organisation, and despite all repression, the Party continues to expand its contacts with the people and is working for a broad front of all the anti-regime forces to isolate and overthrow the dictatorship and replace it by a government of anti-dictatorial forces capable of assuring genuine democracy and developing the mass struggle for freedom and progress.

In combating the opportunism of those who shy away from the struggle on the pretext that it is impossible to fight the dictatorship, our Party clearly states that we must build up our forces, utilise every available form of struggle dictated by concrete circumstances and avoid unnecessary losses. Our Party is fully aware that we must not confuse militancy and revolutionary boldness with adventurism.

The events in Brazil show with what ferocity US imperialism is trying to contain the democratic and revolutionary movement and suppress the revolutionary forces, notably their proletarian vanguard, before a revolutionary situation matures that will enable the Brazilian people to follow the path now being hewed for the whole of Latin America by the people of Cuba. US imperialism is using the rash actions of some ultra-Left elements to step up police repression in an attempt to crush the revolutionary vanguard. At the same time, it is doing everything in its power to sow anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and ideologically influence some sections of the population. But since the conditions of the masses are steadily deteriorating and the dictatorship cannot solve any of our national problems, it is finding itself increasingly isolated. Public discontent is mounting, and so is public hatred of the US oppressors.

This terse description of how things stand in Brazil is an illustration of the correctness of the Main Document's emphasis on the aggressiveness of imperialism, which is still able to have its way in various areas. Unity of the international communist movement and of the world's progressive forces in the battle against imperialism will help the Brazilian people accelerate the process of complete liberation from foreign oppression.

Comrades, this Meeting completes an important and long stage marked by outstanding achievements. We shall adopt decisions on all the questions under discussion. But that does not mean that we will have accomplished everything we

set out to accomplish. Consistent revolutionaries, we must go forward to still greater unity, raise our unity to a higher level, thereby strengthening and making more articulate our will for victory over the common enemy.

The Brazilian Communist Party is fully alive to its internationalist duty and undertakes to do everything it can to carry out the decisions arrived at here. Foremost among these is support of the Vietnamese people. We repeat: despite the fact that our Party has to operate in such severe conditions, it will do everything for a bigger Brazilian contribution to the defeat of the American aggressor. We see the final victory of the Vietnamese patriots as of decisive importance for strengthening the position of all peoples fighting imperialist domination and terror.

We welcome the presence of a delegation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. For us in Brazil, and for all Latin American revolutionaries and progressives, the Cuban revolution and the systematic building of socialism in Cuba, is the greatest achievement of the Latin American working class and people. Our Party renews its assurance of vigorous support, by every available means, of the struggle being waged by the courageous fraternal people of Cuba.

In conclusion, we convey fraternal greetings to the representatives of all fraternal Parties represented here, and express our gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its cordial hospitality and for the excellent conditions it has provided for our work.

Let us unite in the struggle against imperialism, for world-wide peace, for consistent defence of socialist gains!

Let us unite in a joint struggle for national liberation, social progress and socialism!

**ENRICO BERLINGUER**  
**Deputy General Secretary,**  
**Italian Communist Party**

Dear Comrades,

First allow us to extend warm greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet citizens and to thank the CC CPSU for its hospitality and the extensive work which it has done to provide the best possible conditions for organising and holding our Meeting.

We should like to take this opportunity to express once more our gratitude to the comrades of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, who have done valuable work throughout the initial stage of the preparations for the Meeting.

We are happy to participate in such a representative and important gathering at which so many Communist and Workers' Parties are present, and we convey to them fraternal greetings from Italian Communists.

**I**

First and foremost, we consider we must inform you in general outline of the struggle we are waging in Italy. This information is necessary particularly because in Italy the situation has entered an extremely important and momentous stage.

The large-scale social and political battles of 1968 were politically mirrored in the country's shift to the Left at last year's elections, which brought our Party 8,600,000 votes, or 27 per cent of the electorate. The Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity—a unitarian Left party—in its turn received about 1,500,000 votes. Quite a good result was achieved at these elections also by other Left groups aligned with the ICP and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity.

The forces of the Left, working-class opposition, which in Italy are fighting for advanced democracy and socialism, thus won 10 million votes, i.e., they obtained the support of nearly one-third of the electorate. The importance of this result of the elections is that it derives from the dedicated struggle of the workers and large sections of the people, from the broad and uninterrupted mass actions of our Party and its allies and therefore mirrors the organising force and real influence of the Party and of the most consistent democratic and

socialist forces among the working class, the popular masses and in the life of the country, to say nothing of the parliament.

After the elections the working people did not display wait-and-see tendencies, in other words, they did not harbour the illusion that the strengthening of the Left forces in the parliament, important as that was, could by itself lead to a change of the government's policies. On the contrary, they showed the understanding that the success at the elections created more favourable conditions for the struggle of the working classes and for the political battles of our Party and other Left forces. Indeed, after the elections the struggle of the working people acquired a broad scale and a high level of militancy. In 1968 the number of strike hours exceeded 68 million, the highest in recent years. Yet in the first two months of 1969 more than 44 million strike hours were registered.

This period witnessed a growing trend towards radicalising the struggle of the working masses and other social strata.

The heightening of social tension, the extension of the struggle and the very results achieved by the working people in this struggle give rise to contradictory processes among the political forces. On the one hand, the Right-wing forces both within and outside the government coalition are growing more active. Attempts are being made to check and undermine the actions of the working people and students by repressions, which have led to tragic consequences in two southern towns—Avola and Battipaglia. These attempts are accompanied by manoeuvres aimed at securing a shift to the Right in government policy.

Parallel with the massive pressure being brought to bear by the big capitalist bourgeoisie, the number of typically fascist provocations and acts of violence is growing. Their purpose is to sow confusion and alarm in order to give the supporters of a "strong government" cause for taking steps to counterbalance the wave of actions and strikes. Furthermore, they show there is a trend towards authoritarian coups. Certain forces linked up with NATO agencies and circles are operating in this direction.

For that reason we do not entertain illusions, being aware of the reactionary aspirations of a certain section of the ruling classes of Italian society and of the threat to democracy from subordination to US imperialism and NATO. We clearly see and openly expose the threat from reaction and call upon the masses to display vigilance and unity in order, as we have thrice succeeded during the past fifteen years, to give a rebuff to authoritarian attempts no matter in what sphere the fight has to be carried on. Furthermore, we call upon the masses to be vigilant, united and active against the threat of war, to come out, if necessary with all means, against any attempt to draw our country into military adventures. At the same time, while displaying political initiative and extending the front of struggle and its unity, we take action to nip in the bud the inclinations and attempts of the rightists and in order, in any case, to be in a position to defeat them in struggle by a militant and united front of working-class and democratic forces.

The main trend, however, continues to be determined by the upsurge of the social and political struggle of the working people, the growing unity in the trade union struggle and the process of rapprochement between the socialist, democratic and Left Catholic forces.

Indeed, our Party works among the masses and leads them in the biggest class clashes and in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. Our strength and our initiative are in the centre of the complex political struggle raging in our country.

All this determines the stratification and contradictions in the government coalition. Within the Socialist Party and within the Christian Democratic Party itself the question is being more and more seriously raised of the crisis of the Centre-Left and, as a result, the problem of finding "new relations" with the ICP.

The fresh upsurge of the struggle was, furthermore, engendered by the positive results achieved by the unitary national general strikes and actions, particularly for bigger pensions and for a reform of the social insurance system, for the abolition of discriminatory zonal wage distinctions. Despite its limitations and shortcomings, the new pension scheme, won in struggle, is important because it establishes the principle under which a large mass of the Italian people must be guaranteed pensions amounting to 75 per cent, and in five years' time to 80 per cent, of their wages.

Also worthy of mention is that large sections of working people like miners, railwaymen, seamen and metal-makers, have secured a reduction of working time without a reduction in pay, and also longer paid leaves.

Naturally, in order to move forward and repulse the manoeuvres of the capitalists, who seek to emasculate and reduce to naught the gains of the working people, every battle must be followed by other battles.

This concerns a whole range of struggles embracing not only industry but also the countryside, where an important movement of agricultural workers, share-croppers, tenants and small farmers is developing.

In South Italy unemployment, low wages and backwardness are still rampant in large areas, which has led and continues to lead to mass emigration. All this is giving rise to very high social tension and to an extremely sharp struggle.

There is unrest also among civil servants, and post and communication, radio and TV employees and among schoolteachers.

Broad unity, between different trade unions as well, is achieved in the course of this struggle.

With technological progress the exploitation of workers and other strata of the working people is being intensified.

The actions of the working class, vanguard of the entire front of the popular masses, is not confined to demands for higher wages. They embrace the entire range of problems concerning the social, human and civic position of the working people in and outside factories and offices. A struggle is being waged for broader bargaining rights of the working people, for new trade union and political rights, for a substantial reduction of working time, for various forms of control over the rhythm of labour, for an improvement of sanitary conditions and for the right to hold meetings at factories and in workshops.

Essentially, it is a struggle to change the class balance of strength. In all this are manifested broader tendencies towards activating the masses, towards their participation in political life, towards the promotion of democracy.

These trends are developing also in the countryside, in schools and univer-

sities, among employees of the sphere of services, the state sector, and the radio and TV.

A new phenomenon for our country as well is that new strata of the population such as students, engineers, technicians and scientists are joining the struggle. This phenomenon is linked, on the one hand, with the advance of the scientific and technological revolution and, on the other, with the backwardness in which, through the fault of the ruling capitalist classes, the schools, universities and research institutions in Italy find themselves.

The turbulent entry of the students into the struggle has and continues to put complex problems before us. We have encountered and still encounter difficulties in establishing good contact with the student movement, in which various and frequently contradictory trends and impulses operate. Still, we feel that the entry of these new forces into the struggle for the renewal of society is a fresh and very important positive fact and a qualitative advance in the class struggle, in the struggle for democracy and socialism. Hence, in our view, the problem before the revolutionary Party of the working class ranges beyond conducting among these new strata, which have entered the struggle, particularly the students, extensive and effective explanatory and ideological work to inculcate the ideas of socialism and give these strata a correct political perspective. Of course this work is necessary. But, in addition to this task, we are faced with the problem of understanding and including in the Party's line and policy all the revolutionary motives which induce these masses to rebel and fight. First and foremost, we have the problem of establishing with these movements in their totality broad contacts and an alliance in the struggle to remake society.

The struggle of the working people increasingly brings to the fore problems connected with structural changes in the economy and the state system and more and more concretely shows that the working class and other working people must assume the administration of the state and national life. Increasingly larger numbers of working people are coming to realise that in Italy major problems of economic, social and cultural progress and democracy can only be resolved by remaking the very foundations of society, in other words, through socialist revolution.

Precisely in this context a struggle is being waged for new forms of state intervention and democratic control in some sectors of the economy, for the nationalisation of some industries, for an agrarian reform that would give the land to the peasants who till it, and for a town-planning reform which would free the towns from parasitical rent and profiteering.

Precisely in this context a struggle is being waged for democratic reforms in the schools, in the juridical apparatus, in the social security system and in family legislation, and also for a reform of the state system, for example, for elective regional councils with broad democratic authority.

Another demand of a political nature for which the broad Left front is fighting is to forbid the police to use firearms in the maintenance of public order.

A conflict so far-ranging and acute thus, on the one hand, stimulates resistance from the ruling capitalist forces, and on the other, opens up fresh possibilities for an offensive by the working classes.

Naturally it is not easy to direct such vast and frequently sharp actions.

It is necessary to prevent other forces, including those of the Right wing, from seizing, through demagoguery, the leadership of individual even if not the main sectors of movements. The development, on the initiative of extremist groups or through spontaneous aggravation, of forms of struggle isolating the vanguard from the broad masses must be avoided.

We are therefore taking action to make sure that the radicalisation of the struggle should combine with the growth of its mass and unitarian basis.

The crisis of the present Centre-Left government has grown deeper. Deep-rooted contradictions are shaking the Christian Democratic Party.

The struggle between the two wings of the United Socialist Party—the traditional Socialist wing and the Social-Democratic wing—has again become extremely acute. The fusion achieved three years ago has proved to be a political failure. This is due to the preservation and growth among the lower echelons and the leadership of the Socialist Party, particularly as a result of the growing struggle of the masses, of forces which reject the policy of class co-operation and of rupturing of proletarian unity.

At the risk of finding itself in the minority the Social-Democratic Right wing is trying to block any positive development of the ISP's policy, blackmailing the party with the threat of a new split.

Naturally, the inner contradictions of the CDP mirror also the struggle of the different trends for power; however, behind these phenomena are class and political contradictions, whose effect is preconditioned by the struggle of the masses, and our policy and our initiative.

The problem coming into the foreground, a problem which is openly raised by considerable groups within the government parties, is one of new relations with the ICP, one of establishing contact with the social forces for whom we speak and whose struggle we organise. In effect, it is recognised that the ICP is a force which has historically established itself in the life of the nation, a force that must be reckoned with.

We do not lose sight of the ambiguity and calculation in many positions of this kind. We state clearly that the problem of "drawing" the ICP into the government and the Centre-Left system of power does not exist because we are fighting precisely for the abolition of the Centre-Left; and that the problem of relations with our Party is indeed a problem of relations with the broad working-class and popular masses, with their needs and aspirations, with their will to take part in the leadership of all aspects of the country's social and political life.

It is on precisely this foundation, even while remaining in the opposition (which in parliament can count on the votes of more than 250 Communist deputies and senators), that we want to promote all possible and even partial agreement and co-operation with other Left and democratic forces in order to give a rebuff to the authoritarian threats and conservative designs, in order to resolve the most pressing problems by influencing the very decisions of the government itself. We thereby intend to help achieve a swing to the Left in the parties of the majority themselves and win greater influence over the masses and over national policy.

In these years, while co-operating with other Left and democratic forces, our Party has waged a struggle to the utmost of its energy and not without result against the aggressive policy of imperialism, against subordination of the Italian governments, including the Centre-Left governments, to the Atlantic Alliance and the USA.

In particular, we inspired militant actions with the participation of broad masses for solidarity with the peoples fighting for independence: with Algeria, with socialist Cuba, with the people of the Congo and other African peoples, with Arab countries and with the anti-fascists of Spain, Greece and Portugal. In recent years the movement for political as well as material solidarity with the Vietnamese people has assumed an unprecedented scale. Millions of Italians have taken part in this movement, which must now be continued.

At present we are increasingly concentrating our efforts on the struggle to deliver Italy from the bonds and dangers of the Atlantic policy, for her withdrawal from NATO and for the removal of US bases from our country. The anti-imperialist battles of the most recent times have been joined by new forces, which differ from us ideologically—Socialists and Catholics—and which have joined in this struggle from their own positions. These forces feel that Italy should re-examine her relations with the United States and, at the same time, with socialist countries, and they are looking for clear-cut guarantees of the country's sovereignty and security. We are working to prevent Italy from participating in any military or political blocs, to secure her withdrawal from NATO and the removal of NATO bases from Italy; we are fighting for the status of neutrality, for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic and of the frontiers established as a result of the world war, for Italy's contribution to European security, to disarmament, to the policy of liquidating opposing military blocs and to the conversion of the Mediterranean into a sea of peace. In this direction we have established fruitful and firm contacts with progressive movements in the Arab countries. Moreover, we are working to promote our country's relations with socialist countries.

A trend towards modifying the foreign policy, particularly Italy's Atlantic policy, is noted within the government parties as well. This concerns recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and People's China, recognition of the existence of two German states, the creation of a system of collective security in Europe and the guaranteeing of peace in the Mediterranean, and the policy of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. Although the proposal that is now being moved for re-examining the Atlantic pact (some limitation on military integration, the exclusion of Greece and Portugal from NATO), partial and inadequate as it is, is nonetheless an expression of the currently developing united movement for an Italian foreign policy of peace, national independence and active neutrality. Any real step in this direction conforms to the most vital interests of the Italian people and is, in our opinion, an important part of the contribution which the working people of our country are making to the cause of peace and co-operation among nations, towards the common cause of the international working-class and anti-imperialist movement. The stand we adopted on the Czechoslovak crisis, which rests on our idea of principles which



must underlie relations between socialist countries and Communist Parties, just as all our other stands on questions of socialism and internationalism, have enabled us to fight Atlantic extremism in our country more successfully. Even after the Czechoslovak events, conservative and anti-communist forces were unable to halt and throw back the new trends we have mentioned.

Taking into account the strength which our Party has acquired in Italy as a result of almost 50 years of struggle, we cannot confine ourselves to purely propaganda activities. Our aim—the implementation of socialist transformations in Italy—demands the elaboration of our independent road of struggle and that the broad masses should clearly see our concept of Italy's advance to socialism and those specific features which the building of socialist society must acquire in Italy.

We reject the thesis that a single model of socialist society suitable for all situations can exist. This is a matter not only of national features which must be added to the common laws governing the development of the socialist revolution and the building of socialist society. As it happens, the general laws of social development, the fundamental and common features of the socialist revolution never exist in pure form but always and only in historically-shaped and inimitable concrete reality. To counterpose these two aspects means to slide into schematicism and scholasticism, it means to reject the very essence of Marxism.

From this concept of ours, which is Marxist and Leninist, it follows that we have never claimed and by no means claim to offer or dictate our model to others. Every country has its own history; every Party functions in historically-shaped definite reality. Therefore, even when we discuss problems of the development of socialist democracy in socialist countries—development in the process of renewal, which was begun and the need for which was so forcefully underscored at the 20th Congress of the CPSU—we do not by any means think of an abstract and mechanical transfer to the real situation of other countries of our demands and criteria that derive from the real situation in our country or in countries with analogous features.

As regards our country, we are working for an advance towards socialism along a democratic road, which is the road of class and mass battles, including very sharp ones, and we consider that it is possible and necessary not only to advance towards socialism but also build socialist society with the assistance of other political forces, organisations and parties; we consider that in the conditions obtaining in our country the hegemony of the working class must be realised within a militant front, a bloc of ruling forces, in a pluralist and democratic political system. That is why the model, if one can say so, of socialism for which we call upon the Italian working class and working people to struggle differs from all other existing models.

All this is directly and profoundly mirrored also by the present political struggle in our country. Any action by us and any position we adopt, including on fundamental problems concerning socialism and the international communist movement, have a direct impact on the working masses, on the most diverse social strata and on other political forces, and lead to positive or negative consequences in national policy itself. We are confident that from this viewpoint as

well, our Party's strength and influence lie chiefly in the unbreakable bond between its internationalism and its national role.

We carry weight in Italy both because we are part of the international communist and working-class movement and because at the same time we are a national force which does not confine itself to propagating the socialist achievements of other countries but charts and wages a completely independent struggle for socialist revolution in Italy.

It is on this foundation that our Party has established firm unity and ties with the Italian working class which have stood all tests and which nothing can weaken.

We have invariably rejected and disappointed all those who sought to induce us to forget or relax our internationalism, our affiliation to the socialist camp and our solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Our internationalism, which constantly intertwines with efforts to strengthen our roots in national reality, is to be seen clearly throughout the history of our revolutionary, democratic Party, the party of the Italian people. Those of the most consistent Left and democratic forces which at present set themselves the problem of new relations with the ICP are aware that our Party makes no concessions and has no intention of making them in the sphere of internationalism.

Of decisive significance—also for the development of our struggle for democracy and socialism—is not the question of our affiliation to the international communist movement—there can be no discussion about that—but the question of *how* we participate in it.

## II

Comrades, let us go on to international matters. Our attitude on this score was formulated at our 12th Congress and recently in the report of Comrade Longo, its General Secretary, at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee. The text of that report has been forwarded to all the delegations, which enables us to deal here with a few topics, especially those concerning the situation in our movement and the problems of its unity.

We, too, consider as fundamentally important the task of safeguarding, restoring and developing on a renovated basis the unity of our movement. At our 12th Congress, Comrade Longo declared, on the basis of ideas expressed by Comrade Togliatti, that we proceed from the conviction that the *communist movement must have unity not only on the national but also on the international scale*, a unity which, by no means being the *result of compulsion from without*, that is to say, *mechanical copying of someone else's policy*, would grow in conditions of the variety and peculiarity of the experience of individual countries, feeding on the spirit of mutual criticism, and drawing strength from the independence of the individual Parties.

Today, complete unity does not exist among the main participants in the revolutionary struggle. What is more, in this respect many difficulties and very serious problems which remain unsettled have emerged. In a certain sense, perhaps, we may speak even of a crisis of internationalism that we have not coped with as yet.

Beyond question, that crisis stems from varied and complex causes.

As we see it, the basic, the main reasons are of an objective nature, while others are subjective and should, in other words, be sought in definite political attitudes, in shortcomings and mistakes.

On the whole, if we glance at the entire 25-year period since the great anti-fascist war, we shall see that despite all the negative factors, the present crisis of internationalism arose in a world dominated by grandiose revolutionary changes.

In the past ten years, too, despite the contradictions that have sprung up in the socialist camp and the communist movement, and despite other negative factors, we are able to register the fact that the revolutionary movement in the world has expanded, assuming heretofore unseen proportions.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have scored fresh achievements in economic development and other spheres of social life. The role of the Soviet Union as the main force in the struggle for peace, against imperialism, for the socialist cause in the entire world, has been reaffirmed and enhanced.

In the American hemisphere the first socialist state came into being in Cuba. In many capitalist countries, often including those where the working-class movement showed signs of stagnating or receding, there has been an upsurge in that movement. But the new factor of the past decade is the entry of new nations heretofore all but unnoticeable on the scene of world history into the struggle for social and national liberation, into the anti-imperialist movement. At the same time, new social strata are joining the class and political struggle in the capitalist countries. Admittedly, we Communists have not, by and large, succeeded to the desired extent in establishing ties with these movements and in utilising these stimuli. Possibly, the reason lies, among other things, in the somewhat narrow conception of our tasks and of how the unity of the world revolutionary movement should be secured in our time. In any case, the foundations on which this movement grows and can advance have never been so broad as they are today.

In these circumstances, the demand for internationalism resounds more compulsively than ever. In face of the aggressiveness of imperialism, the unity of the communist movement and co-operation among all anti-imperialist forces is more necessary than ever before. What is more, the situation has *ripened* for asserting and securing a new upsurge of internationalism. It seems to us, this upsurge will become possible only if we proceed in our activity from a realistic estimation of the facts as they are and if we succeed in aligning with them and boldly reformulating the problems, methods and the very concept of unity.

It goes without saying that the forms of united action and international solidarity effective in recent years are very important, especially in relation to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and other areas of the anti-imperialist struggle.

But if our approach to the situation is to be realistic we must first and foremost consider the contradictions existing between socialist countries and between Communist Parties.

The gravest fact, one that deeply troubles all of us and the working masses of the world, is that the contradictions with the Chinese Communist Party have

come to a point where the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China now oppose from hostile positions the Soviet Union, nearly all the socialist countries and nearly all the Communist Parties, that is, the decisive majority of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement. Not only is this extremely damaging to the working-class movement; it also exercises a negative influence on the entire international situation and causes grave apprehensions. This conflict is, moreover, the cause of confusion and dejection among the masses.

For many years now, and particularly at the latest plenary meeting of our CC, we have been openly criticising what we consider the erroneous positions adopted by the Chinese Communist Party.

Indeed, the dividing line between socialism and imperialism remains the main watershed of the present epoch and of the entire present political situation. Precisely for this reason, from the standpoint of the common interests of the struggle of the peoples for national independence, social emancipation and peace, we consider it a grave and troubling aberration that the Chinese Communist Party puts on the same level US imperialism and the Soviet Union, attacks the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the majority of Communist Parties and many democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

Secondly, we consider it a bad mistake that the Chinese Communist Party should reiterate its claim to imposing on all countries and all Parties its way as the only correct one, proclaiming Mao Tse-tung's thought as the "Marxism-Leninism" of the present epoch and conducting divisive activities. We have also stated that we shall consider, and do consider to this day, that any "excommunication" and any tendency to counter polemical extremes with polemical extremes would be incorrect. That is why we see it as a positive fact that the draft Document prepared for our Meeting contains no denunciations and no "excommunications".

It stands to reason that at an International Meeting we should discuss all the most important international questions if we wish to produce an objective analysis of the situation. We consider it self-evident, however, that conditions are lacking today for us to arrive at collective conclusions and to define the position of our Meeting on these questions, for this would, as we see it, yield results contrary to those expected.

This does not rule out, I repeat, that our Party will continue its elucidative critical work in relation to the erroneous positions of the Chinese Communist Party. And not so much because in Italy, too, splitting activity is being fostered under the signboard of the Chinese positions, but because the problems at issue concern some of the central aspects of the revolutionary perspective and our political line.

To be sure, the China problem obviously remains an objective one that we have to face up to.

Coming in the wake of such decisive events in the history of mankind as the October Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over nazism and fascism and the emergence of socialist states in Europe, the Chinese revolution was an event of historical significance that made for change in the structure of the world.

Besides, it is obvious that People's China exercises a strong influence on the world situation. That is why we hold that efforts must be applied to understand the objective demands behind the changes that have occurred in China and in Chinese policy. This does not mean that we should exonerate erroneous positions and an erroneous course; what we must do is define more accurately the objective conditions that impelled this course and China's entire political development.

Furthermore, we should try and pinpoint the mistakes and shortcomings in relations with China and in our common political activity.

But we should like to stress, first and foremost, the need for unfolding political actions consistent with the magnitude, complexity and gravity of the questions created by the China problem and consequently the need for measures aimed at renewing the political dialogue and resuming relations of unity. It is evident that any efforts in this direction have to take full account of the objective requirements of the development of the Chinese economy and Chinese society, and China's role in the world.

The policy of peaceful coexistence and the struggle against imperialism also require China's positive contribution.

That is why we cannot regard as congealed and final the situation as it looks today, with the menacing prospect it may entail, and which must be averted in any case. In this respect our Party is prepared to study and promote any initiative which may prove to be useful in overcoming the present situation or, at any rate, in easing the existing tension.

The erroneous line of the Chinese Communist Party must be criticised, it must be fought, but at the same time China's problem, as Comrade Togliatti noted, must be solved by developing our policy, by displaying a concrete ability to find positive solutions for the most important problems of the modern epoch.

Alongside the problem of the threat of world war and nuclear disaster, one of the most dramatic problems of the modern epoch is undoubtedly that of the vast backward areas existing in the world. Masses of people live in tragic conditions of malnutrition, hunger and death from starvation, and denial of freedom—consequences of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and, at the same time, of class exploitation, which is being carried on in the most backward countries. The gulf between these vast areas of the world and the industrially advanced countries is widening. That is why the prospects here are cheerless, also because of the population explosion in the backward countries.

On the other hand, in the industrialised capitalist countries, of which Italy is one, the gap between backward areas with a predominantly agricultural economy, as the south of Italy, and industrial, economically developed areas is widening. That may also be why the Italian working class is especially sensitive to the serious problems of the masses which live in conditions of backwardness throughout the world.

We believe that in these circumstances one of the central elements of the struggle for peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence and the very development of the revolutionary struggle of the world's proletariat for socialism must be a fight against backwardness, poverty and hunger, a struggle to secure for all

peoples freedom and justice, independent development, and an opportunity to use the immense human resources—labour, intellectual and moral, which are now being downtrodden and stifled—to achieve their own free economic, political and cultural progress. The policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is aimed at the attainment of this lofty and revolutionary goal. They devote much attention to this question, exerting great efforts to render vast assistance to the lagging countries, and making serious sacrifices. All this does credit to the socialist nations and states, to socialism. But experience shows, we think, that this is not enough to resolve this dramatic problem facing the whole of mankind.

We feel it to be necessary for all our working-class and democratic movement, all the sound forces of mankind to work for a new world order and for new directions in international development assuring all peoples peace, national independence, freedom and economic progress. The international proletariat, as a revolutionary class, must fully shoulder the task of working for these goals.

In the capitalist countries the struggle of the working class for economic demands and for an extension of its share of power in direct conflict with the capitalists must combine in this plane with the struggle of the peasant masses and the section of the world's population which is being kept in poverty and backwardness. Ultimately, only insofar as this is realised can the working class put an end to any manifestations of corporate narrowness and overcome Social-Democratic limitations, establishing itself as a revolutionary force.

With problems of this kind is connected another one, which we believe to be very important. It relates to the role which all peoples and all states, whether big or small, can and must play in international affairs.

We are in no doubt at all that to the Soviet Union belongs the leading role in the maintenance of peace. That is why, in particular, we reject as incompatible with the interests of peace any condemnation of dialogue between the USA and the USSR, whatever its source. Such a dialogue is absolutely legitimate and necessary. The US imperialists would, of course, like this dialogue to lead through bilateral agreement to the preservation of the status quo. But these strivings of the imperialists have come up against the policy of the Soviet Union and the struggle of the revolutionary, progressive forces, the broad masses and peoples. It should be obvious that an equally important role belongs to the other great world powers, including China. That is why the question of restoring the Chinese People's Republic to its place and role in the United Nations is also an urgent one.

But what is especially characteristic of the present situation is the urge of every people and state to be independent, to make itself heard, to have an equal say in shaping international policies and the world order.

In contrast to the ideas of those who, like the conservative forces in our country, resist the elimination of the division of the world into opposed blocs, none of the great world powers today could enter negotiations as a representative of other countries.

That is why in present-day conditions, the cause of peace and a new international order guaranteeing each people independence and an opportunity to be the architect of its own future demands full respect for sovereignty, equality,

and the possibility for each state and each people to participate in determining world development.

In our camp too, that is, in the camp of socialism, experience shows that it is not right to ignore national conditions and interests, and wound national feelings.

There can be no true international unity if the national element is forgotten or violated. Declarations about internationalism alone are likewise not enough. True internationalism is when effective international solidarity and common international struggle are reinforced with the strength and struggle of the working class and the masses of one's own country.

For that reason we reaffirm the thesis that international unity and the unity of the socialist countries itself can rest only on the utilisation of the unique and creative capacity of each national community and each Party.

The difficulties of the communist movement largely spring precisely from the fact that we are faced with such vast problems and also from the very scope of the movement and the revolutionary forces.

This has produced a great diversity of demands, concrete interests, incentives and also modes of approach to the solution of tasks, even though they are common ones. This has given rise to new problems bearing, in particular, on relations between various contingents of the single broad liberation movement. It is in resolving these problems, we believe, that the lag in the development of our work, in our theoretical research and in the development of Marxism has made itself felt.

How are these difficulties and this lag to be overcome, how is the unity of the movement and broader unity of the anti-imperialist forces to be achieved? We lay no claim to being able to give an exhaustive answer to these difficult questions. But we feel that the experience gained by our movement in the last few years indicates what does not benefit unity.

First of all it is absolutely clear that no benefit accrues from a sharpening of differences and polemics and mutual accusations; on the other hand, no benefit accrues from hushing up differences when they are there, because when they have been concealed for a more or less long period there is an explosion and then it is much harder to overcome them. Experience has shown, besides, that a solemn declaration about the need for unity will not in itself suffice. Similarly, unanimity achieved on the basis of vague formulations, which can be interpreted in various ways and which can only temporarily cover up the differences, does not make for genuine unity.

We believe that it would be well for us, when we get together, to inform the working people and emphasise that on which we are agreed, without however concealing that on which our standpoints differ. This would not only help to enhance the prestige of our movement (in fact, no one today would believe us if we said that we had agreed on every single point); but in addition this would enable Communists and working people to make their conscious contribution to overcoming the differences and solving the problems.

From this approach to the question it follows, we believe, that the differences which may arise at international conferences and in discussions with respect to documents or proposals or during a vote on them—as well as non-partici-

pation at such conferences—should not affect relations between Parties.

As for our Party, it does not and will not consider differences and distinctions of standpoint—in particular, at this Meeting and as to what pertains to its results—either a cause for rupture or a cause for worsened relations with other fraternal Parties.

Finally, we consider the sticking of labels and the pronouncement of ideological verdicts on those who take a different stand to be a negative tendency. To try to explain any difference by “deviations” from the purity of our teaching—without it being clear who is to be its keeper—means in fact not only to sharpen these very differences but also to block for oneself the way to an understanding of the objective causes, the real interests lying at their root.

We believe that to overcome the present difficulties there is need for long and patient work, there is need for action in various planes, by methods appropriate to each of them.

We believe, first of all, that the free exchange of opinion we hold on all the major political and theoretical questions facing our movement should become more outspoken. This exchange of opinion should be concerned with scientific analysis of the principal processes of the modern world, and also with the contradictions which arise in the development of socialist societies and our whole movement, and should be based on what we believe to be the fundamental principle of “historicity” of socialism and Marxism itself.

We must advance in the realm of theory as well, because the point is to restore Marxism and Leninism to the power of its cultural, theoretical, critical, scientific and historical direction, ridding it of the diverse revisionist interpretations, including positivist and dogmatic interpretations, which have been to no little extent characteristic of Marxist thinking in the last few decades.

These tasks, as Comrade Brezhnev has noted, are best solved at conferences of a scientific nature, which could be convened more often.

There is another important side to the type of relations which should exist between the Parties. On this score our opinion has been and remains that given the maturity and scope achieved by our movement there can be no leading centre, no leader-Party, no leader-state.

It is necessary to recognise and fully respect each Party's independence not only in determining its own policy, not only in seeking its own way of struggle for socialism and the building of socialist society, but also in determining its positions on important questions of our movement.

It is essentially a question of overcoming any gravitation towards a monolithic concept of our movement's unity, a concept which would be not only erroneous but also utopian. We do not of course close our eyes to the possibility that there may—and do—appear centrifugal, nationalistic tendencies and the risk of provincial seclusion. To fight such tendencies there is need above all to activate contacts and international co-operation between the Parties in the most diverse spheres, and their struggle for common goals. It is on this concept, which makes strict respect for each Party's and each state's independence and sovereignty of fundamental importance, that we base, alongside our concern for further democratic development in the socialist countries, our attitude to the Czechoslovak events: from solidarity with the



new course started in January 1968 to the serious disagreement with the entry into Czechoslovakia of the troops of the five Warsaw Treaty countries, and, finally, to the subsequent assessments, which we confirmed at our Congress and at the last plenary meeting of our Central Committee, and which we reaffirm here too. In taking this attitude we have not had and do not have any intention to interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak comrades, of their Party, and of their state. No one is more convinced than we that there is need to avoid any interference in matters which are the business only of the people and the Communists of Czechoslovakia, to whom we once again express our trust and our wishes for fulfilling the difficult tasks which face them.

But there are aspects to the Czechoslovak events which bear upon fundamental questions and are the business not only of the countries concerned but of our entire movement. These are questions of independence and sovereignty, and these are also questions of socialist democracy and freedom of culture.

That is why we welcome every step in the development of democratic life in the socialist countries as a factor enhancing the prestige of socialism in the eyes of the masses, and every act aimed at ensuring complete respect for the independence of these countries as the basis of their unity.

The stand we have taken on these questions in terms of reaffirmed international solidarity with the socialist countries and with all the Communist Parties is in line with the principles in which we believe. Moreover, this stand has enabled us to give an effective rebuff to the campaign of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

The main task of our movement is to achieve greater unity of action.

United action is undoubtedly not the highest form of unity, but it is important and necessary if we want to avoid a vacuum of initiative in the anti-imperialist struggle. Thus, it is also possible to strengthen accord between those Communist and Workers' Parties which, while adopting different attitudes, are prepared to work for common political goals.

United action and the creation of a higher stage of unity are interrelated.

United action may enable us to secure, in addition, the ground for accord between Communist Parties and other anti-imperialist forces. In this sphere, we Communists have a task, perhaps the most important one just now—that of making a contribution to uniting the whole international anti-imperialist movement, while showing respect for and using the specific features and independence of each of its components.

That is why, in particular, we proposed that revolutionary and progressive non-communist movements should be able to take part in our Meeting.

The main aim of united action by the Communist Parties and the democratic forces is to avert a nuclear war, an aim which can be attained.

In this plane, it is necessary to carry on a struggle for the peaceful settlement of conflicts and contradictions, and support the peoples fighting for liberation from colonialism and neo-colonialism and for emancipation from reactionary and fascist regimes.

There is need to secure a fresh upswing of the movement for solidarity with the Vietnamese people. The peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese problem on the basis of the platform of democracy, national sovereignty and neutrality,

recently reaffirmed in the 10 points of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, fully meets the interests of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the whole world.

The Mediterranean must once again become a sea of peace. Today, the presence of a Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean has served as a counterweight to the US 6th Fleet and has averted fresh attempts at aggression against the Arab countries. In order to create the conditions for transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and disarmament, it is necessary to stop the imperialist pressure against the Arab countries and direct or indirect support of Israeli aggression.

Consequently, the rights of the Arab peoples must be restored, naturally with Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state obliged to respect the system of peaceful coexistence and collective security. Bearing in mind this prospect, which lies in the UN resolution of November 22, 1967, it is necessary to work for the full recognition of the rights of the Palestine Arabs, who have been denied their own national existence for 20 years.

A tense situation latent with many dangers remains in the heart of Europe. Of course, the new attitudes which have appeared in the Federal Republic of Germany, within the Social-Democratic Party in particular—although they are not free from serious contradictions—must not be underestimated. However, it is a fact that in West Germany there has been a menacing revival of revanchist and even avowedly fascist forces. It is a fact that the Bonn government still refuses to recognise the existence of two German states and the borders set up as a result of the Second World War, above all the borders of Poland, and that it has not yet signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The Karlovy Vary Conference outlined a clear platform of struggle for collective security in Europe. The Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries is another important political act in the same direction, which has already had a positive response. We must now advance along that road, working for any possible agreement, even if a partial one, with the other democratic forces—Socialist, Social-Democratic and Catholic.

There is a process of differentiation in the midst of European Social Democracy, and a crisis, which are reflected at the top. Thus, nothing can be more harmful than to ignore or underrate this crisis and differentiation, especially in the European countries where Social Democrats give a lead to a sizable section of the working class. This is not taking place in Italy, where the contradictions in Italian society and also our struggle as well as the struggle of other progressive, socialist and democratic trends have left little room for Social-Democratic influence on the workers, while Catholic reformism enjoys greater influence. In Europe the problem of relations with the masses following the Social Democrats and of their switch to consistent class positions is one of the most important.

We believe, moreover, that some new positions, even if limited and contradictory, as expressed by some Social-Democratic circles on the question of peace in Europe, could open fresh possibilities for more effective struggle in order to isolate the most aggressive and reactionary groups of the capitalist bourgeoisie, for the struggle for peace, security and democracy in Europe.

### III

We should finally like to set out in brief our opinion about the draft documents worked out by the Preparatory Committee, an opinion which has already been indirectly expressed in the foregoing part of this statement.

Yesterday, we all adopted a document of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. We express agreement with the draft Appeal in Defence of Peace, and the document on the celebration of the centenary of Lenin's birth.

As for the draft Main Document submitted for our consideration, our Party's representatives set out our positions at all the sittings held to prepare our Meeting. The last plenary meeting of our Central Committee has reaffirmed our stand. We agree with the platform of action set out in Section Three of the draft Document, apart from the reservations over some formulations on which we motioned amendments.

Our support for this section of the Document means that we undertake to dedicate our strength to realising the mapped out plan of struggle.

In respect of the other sections of the Document, we have, on the contrary, put forward, and continue to put forward objections.

It is not only a question of partial objections to this or that formulation. It is also and specifically a question of our objection relating to the very structure of the Document.

Indeed, as we have already said, we believe that while it is possible in the present conditions to co-ordinate the common tasks of the struggle, the situation is not yet ripe for drawing common conclusions on many of the political and fundamental questions raised in the Document. Of course, these questions have to be discussed by us, as is already being done in the frank and exhaustive exchange of opinion unfolding at this Meeting. We consider this discussion and its publicity a positive fact, because we think that this can also help to enhance the prestige of our movement and to induce Communists and working people all over the world to make an ever more active and conscious contribution to the cause of our unity. But discussion is one thing, and conclusions drawn from it are another. We feel that the situation is not yet such as to make it possible to provide answers in the Document to many important questions: these answers would only seem to be unanimous, while in fact covering up differences, including some deep ones which have been fully revealed in the course of the discussion in this hall.

Conversely, unanimous conclusions on a number of concrete political tasks stated in Section Three of the Document correspond to the identity of views which is actually evident from the stands taken by all the Parties here represented, and also of some of the other Communist Parties not represented here. Some say that it is impossible to co-ordinate such a platform for united action unless there is agreement on the scientific analysis of the situation. We feel that this is a highly debatable point.

On the other hand, we are in serious doubt about the scientific character of some aspects of the analysis contained in the Document. In style, the Document is more frequently couched in invocatory-propagandist rather than analytical terms, and this makes it impossible to catch the great novelty, wealth

and complexity of the processes of development of the modern world revolutionary movement. In addition, there are some flaws in it relating to far from secondary aspects of the international situation. The Document, for instance, underrates the difficulties, the setbacks and the contradictions which have been observed in the socialist camp and the working-class movement, and fails to examine their causes. As it is, however, these facts exert a weighty influence not only on our movement but on the whole world situation. We also find unsatisfactory that part of the Document which deals with the socialist countries and the problems of socialism. The Document gives an impression of socialism as something uniform, in its essential features at any rate, while this does not accord with and in part contradicts the type of socialist society for which we call upon the working class and working people of our country to struggle.

As for the difficulties of the socialist countries, the Document virtually limits itself to the assertion that "socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism". This is right, but it is not enough.

We have expressed our resolutely critical remarks also on that part of the draft Document (Section Four) which looks at the relations between Communist Parties. It says there, in particular, that these relations must be based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual solidarity, complete respect for independence, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other Parties. These are correct principles. But in the practical application of these principles there recently arose differences which persist to this day and cannot be ignored.

For all these reasons we have proposed that the Meeting should adopt a Document consisting of the introductory part and the programme of action set forth in Section Three, which meets with the approval of all the Parties here represented, and at the same time take a decision to continue discussion in various forms and joint research into the questions which remain open. We felt it to be our duty to expound our stand in the most sincere way, reiterating that the line approved by our CC allows us to back only that part of the Document which outlines our common action programme.

Comrades, you may have seen from our whole statement on which points our stand coincides and on which it differs from the stand of other Parties.

As for us, the existence of these differences does not in any way lessen the respect we have for the opinions and demands expressed by other Parties. Similarly, this will not upset the line of internationalist solidarity on which our relations with all Communist Parties have always rested and will continue to rest.

**ALVARO CUNHAL**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Portuguese Communist Party**

Comrades,

Allow us to begin by conveying heartfelt greetings to all the brother Parties present here on behalf of the Communists and the working class of Portugal. Allow us also to thank for their hospitality the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, whose capital was rightfully chosen as the venue of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our conference is the culmination of a long period of preparatory work. It owes much to the methods used in that work. We consider that as a result we have gained ample experience which opens up favourable prospects for our conference and the further co-operation of the brother Parties.

The collectively elaborated draft documents correspond in substance to the conference objectives, likewise defined collectively, and take into account the diversity of the estimations and situations of the brother Parties. The Portuguese Communist Party approves of the documents as they stand.

We note with satisfaction the presence of the vast majority of the Communist and Workers' Parties at this conference. However, we must not forget about the working men and women and the peoples not represented here. One of the big Parties not participating in the conference, the glorious Party of Working People of Vietnam, which is particularly dear to all Communists and to which we send warm fraternal greetings from this conference hall, was with us in spirit during the preparatory work, just as it is now.

We sincerely hope the conference will open a new stage in the consolidation of world communist unity, so that the brother Parties not attending may take part in a future international conference.

Socialist and proletarian solidarity is prompted by social evolution, by the identity of interests of the working class of all countries and by revolutionary changes in the world of today.

The reciprocal influence of the activity of the revolutionary forces of the world is an objective fact independent of how it may be judged. In fighting against imperialism, the revolutionary forces of every country, including all the socialist countries without exception, have benefited and benefit from the action of the revolutionary forces of all other countries. The gains of every Communist

Party fighting in capitalist conditions are inseparable from the existence, achievements and support of the socialist countries and the international impact of their victories. Among the socialist countries the Soviet Union is the greatest bulwark of the revolutionary forces thanks to its achievements, its experience, its economic and military power, and the effective and varied assistance it renders to the workers and peoples of the world. Its decisive role guarantees the defence of the socialist camp as a whole.

No Party can ever claim that it has accomplished a revolution by its own efforts alone. In the present world situation the internal forces of a country where the proletarian revolution triumphed could not by themselves ensure, in the face of imperialism, the consolidation of the victory achieved, any more than the development and defence of socialist society.

The friendship, co-operation, solidarity and unity of the socialist countries are the best guarantee of their further achievements, their growing influence on the evolution of the international situation and their defence. When imperialist aggression or the activity of counter-revolutionary forces endangers the working people's power in a socialist country, the sacred duty of the other socialist countries and the entire labour movement of the world is to come out in its defence.

Realising the significance of the Soviet Union for the world revolutionary movement, the reactionary forces have made anti-Sovietism the main line of their fight against the organised vanguards of the working class. They are helped in this by the political pressure of the Right socialists and the Leftist groups of the radical petty bourgeoisie. We think it would be a tragic mistake for any brother Party to presume that its national tasks or the conclusion of its political alliances would be simplified if it moved away from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or proceeded to systematically criticise it. One has to pay dearly whenever one sacrifices consistent positions of principle to secure a fleeting gain. During the five decades that have passed since the October Revolution the Communists of all countries have been persecuted and slandered, and have had to pay for their friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union with their lives or with long years of prison. Having gone through these severe trials, the Parties concerned have not weakened but have, on the contrary, won greater prestige, authority and influence. The present situation and the aggressiveness and ideological pressure of imperialism demand that Communists continue to set such examples of physical and ideological courage and that the unity of the communist movement behind the Soviet Union and the socialist system be strengthened.

Close, sincere, open and explicit co-operation of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Parties of other socialist countries is the only policy meeting the interests of the communist movement and its every contingent.

Like other fraternal Parties, we believe that despite natural differences of opinion and, indeed, more or less serious divergences over this or that problem, that which unites the Communist and Workers' Parties is superior by far to what may at this or that juncture tend to move them apart or to separate them.

This Meeting cannot solve all the complex problems facing the communist movement. But we think the line of common action to be determined by it could provide basic conditions for co-operation, making it possible afterwards to overcome the difficulties and divergences still there.

But to work for unity does not mean merely strengthening the bonds of co-operation between those who wish it. It also means fighting against those who declare that their object is to divide and destroy the Communist Parties, undermine the socialist community and disintegrate the communist movement. This is why our Party, for its part, considers that its duty to the working class and people of Portugal and to the world communist movement is to take a clear stand on the nationalist, chauvinist, expansionist, anti-Soviet and disruptive conceptions and activities of the Chinese leaders, aggravated still more by the so-called "cultural revolution" and the recent congress in Peking. We would have preferred not to use these words but we know no other words that would express what we mean.

The unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement and the alliance with the national liberation movement are defended and strengthened by fighting against disuniting, divisive and disruptive activities and not by keeping silent on them.

Closer unity of the communist movement is an imperative task arising from the international situation, the identity of goals and the existence of a common ideology. Cohesion and joint action of all the contingents of the communist movement are indispensable in the fight against imperialism.

Proletarian internationalism and mutual solidarity are the fundamental principles of the relations between Communist Parties, of their friendship, co-operation and unity. These principles accord with the nature, interests and goals of the world communist movement and each of its contingents.

It should not be forgotten, however, that history leaves Communists a bad heritage. Nationalist tendencies have not been fully defeated even in the labour movement and persist in the minds of the peoples. Hence the need to go on fighting against nationalism, and this requires, as Lenin taught us, great prudence and tact towards survivals of the nationalist prejudices and distrust of the peoples having suffered from national oppression over a long period, and on the other hand, an ideological fight against tendencies disputing the principles of proletarian internationalism.

From proletarian internationalism there flow other principles commonly accepted in the relations between brother Parties: independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs.

These principles are an important factor for the struggle in every country and for the cohesion of the communist movement. The revolutionary process in every country, and every socialist revolution, has its distinguishing and original features. Each Party determines its political and tactical line on the basis of an analysis of reality in its own country and with due regard to the actual historical situation. To do this correctly, it must not disregard the general laws of the revolutionary process, scorn the experience and solidarity of brother Parties nor dissociate itself from the international context and the common problems of the fight against imperialism.

A Marxist-Leninist Party does not see independence as a position of national narrow-mindedness, isolation or separatism. It does not consider its interests to be alien or superior to the common interests of the communist movement. It does not discover imaginary elements of incompatibility between the immediate interests of the struggle on the national level and the general interests of the revolutionary movement in which the national struggle inserts itself. The road to socialism in any country is not independent of the international situation, the balance of world forces or the solidarity of other Parties. The independence of every Party must not be seen as a loosening of links with brother Parties or the right to exempt oneself from fighting shoulder to shoulder with them. The independence of every Party is inseparable from its internationalist policy. And the world revolutionary process demands that internationalists be prepared for sacrifice, both for their own people and for the success of the struggle of other peoples.

The very activity of a Communist Party cannot be regarded as something concerning solely the country in question, for a Party is not an isolated unit and its gains or setbacks increase or reduce the forces of socialism as a whole. The Portuguese Communist Party, being independent and sovereign like the other fraternal Parties and not interfering in the internal matters of other Parties or allowing interference in its own affairs, is always ready to discuss with brother Parties any matter of common interest, including the situation in Portugal and its own activity.

The Communist Parties are inspired by the principles of proletarian internationalism. These principles have been a source of inspiration throughout the long period of preparations for this Meeting, they inspire its deliberations and can assure its success. It is on the principles of proletarian internationalism that the spokesmen of the communist movement assembled at this Meeting are going to define in common "the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage" and chart the road to "unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces".

The PCP agrees to the objectives of common and urgent actions against imperialism listed in the draft Main Document of this Meeting, namely:

*Assistance to the heroic people of Vietnam and support for them*, which means campaigning to make the US imperialists withdraw their forces of aggression from Vietnam, stop interfering in the internal affairs of Vietnam and respect the Vietnamese people's right to solve their own problems.

*Constant and active solidarity with the socialist countries that are targets of imperialist acts of aggression*—the Republic of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

*Defence of the peoples who are victims of acts of aggression, local wars and armed intervention on the part of imperialism*; above all, solidarity with the Arab peoples.

*Abolition of the last seats of colonialism and neo-colonialism*, which means supporting and showing solidarity for the peoples of Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa, as well as for all other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for national independence and sovereignty, for deliverance from imperialist economic and political interference, for an end to their economic and social backwardness.



*Abolition of fascist and reactionary dictatorships, and determined resistance to neo-fascist moves*, which means supporting and showing solidarity for the peoples of Portugal, Spain, Greece, Indonesia, Haiti, Guatemala, Brazil and other countries who are engaged in a difficult fight for a democratic system, a fight to democratise every aspect of social life.

*Defence of world peace, defined as "the main line of united action by the anti-imperialist forces"*, which means fighting against the war danger, for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and for their prohibition, for a reduction of armaments, against military bases on foreign soil, for the liquidation of military blocs, for the dissolution of NATO, for the recognition of the present frontiers in Europe, and against militarism.

The PCP believes that this platform of *unity of action*, set out in the draft, corresponds to the more pressing immediate tasks of the struggle against imperialism. It concerns important problems facing the Portuguese people at this historical juncture.

Portugal is a knot of contradictions. It is a colonialist and yet dependent country dominated by foreign imperialism—US, British and West German imperialism to be specific. It is an economically backward country where capitalist relations of production are highly developed nevertheless, as is evident from the domination of the whole economy by a small number of monopoly groups and from the great numerical superiority of the proletariat. It is a country where farming methods are still primitive and where, nevertheless, capitalism is developing rapidly in the countryside, as is seen in the fact that the rural proletariat makes up two-thirds of the gainfully employed agricultural population. The fascist dictatorship lacks a mass base. There is a deep gulf between the fascist camarilla and the Portuguese people and nation.

These contradictions are sapping the power of the dominant monopolies, building up a revolutionary potential and creating objective conditions for rapid social change.

The fight against the fascist dictatorship, for a democratic regime, is at the same time a fight for genuine national independence and is closely linked with the fight of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for their right to independence.

Owing to the development of its internal contradictions and as a result of the converging struggle of the Portuguese people and the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, who are inspired by mutual solidarity, the fascist regime is in a grave crisis, which was made even worse in September 1968 by the physical incapacity of Salazar, unchallenged fascist leader for almost forty years.

Ever since the new government was formed the fascists have been suggesting through their propaganda that their policy has changed and that Marcelo Caetano, the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers, is striving to "liberalise" if not to democratise, political life in Portugal. In reality it is a question of a large-scale demagogic manoeuvre to save the fascist dictatorship in a particularly grave situation.

The fascists do talk of "liberalisation". They do that to generate an expectant mood and passivity, to extend the internal base of their regime, increase the

number of their foreign allies, curb the popular struggle, prevent a sharp exacerbation of the class struggle, secure the collaboration of the more vacillating elements of opposition and isolate the Communist Party, so as to separate the entire opposition from the only revolutionary party in it.

Except for minor changes of façade, the government policy has undergone no substantial change. The most elementary freedoms are banned as in the past and the regime of one fascist party and unified fascist trade unions continues to rule. The policy of police terror continues. So does the colonial war and the policy of surrender to imperialism. Salazarism continues without Salazar.

And yet the regime's sharpening crisis, which the regime itself reveals by its demagogic manoeuvres, affords new and real opportunities of furthering the anti-fascist movement and the mass struggle of the people.

The situation compels us to carry on a stubborn fight against Right-wing opportunism, which expresses itself, among other things, in the illusion that the very same men who want to rescue fascism will put an end to it. We are also fighting against Leftism and sectarianism, which during this period have expressed themselves, specifically, in the idea that "everything goes on as before", in a scornful attitude to legal and semi-legal forms of activity and to the fight for limited immediate goals, whereas both are of decisive importance today. If these tendencies were to gain the upper hand they would result in paralysing the activity of the masses, renouncing all initiative and splitting the democratic forces.

In exposing the new government's "liberalising" demagoguery, our Party points to the need to take advantage of the aggravated crisis of the fascist dictatorship to end political immobility, gain ground and make the government keep its demagogic promises, to the need to set political life on a new course, to strengthen the unity and organisation of the democratic forces, to step up the struggle of the masses for specific immediate objectives: against repression; for the right to express one's ideas; for the right to organise and, in particular, for a democratic leadership of the trade unions, student associations and other mass organisations; for the more pressing economic demands of the working class and other working people; for an immediate end to the colonial war; for the abolition of the foreign military bases on Portuguese territory; for a foreign policy of peace and international coexistence and, in particular, for the establishment of relations with the socialist countries.

The eight months that have passed since the new government was constituted have borne out the Party's estimation and orientation. The masses have seen through the "liberalising" manoeuvre. There is an upsurge in the people's struggle—the most important since 1961 and 1962—and it goes on unabated. The fight is developing on three main fronts. It is the workers' fight, which in the early months of this year translated itself into a wave of stoppages and strikes involving about 100,000 workers. It is the student movement which involves the three existing university centres and during which strikes, demonstrations and large public meetings alternate, involving two, three, five thousand or more students. It is the democratic struggle in which the intellectuals are particularly active and which found vivid expression in a recent congress attended by 1,500 delegates from every political opposition group.

Today our Party is operating deep underground as it has done for the last forty-three years. Repressive measures against Communists are not falling off. But our underground cadres, our organisations linked with the masses and our illegal press, which we have been publishing without breaks for twenty-eight years now, play a decisive part in the development of the popular struggle.

The struggle is expanding. It has registered a number of partial gains. Democratic unity is increasing. We are confident that this year will be a year of great political battles against the fascist dictatorship, which for long decades has been tyrannising the Portuguese people, a year of struggle that will bring the day of the final battle nearer. In the conditions prevailing in our country, we think that battle will take the form of an armed popular rising.

Comrades, by fighting in our country against fascism and colonialism, we contribute and will go on contributing our share to the attainment of the objectives of unity of action against imperialism defined in the Main Document of this Meeting. Furthermore, the brother Parties may rest assured that we will spare no effort to take part, to the best of our modest ability, in the fight for the more general common goals of our communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

Today we are fighting to sweep fascism off the earth, establish a democratic regime and win genuine independence for our country. This constitutes the present stage of the revolution in our country. However, we always bear in mind the perspective of a future socialist Portugal, which is our goal.

It is the struggle for this goal that entitled us to the proud name of a contingent of the world communist movement. As we take part in this Meeting along with brother Parties and discuss the platform of common action against imperialism, we feel that we are linked with every brother Party by the supreme goals of the communist movement.

Joint action to solve the urgent problems of the anti-imperialist struggle does not restrict but rather paves a sure way for the co-operation and unity of the communist movement in the struggle for its highest objectives. The relations of co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties are not the same as the relations between the anti-imperialist forces. The bonds of the communist movement cannot be dissolved in the vast system of alliances with diverse social and political forces fighting against imperialism. To reduce the aims of communist unity of action to the platform stated in Section Three of the draft Main Document of the Meeting, which is rightly believed to be acceptable to large sectors of the anti-imperialist front, would mean reducing the relations between the revolutionary Parties of the working class to the level of relations between parties of different classes and social strata.

In analysing the present situation and the current tasks of the struggle against imperialism, the Communist and Workers' Parties proceed from the ideals of the working class, the ideals of scientific socialism. It was proper, correct and necessary, therefore, to hold this Communist Meeting according to the agenda we have adopted rather than convening a conference of the anti-imperialist forces. True, we think the idea of such a conference, which could be held after this Meeting, deserves to be carefully examined. It could constitute an important

step towards the actual implementation of the decisions of this Meeting. The communist movement is the axis and vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle. Dissolving the Communist Parties in the anti-imperialist movement would mark the end of the communist movement as such, as an independent movement of the working class and other working people, and would thus rob the revolutionary process of its decisive force.

The Communist Parties want not only to accomplish the immediate and urgent tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle but to transform the world, to end imperialism for ever and lead the working people to the conquest of socialism and communism. This is the actual *raison d'être* of the communist movement and the purpose of the revolutionary fight which every Communist Party is carrying on.

The communist movement possesses a science enabling it to know the general laws of social evolution, a method enabling every Party to decide correctly on its policy on the basis of an analysis of reality, and a theory which puts revolutionary practice on scientific foundations.

The ideologues of imperialism are conducting an intense anti-labour and anti-communist campaign disputing the validity of the teachings of Marx and Lenin and questioning the prospects of every Communist Party and the labour movement as a whole. The ideologues of the radical petty bourgeoisie, too, call into doubt the revolutionary role of the working class and its class Party in the anti-imperialist fight, the socialist revolution and even in building socialism.

History gives the lie to the ideologues of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie day after day, proving Marxist-Leninist theory to be correct.

Marxism-Leninism maintains and revolutionary experience shows that the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class. "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx", wrote Lenin, "is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society" (*Collected Works*, Engl. ed., Vol. 18, p. 582). Marx revealed this historic and universal role. A hundred years of revolutionary struggle have fully proved him right.

Marxism-Leninism maintains and revolutionary experience shows the vanguard and leading role of the working class and its Party in the socialist revolution, in the successful building of socialism, in defending socialism against threats from imperialism and the counter-revolutionary forces.

Marxism-Leninism maintains and revolutionary experience shows that the dictatorship of the proletariat, always a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic of bourgeois dictatorships, is not only indispensable for the struggle to consolidate the victorious socialist revolution and build socialism but is an inevitable stage of social evolution. It was Marx who pointed out that the fundamental aspect of his doctrine is the proof that "the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*" and that "this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes and to a classless society*" (Marx's letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852).

The immediate and urgent common struggle against imperialism which the present international situation necessitates is a phase of the Communists' struggle to ensure that the working people win power in all countries, to end

the exploitation of man by man, abolish classes and build socialism and communism.

It is the struggle for these goals that makes the communist movement the motive force of the historic changes of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Comrades, we are confident that this Meeting will not disappoint the millions throughout the world who hope and trust that the communist movement will again prove equal to its great responsibility.

We are confident that this Meeting will make a decisive contribution to the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and to a more active fight against imperialism.

We are confident that this Meeting will strengthen the friendship, fraternal co-operation and unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression, for the freedom of peoples and nations, for peace, socialism and communism.

## **GUSTAV HUSAK**

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia**

Dear Comrades,

Allow me, first of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to greet the world forum of Communist and Workers' Parties, to convey our comradely greetings to the representatives of all fraternal Parties and to thank all those who helped to prepare and hold this International Meeting of Communists, above all to thank the Soviet and Hungarian comrades, who created exceptional conditions both for our preparatory sessions and for the Meeting itself.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia believes that the programme of this Meeting, whose attention is centred on ensuring joint action by Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle against imperialism, is in complete accord with the present demands and interests of the international revolutionary movement. On us rests the great historic responsibility and task of uniting all the Communist forces which are fully determined to strengthen both our mutual ties and alliance, and co-operation with those forces in the world with whom we have a common enemy—imperialism, and a common goal—world peace and progress.

We believe that such a broad Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is a considerable contribution to these efforts. We must discuss together the most important problems of our day which are connected with the anti-imperialist struggle, and seek common ways to frustrate all the anti-popular plans of imperialism and heighten the influence of the progressive revolutionary forces on world development.

It is in the interests of all of us that the Main Document of our Meeting should contain the most precise answers to the questions which are uppermost in our minds and which we are to consider. This is a matter of making the Document a reliable basis for our joint activity on fundamental issues.

We hold that the successes of the international communist and working-class movement will be the more tangible the greater the unity of views we succeed in achieving, the greater the co-ordination of our Parties' concrete political work. We must go over from declaring the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity of our movement to concrete action in our work.

Proceeding from this, our Party's Central Committee, at its plenary meeting on May 29 and 30 of this year, examined the draft Main Document and unanimously approved the concept of its content and its structure. We hold that this Document offers a good basis for the work of our Meeting.

Nine years have passed since the last International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Profound changes have taken place and these must be analysed in order to assess them objectively. This also applies to modern imperialism, in which substantial changes have taken place in the sphere of politics, economy and ideology. On the whole the aggressive essence of imperialism virtually remains unchanged, but its policy—both in its content and forms—utilises a much wider arsenal, ranging from brute force to subtle methods of corruptive influence on the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement.

In the economic sphere, the capitalist countries are going through a period of accelerated growth of production and integration. At the same time, the economy is becoming increasingly state-monopolistic, there is a growing unevenness of economic development both between some advanced countries, and between the metropolitan and the economically backward areas.

The scientific and technological revolution is beginning to tell in every sphere of human life and gives the advanced countries some fresh possibilities for development.

In the ideological sphere, alongside the ultra-reactionary, overtly bellicose anti-communist ideology, ever more refined ideas are being incessantly pushed to the fore and these tag on to diverse progressive and popular theories as parasites so as to deform them from the outset and produce false conclusions. There has been a wide spread of bourgeois flirtation with socialism, and also of various revisionist-opportunist theories.

The solution of all the problems of our day, including the prevention of a devastating thermonuclear, chemical and bacteriological war, the solution of the problem of hunger in many countries of the world should be sought not in a gradual convergence of capitalism and socialism with an automatic withering away of their mutual contradictions, as the proponents of the convergence theory insist, but above all in broad and strong unity of action by all the anti-imperialist forces.

All these questions were analysed on a high Marxist level by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev. Our delegation highly appreciates the CPSU leadership's sober, realistic and concrete approach to the basic problems of the modern world, the international communist movement and the socialist camp. We agree with the deductions and conclusions in Comrade Brezhnev's report and will support them, because they accord with our own ideas and our views. That is why we shall deal only briefly with some questions.

The closing third of this century—as the submitted Document declares—is characterised by a new balance of world forces, which on the whole develops in favour of socialism and progress. The common platform set out in the Document is an effective guide for the cohesion of the broad front of anti-imperialist forces. We cannot agree with the proposals which would run against the

logic of the Main Document and would induce us to adopt a structure and concept for it which would virtually emasculate it and deprive it of its main content and fundamental ideas.

First of all, we believe that the Document correctly sets out the platform of the three great forces of our day and their common interest in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy, equality and peaceful coexistence. The Document gives a convincing set of arguments demonstrating what unites these forces, why they constitute a single whole as the world anti-imperialist movement, and also states the reasons why none of these component parts can be ignored or considered less important than the others.

However, this does not in any way reduce the specific unifying role of the world communist movement, whose world outlook—Marxism-Leninism—allows an objective analysis of the requirements of world development and, on that basis, a correct definition of tactics and strategy for achieving the optimal aims of the anti-imperialist movement.

We regard as wrong views which underestimate the role of the international communist movement in the anti-imperialist process, and ignore the class content of this process and its contradictory nature. The principle of unity and equality of all the forces in the anti-imperialist struggle does not clash with the vanguard role of the international communist movement, as the Document defines it. Also taken into account is the fact that the main streams in this movement have their own specific interests, that there are different possibilities for fighting imperialism, and that in this struggle they have different tasks and weight.

The experience of the world communist movement clearly confirms that the socialist world system is the main force of the anti-imperialist movement. This historical fact can be neither evaded nor ignored.

The historic role of the socialist system, of which the Soviet Union is the mainstay, springs from the fact that it is a counterweight to modern capitalism in political, economic and military terms, and consequently that it is the mainstay of the anti-imperialist movement. Neither the present conditions of the struggle of the working class and other progressive forces in the capitalist world, nor the growing activity of this class struggle, which affects the changing world balance of forces, would be conceivable without the existence and development of the socialist camp.

I should like in this connection to expound in a few words our concept of the Soviet Union's role in the socialist camp. Those who worked in the communist movement before the last world war know very well how important the emergence and very existence of the world's first socialist state was for the working-class movement, for the international progressive forces, for the anti-colonial and democratic movement, what the Great October Revolution, Lenin's name and socialist construction in the Soviet Union meant for the oppressed classes and peoples. Those who went through the Second World War and took part in the anti-fascist struggle will never forget the Soviet Union's exceptional role in the battle for the freedom of nations, its sacrifices, and the heroism of its people and army. They will never forget that the Soviet Union's struggle and sacrifices enabled many nations to regain their national freedom



and state independence, and also to start fighting for the working-class victory, for the way to socialism.

Since some people today nevertheless forget about this, or merely pay lip service to the Soviet Union's historical services in formal pronouncements, I think that a reminder should be given about the Soviet Union's present material, economic, scientific, technical and manpower potential, about its importance for the socialist camp and the whole world in conditions of both the peaceful competition with capitalism and of possible crisis situations. The point is that we Marxists, when soaring on the wings of high words or sometimes of flights of fancy and rhetoric, and guided by narrowly national considerations, should not depart from the reality of the class-divided world, from its possibilities and dangers, and above all from the basic fact of reality, namely, that the strength of the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist movement, its hopes and possibilities for development depend primarily on the strength and development of the Soviet Union. In their politics and economics, the imperialist circles take a quite sober account of real factors. We would be day-dreamers, and not proponents of scientific socialism, if we did not proceed from a factual assessment of reality.

In art a person's imagination has a legitimate place. In politics it has more than once led to irresponsibility and to tragedies for the peoples and progress, and we must not forget about this.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, proceeding from principled Marxist-Leninist propositions and historical aspects and taking account of the future development of our peoples, regards the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the chief bulwark of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

No new social formation has ever paved its way easily, painlessly, without difficulties and mistakes. This has been, and is, also the case in building socialist society. It has been said many times that the process of building socialism is not a freeway. The winning of state political power by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, is a complicated task. But the reconstruction of a whole society on a socialist foundation is even more complicated. All the socialist countries have learned this from their own experience. To blaze new trails to social progress is a much more difficult thing than to argue about this theoretically.

In the long run people make politics, and they do not always possess only ideal traits. Problems of an objective and subjective nature emerge at the stage of transition to socialism; contradictions and divergences arise. It is necessary to distinguish where they are of a specific and where they are of a principled nature. It is possible to discuss, and argue about, specific questions. As for the principles of our theory and our policy, it is necessary to fight consistently for them. We think that this is also the necessary approach to contradictions in the international communist movement.

The socialist countries are entering a new stage of internal development and international co-operation. They are entering a period marked by a much more intensive operation of the laws of the scientific and technological revolution and international socialist integration, for whose development wide scope can

be opened only under socialism, because it does not have limitations stemming from the class antagonism of bourgeois society.

In Marxist-Leninist understanding, socialism must combine the national and international interests of the working class and the other working masses. Any one-sidedness leads to mistakes. Therefore, anyone who wants to confine socialism solely to narrow national bounds of separate socialist countries, to counterpose their international and national interests, thereby acts contrary to the objective needs of socialist development in the world and to the national interests of individual countries.

Our own experience and that of other fraternal Parties demonstrates that deviations of a dogmatic and revisionist nature inflict serious harm on the combination of national and international interests. A dogmatic, Leftist approach turns into an absolute the force of internationalist views and does not pay due attention to national specificity in the development of socialist society. Revisionist Right-wing opportunist concepts, on the contrary, one-sidedly give preference to so-called "national positions" and lead to a weakening of the joint struggle of the socialist countries. Both these extremes exert an undesirable influence on the activity and interests of each individual Party and socialist country and impair the efficiency and strength of the entire socialist community and also of the international communist movement.

To understand the policy of contemporary imperialism and appropriately react to it one must avoid one-sidedness. To pay attention only to the extreme manifestations of the violence and plans of imperialism, to orient oneself only on an open frontal conflict and be unprepared for all the artful attacks from pseudo-democratic, pseudo-socialist and pseudo-humane positions, means lapsing into dogmatism. In just the same way, on the other hand, to overestimate and absolutise the new features in the political tactics of imperialism, to accept them as a final departure from its old intentions and methods, means indulging in false illusions, lapsing into opportunism and disarming one's own front in face of the enemy's offensive.

If world imperialism shifts the emphasis in its efforts from preparing for a blitz destruction of socialism with the use of arms to a striving to erode and disintegrate it gradually, then this is not a sign of its strength, though it does not lessen the threat emanating from imperialism, should we fail to become aware of it, in good time, fully and in all seriousness.

The new strategy and tactics of imperialism attach tremendous significance to ideologically and politically influencing socialist countries, to ideological and political intervention and, it may be said without exaggeration, to a wide range of acts of political and ideological subversion. Here we have some fundamental changes in the methods of imperialism's activity.

In this respect our Czechoslovak experience can be instructive. In the last year and a half Czechoslovakia has become an object of attention of the entire world, both of friends and foes. The development of events in our country in recent years, particularly in the very recent period, demands a deep-going and all-round analysis. This accords with the interests of the further development of Czechoslovak society and can serve as a lesson for other fraternal Parties. Today I should like to dwell only on some aspects.

Substantial achievements in socialist construction, in the development of our economy and culture and advance of the living standard have been scored in Czechoslovakia in the last 20 years.

The fraternal Parties know that our country has been turned into an industrially developed state with a thriving agriculture, transformed on a socialist basis. We have built new branches of industry measuring up to the world technological standards. Production in the traditional sectors too has multiplied. Our science and technology have attained many notable results.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has scored a big success in the solution of basic social and, recently, also national problems and in the comprehensive economic and political development of the Slovak Socialist Republic within the framework of our one Czechoslovak socialist state.

The level of education and general culture of all sections of our population has risen considerably. These and other results are part and parcel of the socialist transformations effected under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

But socialist development in our country has not escaped mistakes, shortcomings and deformations. Many new problems which have arisen in the course of building socialism have not been appropriately solved. Socialist development in Czechoslovakia has slowed down in recent years, has not been based on a clear-cut concept of development, has suffered from a number of serious miscalculations in the economy, deviations in the development of socialist democracy and of Party life. First of all, political work among the masses and ideological educational work in the Party and society was substantially weakened; subjectivism prevailed in the solution of tasks; urgent problems were not solved in good time, and infrequently tasks were set out of conformity with the real possibilities.

The leadership of the Party was to a certain extent aware that a critical situation had arisen and was looking for a way out. This was shown by a number of plenary meetings of our Central Committee and above all the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held in 1966. But the Party leadership itself did not display sufficient persistence in implementing the adopted decisions, did not carry them out, and the drawn-out political crisis continued to grow deeper. Dissatisfaction and tension arose both in the Party and in society.

The turning point came after the Central Committee plenums at the end of 1967, and especially that of January 1968. The essence and purport of the new post-January 1968 policy consisted in effecting changes facilitating passage from bureaucratic centralism to extension of socialist democracy, to creatively taking into account the concrete historical situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, to elimination of past mistakes and defects, to solving the urgent political, economic and national problems.

The January course of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not connote any departure from socialism, let alone a return to the situation that had existed in our country before February 1948. Neither did it connote any weakening of our ties with the socialist world system and the world communist and working-class movement. This course was to be a turning point towards

restoring in full the Leninist norms in the life of our Party and society, towards a further advancement of socialism, a turning point initiated by the Central Committee of our Party. It was necessitated by the requirements of our socialist society and the demands of the overwhelming majority of the Party. That is why these efforts of our Party were met with broad approval in the country and were supported by fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

We do not deny that a correct appraisal of the class forces in the country was and remains the decisive precondition for the successful implementation of the policy charted in January 1968. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia based its analysis on the emergence in the country of conditions for the drawing together of classes and social strata and for cementing their unity. We have no doubt even today that this analysis was correct, provided, of course, that the drawing together of classes is seen not as an automatic process but as a possibility in definite conditions, given correct politico-ideological guidance by the Party.

However, the complicated course of events after January 1968 gave rise to substantial negative tendencies connected with an activation of anti-socialist forces, which fact the leadership of our Party underestimated at the time.

It turned out that defeated strata of exploiters, who had lost all political influence in the conditions of a normally functioning socialist state system, became active again politically and ideologically in the situation that arose after January 1968. That this became possible was due not only to the support rendered them by world imperialism, but also to the fact that beginning with spring 1968, the leading role of the Party was allowed to decline markedly, with a gradual weakening and partial disintegration of organs of our socialist state power. That section of the very numerous petty-bourgeois strata in our country which, in view of their objective social interests, could have been actively enrolled in the building of socialism, owing to their class substance and some of our mistakes merely subscribed to socialism and vacillated, and at a critical moment became proponents of an interpretation of socialism which distorted its Marxist-Leninist meaning and was ultimately aimed at its abolition.

The content of socialism and its basic principles became an object of ideological and political speculation. Some associated the concept of socialism with pluralist bourgeois democracy and the reformist model of so-called democratic socialism from the programmes of Right Social-Democratic parties.

In the prevailing situation, the ideological ferment developed into an ideological struggle expressive of a class conflict; socialist power based on the leading role of the Communist Party was gravely endangered.

In these circumstances, imperialist pressure from outside was intensified, not only in the context of espionage, but above all along ideological channels. It was aimed at misleading the people in every way, weakening their socialist class consciousness and, especially, stirring nationalist sentiment and prejudice, coupled with anti-Sovietism. This is not the time to enumerate all the forms and methods employed by Western bourgeois propaganda round the clock to influence the minds and feelings of the people of our state.

This ideological anti-communist influence on our country last year had new

features, unlike those of the 1956 events in the Hungarian People's Republic. In the past imperialism waged an offensive directed against socialism, against the leading role of the Communist Party, against the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism more or less openly. In contrast, the same offensive in post-January Czechoslovakia was camouflaged with socialist and, what is more, Marxist and Party phraseology. Bourgeois political and ideological centres also addressed themselves to Communists and Party cadres. Ostensibly analysing inner-Party problems from Marxist positions, they interfered openly in the matter of selecting Party cadres, in questions pertaining to the formulation of the Party Rules, in questions concerning forms of Party work, etc. Principally, it was and is their purpose to mislead our socialist society, to disrupt the Party, to deepen the political crisis in the country and prevent, or at least impede, restoration of the Party's ideological unity and unity of action.

The fact that Right opportunist and partly anti-socialist forces seized control of the bulk of the mass media tended to paralyse the influence of the Party, to mislead Communists and the population, and gradually vitiate the main values and principles of socialism. The threat from the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces thus became more pronounced. Many fraternal Parties did not receive sufficiently objective information at that time. On the contrary, they had to proceed from evaluations that underplayed or obscured our class and internationalist duties as regards uncompromising struggle against the anti-socialist and opportunist forces in order to safeguard the revolutionary gains of socialism.

We are often asked whether we were strong enough internally to safeguard our socialist gains. Yes, we had enough strength. Where then was the source of the mistake? We know from the experience of Leninism the importance, especially in critical situations, of principled, purposeful and firm guidance by the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class. At critical moments, that is the decisive link. However, after January 1968 the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia lacked unity in evaluating the situation and in the question of programme, aims and perspectives, and still less unity as regards concrete and vitally urgent measures. Naivety, political romanticism, cheap stances and slogans emasculated of class content about freedom, democracy, humanism and the so-called "will of the people" dominated the scene. The euphoria of "freedom" and cheap popularity relegated to oblivion the class roots and motives of the social conflicts and aims, the influence of the class enemy, of his ideology, inside and outside the country.

That is why the working class and its Party were not mobilised in time to defend the gains of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia; quite the reverse, the Party leadership gave way before the increasingly aggressive pressure exerted by the anti-socialist and opportunist forces inside the country connected with Western bourgeois circles and supported by them in one form or another.

Due to the corrupting activity of Right opportunist forces there was no unity in the Party leadership concerning the degree of danger presented by these phenomena and concerning the ways of eliminating them. Often we encountered the desire to thrash out by discussion matters that conflicted with

our socialist legality and required immediate intervention by government organs.

As a result, the political crisis did not abate, but grew deeper. Vacillation by the leadership undermined the Party more and more, impairing its ideological unity and unity of action. This process of disintegration spread to our internationalist ties and commitments and put in question even our political, economic and military alliances with our closest allies, all the more so because the bourgeois propaganda pressure was especially vicious in that particular direction.

At the May plenum of the Central Committee of our Party last year, attention was rightly drawn to the gravity of the situation: "This reality exists now as a potential factor, which may at a definite time become more pronounced and create a grave danger." But no practical conclusions were made from the decisions of the May plenum.

Regrettably, it was not until a year later, in May this year, that the plenum of the Central Committee of our Party arrived at the conclusion that the inner-political development in our country which the Party leadership failed to counteract to a sufficient extent, was bound to create doubts, apprehension and anxiety not only among a considerable section of our citizens and Party members, but also among the fraternal Communist Parties in allied countries. Anti-communist and anti-Soviet incitement, coupled with the critical developments in our country, gravely impaired our Party's international ties with fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and states. The leadership of Communist Parties in the neighbouring allied states gradually lost faith in the ability of the leadership of our Party to cope with this critical development in the existing situation. Then came the August events. In that situation, the Party leadership and the Central Committee found a way out in signing the Moscow Protocol, logically linked with the Bratislava statement of August 3, 1968.

The November (1968) resolution of the Central Committee became the main guideline for the home and foreign political activity of the Party. It seemed clear what our own mistakes had been in the post-January period, and it seemed clear that it was necessary to combat the corruptive influence of the anti-socialist and opportunist forces. For this it was necessary to restore the unity of action and ideological unity of the Party, to consolidate its leading role and strengthen in every way the authority of the socialist state and its organs. Time and again, the Central Committee emphasised the urgency of these measures and adopted appropriate decisions. However, our words were not backed by action. Differences of opinion in the Central Committee and in its executive bodies continued and even grew deeper. Instead of a normalisation of the situation, instead of passing on to tranquil life and work, the crisis continued to deepen and more than once the Party and society tottered on the brink of disaster, as stressed by the plenum of the Central Committee in April 1969. The reasons for the critical situation in the Party and in society after August 1968 were the same as before.

The turning point in the development of the situation in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in our country came with the April and May plenums of the Central Committee this year, the main meaning and main purpose of which was to lead the Party and the people of Czechoslovakia out of

the state of political, social and economic crisis. The fraternal Parties have been informed about the work and the decisions of these plenums of our Party. After the passage of not quite two months, we can say responsibly that the majority of our Party and of the working people of Czechoslovakia supports the new Party leadership and its political line, seeing it as the way out of the situation and as the perspective for the further socialist development of our country.

The 1968 developments in Czechoslovakia, the August events and the subsequent process of development gave rise to diverse opinions in the international communist movement.

These concerned the complicated question of our internal development over a number of years, the evaluation of its separate elements and forces, the situation in our Party and society, the results and the assessments of our development by the socialist camp and the international revolutionary movement. Imperialism and bourgeois propaganda exploited the Czechoslovak developments to whip up anti-communist hysteria and heap slander on the Soviet Union and the international working-class movement. We in Czechoslovakia are farthest from the thought of simplifying matters; we shall have to return to these questions and search for a truthful, honest, Marxist appraisal of the situation of that period from the standpoint of our national and international interests and obligations.

We want to resolve these problems with courage and honesty; that is in our own interests and in the interests of the international working-class movement. Our analysis is not sufficiently deep yet to provide a clear answer to all questions today. We want to prepare all that as soon as possible for the next statutory 14th Congress of our Party which we plan to convene next year.

We are all the more surprised, therefore, that here, too, at the International Meeting, some fraternal Parties draw hasty conclusions in relation to the *Czechoslovak problem* though their knowledge of the state of affairs and of our development is extremely superficial. Objectively speaking, this goes against our interests and in substance against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, with which our Party, our Czechoslovak socialist state and our people, have been linked for decades by the bonds of international communist brotherhood and by the vital requirements of the freedom and independence of the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

All of us know, after all, that simplification emasculates the problem and is alien to a Marxist-Leninist analysis. We do not conceal that we tried to present our point of view to some fraternal Parties in personal conversations and in writing, and we asked them to display understanding and to refrain from hasty conclusions about the so-called "Czechoslovak question". We regret that they have not heeded our request.

We are aware of the fact that pressure is being exerted on some fraternal Parties in capitalist countries by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois propaganda and that in this case they are being prodded to assume positions we cannot all accept. Each Communist Party has its national and international obligations of solidarity with the struggle of the working class and the common struggle fought by the communist movement against the imperialist forces.

As we see it, any country where the working class has triumphed and there

exists the socialist power of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, that Party is entitled to determine the forms and methods of building socialism in conformance with national conditions and the common laws of socialism. In our case, in the case of a state which is—and in the interest of its further national existence, freedom and independence intends to remain—a staunch member of the socialist camp, in the case of a state linked with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in both Party and government contexts, we cannot ignore the unity of forces, the cohesion and strength of the entire socialist camp as the backbone of the anti-imperialist front.

We no more wish to drift to an opportunist and nationalist platform than unilaterally to cease defending the national interests of our people and state. We said that in the process of Czechoslovakia's post-January development, imperialist forces operating from abroad and anti-socialist and opportunist forces operating at home tried in every way, under slogans of national freedom and sovereignty, not only to impair our internationalist ties and commitments, but also to subvert the leading role of the Communist Party in our society and the very foundations of socialist society in our country. The opinion has been voiced here that once the Party has triumphed and socialist construction has gone on for a few years, society becomes unshakable and is immune to any danger. We consider this a big delusion, as we have learned from our own experience.

Combination of national and international interests, the concern of every Communist Party, especially if it is responsible for the destiny of a socialist state, may be expressed in an abstract declaration with relative ease and flourish. It is more difficult to accomplish it in political practice, especially if we want that our deeds should conform with our words. And it is doubly difficult if the Party and society are in a critical situation due to pressures from internal and external anti-socialist and opportunist forces. This is conclusively demonstrated by the recent experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the earlier experience of other fraternal parties.

Our experience of the past eighteen months confirms the fact that the sovereignty of a Communist Party and socialist country includes the right to determine the forms and methods of building socialism in accordance with the national conditions, as well as the obligation to bear full responsibility for this before its people. However, securing the sovereignty of each Party and socialist country carries with it the obligation to uphold and safeguard the power of the working class and all working people, as well as all the revolutionary gains of the socialist system. In that sense the class content of the sovereignty of a socialist state is linked unbreakably with its internationalist responsibility to the community of socialist countries and the world communist and revolutionary movement.

Our own experience shows that the slogan of sovereignty devoid of class content is a refined and very effective weapon of the Right opportunist, revisionist and anti-socialist forces. That is what happens when the Party does not carry forward a consistently Marxist-Leninist policy and backs out of a resolute, consistent struggle in all spheres against all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. That is why we reject the various quasi-theories of limited sove-



reignty, artificially concocted by our class enemies, and look upon them as perfidious manoeuvres of modern anti-communism.

After the April plenum, the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia embarked firmly on restoring the confidence and strengthening the fraternal relations between our country and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Parties of the socialist countries. This conforms with our long-standing Party, national and state traditions, and, we are convinced, with the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the internationalist solidarity of our movement, with the fundamental national interests of the people of Czechoslovakia and those of the entire world communist movement. We are firmly convinced that in an atmosphere of comradesly, fraternal and friendly relations with other socialist states we shall find solutions for questions that are still open and not completely resolved. We are deeply convinced that this standpoint of the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is consistent with both our vital Party and national interests and with the interests of the international communist and working-class movement.

We trust that the political line of our Central Committee will meet with the understanding and support of the fraternal Parties.

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Our delegation also wants to express its positive attitude to the other documents on the agenda of our Meeting. This applies above all to the address on the centenary of V. I. Lenin. We regard this centenary as the common cause of the whole communist movement and all progressive mankind. It is not only a question of marking the outstanding role played by the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, the outstanding leader of the world's working class, but also of giving deep thought to all his ideological legacy, to the international character and power of Leninism as the universal revolutionary ideology of our day. We shall have not only to sum up the results of the way traversed by world revolutionary development but above all to look into our future and to define our tasks and prospects.

We have repeatedly seen from our own experience that any violation of the basic Leninist principles of building socialism and of Party activity inflicts enormous harm whose elimination demands concerted effort and work by the whole Party.

That is why we want the adopted Document to become for us a basis for systematic ideological and educational work, with the creative development of Lenin's ideas in the forefront as a way to consolidate the situation in our Party and our country, to strengthen and develop all the socialist values in our life.

Our attitude to the document on Vietnam which has been adopted and to the Appeal in Defence of Peace springs from the very nature of our Party as an internationalist Party. We shall continue in the future as well to give the Vietnamese people all-round support in its just struggle against US aggression and for implementation of the just demands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. We are happy to note that both documents give a convincing elaboration of the

ideas contained in the Main Document of the Meeting and explain their political and other significance in a form understandable and acceptable to the broadest masses.

We also have a special interest in the solution of European security problems. Together with other socialist states, we shall follow an agreed policy meeting the common interests of the European socialist states, oppose the aggressive actions of imperialists, primarily their attempts to change the established relations in Europe, as the militaristic and revenge-seeking circles of West Germany are trying to do. That is why we agree with the formulations on this problem contained in the several documents and regard them as obligatory for our foreign policy activity. In this situation, the Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries on safeguarding European security and co-operation between countries with different social systems is an important proposal, and we fully support it.

In our efforts to safeguard European security we want to make active use of some of the favourable conditions which spring from our geographical situation in the heart of Europe, traditions, and possibilities for maintaining active ties. We have in mind chiefly the possibilities for purposeful development of all-European co-operation, above all in the sphere of the economy, science, technology and culture, widening the prospects for stability and security on the European continent. At the same time, such co-operation helps to concentrate all efforts and forces on combating tendencies which maintain tensions in Europe and nourish the hopes of the West German revanchists for starting another armed conflict.

In this sense, we have common international interests uniting us with the German Democratic Republic, the first German socialist state, whose peace-loving and principled policy is an important contribution to the peaceful consolidation of the situation in Europe. That is why we also support the just demands for the final confirmation of the post-war boundaries not only along the Šumava and the Oder-Neisse, but also between the two German states. International legal recognition of both German states as equal representatives of the German people would be an important step in strengthening peaceful coexistence between European countries.

We are convinced that implementation of the European security project as proposed in the Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries would help to isolate all the bellicose circles of European reaction, help to stabilise the situation in Europe, and promote the peaceful economic development of European countries and an advance in the living standards of their peoples. Our Party will do everything it can to realise the idea of European security.

We want to make an active contribution to organising a world anti-imperialist congress which would reflect our principled and open policy with respect to all the anti-imperialist forces of our day, and our desire to seek and find common standpoints with those who are united with us by common anti-imperialist interests.

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With all the Communist and Workers' Parties devoting maximum attention to strengthening the unity and cohesion of all progressive anti-imperialist forces, it is a matter of special regret that the Communist Party of China is not taking part in this effort.

We have no intention of dealing here with the internal problems of the Chinese People's Republic, or of interfering in its internal affairs.

At all previous consultative meetings we avoided any mention of the policy of the Communist Party of China.

Before April of this year, it was still possible to refrain from commenting on Chinese developments, in the expectation that time would provide answers to many of the questions. But today, when we know the political line of the 9th Congress of the CPC, that can no longer be done. Above all, we cannot be silent about the fact that the present Chinese leadership has enshrined as official party and state doctrine explicit anti-Sovietism, a course aimed at splitting the unity of the international communist movement.

The results of the 9th Congress of the CPC completely negate the line approved by the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956. Everything shows that the Mao Tse-tung group has effected the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution" precisely for the purpose of making this fundamental turn in the policy of the Communist Party of China and that the recent Chinese armed provocations on the border with the Soviet Union had the same purpose.

It is impossible to be silent about the fact that the main report at the CPC Congress contains absurd charges against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which are accused of establishing a bourgeois dictatorship and restoring capitalism, with the latter designation being applied to the socialist countries' efforts to raise the working people's living and cultural standards. It is also necessary to reject the gross attacks on the Soviet Union, which has made such sacrifices in the struggle for socialism and the cause of progress throughout the world, and which is the mainstay of the anti-imperialist struggle, but which the Chinese documents abusively call a "social-imperialist" state and put on the same footing as US imperialism.

Nor is it possible to consider an internal affair of the CPC the Mao group's efforts to undermine relations between the socialist countries, to maintain and extend separatist nationalistic tendencies and anti-Soviet feelings, weaken and disrupt friendly and allied ties between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In view of this, we condemn the actions of the Maoist leadership, which urges our people to wage armed struggle against the Soviet Union, to overthrow the present leadership in Czechoslovakia and promises this struggle—as it has said itself—support from the "revolutionary people of the whole world". This gross interference in the internal affairs of our Party and country has nothing in common either with Marxism-Leninism or with proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always worked to develop friendship and solidarity with the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people. But it cannot but express its fundamental disagreement with the political programme, ideology and above all the splitting activity now being conducted by the Mao group, which harms the vital interests of all socialist countries and world

communism, and weakens the progressive revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. At the same time, we express full solidarity with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, against whom the CPC's Maoist leadership directs its campaign of hatred in the first place. We highly value the stand of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, who in their efforts not to aggravate the differences have displayed tremendous patience over the Mao group's provocative actions. However, the Chinese leadership's activity gravely injures the cause of socialism and the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world, objectively doing harm to the Chinese people and playing into the hands of imperialism. It is impossible to keep silent about this, it is impossible not to raise one's voice against actions incompatible with communist ideals.

The whole history of the international working-class and communist movement shows that unity and conscious discipline are the most important requisite for the working-class struggle against capital, and now such unity and class discipline are doubly necessary.

Nominal unity without principle, compromise on questions of principle is something out of the question for us. The wealth of experience gained by the international communist and working-class movement, our Czechoslovak experience of the distant and recent past teach us that opportunist compromises do not resolve anything and sooner or later turn against the revolutionary movement and the working people.

Our task is to pool the international efforts of our Parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, applying it to the present day and its problems, of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is necessary and possible on this basis to co-ordinate and unite the standpoints and political actions of the world-wide army of the communist and working-class movement, rallying round it masses of working people in their millions, and all progressive strata.

In this context, we consider the present Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties a great success for our international movement. The work of this Meeting shows that it will become a landmark in the history of our movement, in the struggle against imperialism.

In this spirit the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will support the submitted documents and, once they are adopted, will regard them as a component part of the political line of our Party.

For our part, we express readiness and consider it to be our duty to promote in every way unity of views and actions in the communist movement, to develop and strengthen co-operation with other anti-imperialist, democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

Thank you.

## JORGE DEL PRADO

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Peruvian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

We representatives of the Peruvian Communist Party have come to this important Meeting from a most crucial front of the present-day anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America. This alone speaks of our profound conviction that co-ordinated action by all forces, above all active steps to cement the world communist movement, is necessary more than ever before. That is why, with revolutionary enthusiasm, we look forward to the success of our Meeting. We salute and thank those who have worked so fruitfully in the Preparatory Committee, particularly the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of the immortal Lenin, for their valuable contribution to preparing the Meeting and for the splendid facilities they have placed at our disposal. We also salute the fraternal Parties with deep appreciation for the expressions of solidarity from various delegates, embodied, too, in the concrete activity of their Parties.

We think highly of, and express our thanks for Comrade Brezhnev's speech, which is helping us to get our bearings.

After the military coup last October, Peru entered a special, crucial and difficult phase. Its most significant feature is the opposition to US imperialism displayed not only by our people, but also, for the first time, by our government.

Nationalisation of oil, Peru's main power source, expropriation of the stocks and shares, of the oil refineries, the industrial complex and the commercial agencies of International Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil branch, coupled with the exaction of \$690 million which International Petroleum owed Peru—all this signified the end to imperialist oil monopoly and its conversion into a state monopoly, which was followed by the establishment of diplomatic and trading relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and by firm action in defence of our maritime sovereignty against piratic imperialist fisheries.

Recently, two important political actions took place: a) Nelson Rockefeller, President Nixon's emissary, was officially refused entry into our country, this contributing greatly to the failure of the provocative tour on a continental scale, and b) the US military missions, which tied Peru's armed forces to the Pentagon and were actually a support base for imperialist armed intervention against the liberation struggle in our country, were expelled.

What is the explanation for this line of conduct by the military government against the background of Peru's recent history and the relatively recent advent to power of "gorrillas" in other Latin American countries? How to explain the fact that this can occur with the war-financial complex so firmly entrenched in Washington?

What we have is doubtless an extraordinary thing, a new symptom of our transitional epoch or, perhaps, the beginning of a new and higher stage marking an expansion of the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America.

The roots of these events should be sought in the structural crisis in Peru and other countries of the continent, or, in other words, in the country's dependent condition and the survival of pre-capitalist relations of production that impede growth of the productive forces.

In the past two decades the country witnessed an extremely rapid economic growth, highlighted by increasing production of various export goods and a considerable expansion of industry. This has brought about far-reaching changes in the balance of class forces—a numerical and organisational growth of the working people, a marked reduction of the rural population, a growth of the national bourgeoisie and the emergence of a new oligarchy. However, in the conditions of foreign domination this growth, with its distorted forms, only added to our country's dependence, deepened the chronic agrarian crisis and caused an appalling impoverishment of the masses, entailing all the usual terrible consequences.

I cannot cite any figures in my intervention, but I should like to recall some facts. The Alliance for Progress, the imperialist alternative to the way opened up by the Cuban revolution, has failed. With it failed the new oligarchy, hand-fed by giant US loans and investments, to whose diktat the now deposed president Belaunde Terry submitted, acting in collusion with the APRA party, an undisguised imperialist agent, and the old oligarchy. Although our country is extremely rich, particularly in minerals and fish, the increased exports and the brighter economic situation benefited none but the foreign trusts, big landowners and big capitalists. When the drain of foreign exchange and the monstrous speculation reached the culmination point, while the state debt grew enormously, credits were considerably restricted, causing an acute deficit in the balance of payments and precipitating a financial crisis. At that point, the government shifted the burden of the crisis to the people by raising taxes and devaluating our currency. It also betrayed national interests by renewing agreements that robbed us of our oil on terms inferior to the previous. The economic crisis and the rampant corruption brought on a political crisis, the government's complete isolation and inevitable downfall.

In the course of this process, all strata of the people became aware of the burning need for changes, which impelled mass actions, the participants of which demanded improvements and formulated anti-imperialist slogans. There was also an upswing of national sentiment, which gripped broad strata of the small and national bourgeoisie, representative organisations of the technical intelligentsia and a large section of the priesthood and the armed forces.

The latter fact partly explains the events in Peru. But if we want a fuller explanation, we should take into account two other factors directly related to the

content of our Main Document, that is, the connection of the political processes in each country with the international events and the need to pinpoint these processes, to analyse them and provide a general description. We speak of the role of the revolutionary vanguard, the Communist and Workers' Parties, of the special importance that their unity and cohesion has for solving the specific national and world tasks, in order to fulfil our duty to the working class and progressive mankind.

We cannot ignore the fact, comrades, that the current events in Peru vividly reflect the character, content and main trends of our era, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, of which the world socialist system is the leading force. These events are impelled by the disintegration of the imperialist system, the cause of its desperate aggressiveness, on the one hand, and the growing influence of the socialist camp, above all the Soviet Union, its foremost contingent, on the other. The latest and for us the closest example of this influence is the Cuban revolution. None will deny that the events in our country are part of the continent-wide process that began with the victory of the Cuban revolution and its winning battle against the imperialist blockade. The Cuban example has brought home to broad national circles that Latin Americans are now able to defeat the common enemy. Here one could depart from the main theme: the Peru delegation is very happy to welcome at this Meeting the delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba.

On the other hand, none can deny that this revolution, the doing of the people, Party and government of Cuba, is historically rooted in the glorious October Revolution and that its most dependable international support stems from the existence and consolidation of the socialist camp and, chiefly, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the firm sense of principle and the might of the Soviet Union.

Also, we owe Peru's recent successes in breaking one of the links of the imperialist chain largely to the victories of the heroic Vietnamese people who have driven their foes to the brink of total defeat; we owe them to the big anti-imperialist battles of the workers, students and broad strata of Latin Americans, to the precipitate growth of the class, trade-union and political struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries of Europe and the resistance of the Arab countries to the annexationist intervention of Israeli Zionism, which is acting in collusion with the bellicose US imperialists and the West German revenge-seekers. We also feel the influence of the irrepressible national liberation movement of the Asian and African peoples and the staunch battles fought by the US people in defence of working-class and youth rights, against racial segregation and the suicidal Vietnam war.

"At present," says the Main Document, "there are real possibilities to deal imperialism new blows". What is taking place in Peru confirms the fact expressed here by Comrade Brezhnev: "Under the onslaught of the forces of socialism and democracy imperialism's positions in the world continue to grow weaker." It is more than obvious that we need a common strategy based on a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the general situation in order to strip imperialism of its positions, to defeat it all down the line. That is why we agree that the Document should be adopted whole, with no deletions of any kind. We disagree

with the comrades who advocate united action on the basis of an unsubstantiated platform of a tactical character. This is doubly important, because of the considerable changes of the past nine years, which imperialism takes into account in its global strategy.

The socio-economic development of our country and that of the international situation did not occur spontaneously. Our Party has always played a worthy role as the organising and directing factor in the fight waged by the anti-imperialist, national and democratic forces. Not only have we always, since our Party was formed, fought for the nationalisation of International Petroleum and other big US enterprises holding key positions in our economy; it is also to our credit that we were the first to advance these slogans in the stage ushered in by the Cuban revolution. What was still more important than advancing these slogans, however, was that we secured mass support for them. Jointly with other anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces, we organised the National Oil Defence Front, later converted into the National Liberation Front. These movements, which advocated unity, subsequently exercised a strong influence on public opinion and helped mobilise the people in the early sixties. After we overcame the strong reactionary counter-offensive in and outside the Party, we reorganised and improved the leadership of the movement on a new basis, making the most of two factors: the class unity of the working class, which we delivered from the clutches of the yellow Apraist unions, and the unity of the revolutionary political forces in the Left Unity Front. This was accomplished by revising Party policy along Leninist lines and by reorganising the Party organisations, enlivening the Party press, by Party building and many other measures. In the battles that followed in recent years against the treacherous policy of the former government, for the expulsion of International Petroleum, we became the most influential force unifying the people. During the last election campaign, on the eve of the military coup, the Left Unity Front acquired new possibilities, acting in concert, for the same aims, with the Christian-Democratic Party and the People's Action Party, which by then turned against President Belaunde and the Right circles.

Accumulating forces had not been easy. Throughout its long history, the Party was exposed to brutal repressions by a succession of military and oligarchic dictatorships. During the past decade we were subjected time and again to cruel police round-ups and persecuted by the disgraceful politico-military tribunals. However, the enemy's subversive activity, effected through Left-opportunist splitters, prompted, organised and led by Maoists, had a particularly debilitating effect on our fighting capacity. This retarded the development process by diverting it from its natural course.

The splinter group appeared at the time of an upswing in the class organisation of the working people, during broad peasant actions for land, the student movement for the initiation and extension of a university reform and in the initial stage of the popular fight for oil. The group set itself but one task: to split the Party and destroy the contingents called upon to unite in a great anti-imperialist, nationalist and democratic front. It acted, in effect, in collusion with the police, since to begin its work it took advantage of a far-flung police round-up of thousands of Communist leaders, Party members and other Left



groups during the 1963 military dictatorship. The subversive elements were soon released, while we were kept in prison for a long time.

There was yet another fact: at the time of the guerrilla actions of 1965, though not involved because it thought them premature, our Party did not evade coming to grips with the common enemy and gave what support it could to the fighters and members of their families. The subversive elements, on the other hand, were busy saving their own skins and publicly denounced these actions. In other words, they were ultra-revolutionaries in words only, and base reactionaries in deed, acting like their teachers, the miracle-makers, are acting on the international arena, scorning the specific features of the country concerned and the changes caused by time. In order to reorganise our ranks and conduct a successful policy of alliances and work with the masses, we had first of all to unite the Party firmly on a basis of principle, purging it of these elements. That was when a good nucleus of leaders emerged, improving the policy, improving and extending our organisation, adding to our influence, and all this despite the actions of Right and Left opportunist groups who tried to stand in our way. By now, Maoism has been fragmented and politically defeated in Peru.

As we see it, this experience, similar to that of many contingents of the international communist and workers' movement, proves quite convincingly that to conduct effective work in building up a united front and co-ordinate action with other forces, we should, above all, as Lenin recommended, unite ideologically and politically ourselves. Furthermore, it proves that in order to achieve the first and second aim, it would be wrong—and, by the way, impossible—to avoid an ideological struggle.

For this reason, though we do not insist that the Main Document should on all accounts contain these propositions, we, ourselves, should bear them in mind in relation to the common struggle against imperialism; we insist, therefore, on qualifying Maoism as neo-Trotskyism coloured by bourgeois nationalism in a ruling party at the head of a very large and yet backward and self-isolated socialist country. Maoism's importunate anti-Sovietism, its systematic factional and subversive activity, its military-bureaucratic conception of state and Party structure, its bellicose tendencies and what is in effect collusion with imperialism—all this, reaffirmed and legalised by the so-called 9th Congress, shows that Maoism is just this trend, revived in the new conditions, complemented, moreover, by a tendency to absolutise its own experience.

It should be noted that neo-Trotskyism is becoming more dangerous than the old Trotskyism, primarily because it operates on the international scene, exploiting the prestige of the victorious socialist revolution, indoctrinating a vast nation whose hopes of a better life have been disappointed, in a spirit of superstitious fanaticism, and, secondly, because it has gone over from anti-Leninist theoretical concepts to anti-Soviet armed action. We must address ourselves constantly to the internationalist spirit of the sound part of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese nation in order that they should rectify the incorrect line. But that is one thing. It is an entirely different thing to let Maoism undermine this Meeting as well, while we wait in vain for this rectification.

Now let us go back to the the events in Peru in order to describe in general outline the present situation and the outlook ahead.

What we said earlier does not mean that the military junta is, or can be, a revolutionary government, that is, a consistently anti-imperialist and democratic government. The 5th Congress of our Party described the military junta by reason of its social composition, maximum programme and dominant influences as a bourgeois national-reformist government which, though consisting of military people only, is not at all homogeneous. Elements distinctly nationalist and progressive share power in it with conservative or vacillating elements saturated with the military authoritarian spirit. We see this from the attempts to prevent a radical agrarian reform, to prevent the modification of the basic aspects of the previous government's economic policy and from the fact that an anti-labour and anti-student policy is being followed. Willy-nilly, this policy conflicts indirectly with the national course and with the actions so energetically begun; thereby it is losing the necessary devoted support of the masses. In these circumstances, it was impossible to avert the continuously sharpening economic crisis. Taking advantage of the popular discontent caused by this crisis, home reaction and US imperialism are assiduously hatching conspiracies aimed at overthrowing the government or at altering radically its present nationalist policy.

Naturally, our Party takes a clear-cut class stand against the anti-popular aspects of the present government, while backing with mass action that aspect which is historically most significant: the government's determined struggle against imperialist aggression. All this is closely associated with the struggle to change government policy in the sphere of labour and education, and to extend the measures aimed against the landowners and the oligarchy. The programme of immediate action adopted by the 5th Congress contains demands consistent with the degree of maturity attained in resolving the national problems and, at once, envisaging ways of coping with the economic crisis and improving the living conditions of the people. These demands are: radical agrarian reform, development of copper deposits by the state, restrictions on remittance of dividends by Peru-based US enterprises to their mother enterprises in the United States, currency control, an indefinite moratorium on foreign debts, and credit and technical aid agreements with the socialist countries in order to stimulate independent growth of the state economy and a general rise in wages. The purpose of all this is to pave the way for a truly popular government that would embark on building socialism and communism in a way made practicable by the general conditions.

The dynamics of events favours these aims, making them more comprehensible and more familiar to the masses and the foremost figures in the government and the armed forces. Just as the government responded to US sanctions, that is to the termination of "military aid", by expelling the US military missions, it is quite possible that if the Hickenlooper, Holland, Pelly and other amendments are invoked to stop credits and investments for an indefinite time, the government may retaliate by nationalising copper mining and by other similar measures. However, we reject completely the idea of spontaneous, wait-and-see development, whose exponents expect this to happen by decision of the military junta only.

We have never been prey to illusions and have never shed our class independence. We have kept up and made more militant the General Confederation of Labour, which has grown since its establishment a year ago into a trade-union centre embracing the majority of the organised proletariat, because it never ceases to fight for the economic and political demands of the working class and peasants. The united anti-imperialist front is growing and expanding politically on the "Left Unity" basis, advancing towards a broad national and democratic front. We are also making headway in organising the broad peasant masses and in reviving the leading and unifying role of the student federations. All this is complemented by the effort to turn our Party as quickly as possible into a well-organised, mass party with deep roots in the people.

We reaffirm our internationalist attitude. We are fighting for socialism and communism on the world front. We are waging a frontal struggle against imperialism. We need your solidarity. That is why, in the interest of the whole movement, we need the cohesion and unity of our great world detachment more than ever before. That is our contribution and, at the same time, it is our appeal.

In conclusion, allow us to make clear our position on the following issues:

1. Our Central Committee is in complete accord with the Main Document, including the amendments which have enriched it in form and content.

2. We hold that the conditions for signing that Document are at hand, firstly because this is required by the present world situation and, secondly, because it is the product of an unprecedented democratic procedure to which all our Parties contributed, having discussed it broadly, with the vast majority of them taking part here.

3. As we see it, in the present conditions this Document is the biggest possible success for us, a success achieved after painstaking preparations; we are sure that the Document will be an effective means for cementing the world communist movement. Comrade Brezhnev's speech has eminently enriched its ideological content.

4. We do not hold it appropriate, therefore, to voice any reservations, especially if they are intended to stress, no matter how vaguely, the existence of some differences that are being overcome in practice.

5. We reject as anti-Leninist any proposition that would place the developed capitalist countries and the socialist countries in the same category on the assumption that the world is divided into rich and poor countries, or that there is a "Third World" consisting of underdeveloped countries. That is not a class criterion, because, by using the word "world" we imply systems, with present-day society consisting of just two antagonistic systems—the socialist and the capitalist—with the capitalist system dominated by imperialism and including colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

6. That is why we also reject any amendment implying that there allegedly exist in the socialist system various negative tendencies and vices, such as racialism, anti-Semitism or any other type of discrimination, typical only of societies divided into classes.

7. We are particularly pleased that this Meeting, intended to attain a higher stage in the consolidation of our world movement, is taking place on the eve

of the centennial of the great Lenin's birth, that it is taking place in Lenin's homeland and that we are being extended hospitality by the Party founded by Lenin.

8. We are in accord with Comrade Brezhnev's proposals of holding periodical theoretical conferences and bilateral meetings with the purpose of cementing our unity.

Thank you very much, comrades, for your patient attention.

**GUS HALL**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Communist Party of the United States of America**

Dear Comrades,

For our Party, we want to express our deep appreciation to our hosts, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the magnificent way they have provided to make our stay here productive as well as pleasant.

It has taken a lot of hard work by many hard-working comrades but the World Conference of Communists and Marxist Parties is now an important part of reality.

This conference will make an important imprint on the revolutionary pages of our times. Archives will record what we decide here, but the revolutionary ledger of our class will record what we do after we leave here. It will record whether this historic gathering fulfilled its purpose, whether it served as the propellant, as the catapult, that raised the struggle against imperialism to new heights.

There is no objective reason why we cannot fulfil this great promise. There have been few moments in history when so many objective factors have converged, and pressure for united concentrated action. There is no insurmountable reason why we cannot meet this central challenge of our times.

We represent the most advanced forces of the class, that class which history has assigned the task of guiding human society through this, the most profound revolutionary turning point in mankind's existence.

Some are having difficulty in adjusting to the unique and unprecedented fact that human society's sharpest, most revolutionary turning point is neither ancient history nor speculation about some occurrence in the distant future. It is integrated into the current events of our times. The transition from capitalism to socialism is history's greatest happening. It is human society's most explosive qualitative leap. It is both an historic process and a current event, precisely because it is a total shift in a way of life. This process is explosive—it is revolutionary. It is a many-sided process—economic, political, military and ideological. This is the essence of the events that gives life its present direction.

This turning point has given rise to, and is propelled by a world-wide, three-pronged revolutionary development that is now converging into a single process. There are periods when the process does not produce a shift of state power in any country. There are setbacks, frustrations, and periods when the

process levels off to a new plateau. There are moments of explosions and periods of revolutionary development. There are violent transfers of class power and some transitions that are not so violent.

Through all this, the revolutionary process goes on, the constant maturing and gathering of the forces of the revolution. There is the accumulation of experiences. There is the deterioration of capitalism, resulting in the sharpening of internal class relations and of the relations between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations. And there is the ideological and political growth of the forces of the transition. This many-sided process of the unfolding of reality is based on the laws of social development. In this sense—this is a conference of the turning point of history.

Our Party has a deep sense of pride in being a part of this historic event. We draw great strength from the world-wide nature of the Marxist-Leninist movement. We place a high priority on our working-class concept of internationalism.

We do not view internationalism as a burden, a concession, or a cross to bear. It is not as if it is a frosting on a cake that you add to improve its taste and appearance. It is a basic ingredient that adds indispensable, revolutionary content to the class struggle.

There is much talk about the rise of nationalism. What is not always seen clearly enough, is the unprecedented growth of a mass desire for internationalism. The very nature of world developments has given rise to a new mass sense of anti-imperialism and internationalism. The three-pronged world-wide revolutionary process is the propellant—the fresh source of internationalism.

This is truly a new, historic phenomenon, especially of the young generation.

Because of this, the internationalism of the communist movement is a source of strength in a new way. We need not apologise for our internationalism. On the contrary, we must find additional and bolder ways to demonstrate this side of our movement.

The recent 19th National Congress of our Party without a dissenting vote endorsed the line, the political essence and the spirit of the draft Main Document presented by the Preparatory Committee to this conference. In our opinion it correctly reflects the Marxist-Leninist essence of this moment. Considering all of the problems the committee faced—it is a very fine piece of work. It is a collective document, therefore it cannot, in every word or phrase, have the wording or style of any one of the Parties. The passage of the appeal on ending the US aggression in Vietnam is of special importance for our Party. We fully approve the statement on the observance of Lenin's one-hundredth birthday.

It is the opinion of our delegation that this conference was a success before we convened here. The eighteen months of preparations have been a process of reunification. The process of moulding the Document has served to clarify positions, to narrow down the areas of differences.

The habit and the lessons of working together are in themselves an invaluable asset for the world movement.

We are hopeful the lessons of working collectively have struck deep roots. We are hopeful the world communist movement will become addicted to this habit.

There are 75 Parties represented here. This is a technical count. By political count there are over eighty Parties. Because there are many parties who are not represented here for technical reasons, but who have expressed their oneness with the political substance of this gathering.

This is itself a significant fact.

We are in agreement with so many of the very fine contributions made here, by Comrades Brezhnev, Gomulka, Rochet, Arismendi, Corvalan, Ulbricht and others, that it is not necessary to go into all areas or all questions.

Permit us to again express our deep sense of warm comradeship and oneness with the fighters against US imperialism the world over. We feel especially indebted to the valiant people of Vietnam, who by unparalleled heroism and sacrifice, are administering US imperialism a historic defeat. They are giving the world a magnificent demonstration of the invincible nature of the forces of socialism and national liberation.

We hail the peoples and Communists of Latin America who by militant mass actions have just sent Mr. Imperialism himself, Nelson Rockefeller, bag and baggage, back to his lair.

We salute the people and Communists of socialist Cuba who continue to repel the acts and policies of US aggression—and have successfully lit the beacon light of socialism ninety miles from the shores of the central power of world imperialism.

We express our ardent support to the national liberation, anti-imperialist fighters of the Middle East, and to the plundered and oppressed peoples of Africa. We greet with joy the actions of the people of Sudan.

We hail our fellow Communists and the people of People's Republic of Korea, who have stood firm against US provocations.

To these fighters the world over, we can only promise to heighten our efforts to match their great contributions in the struggle against US imperialism.

When we are dealing with the phenomenon of imperialism, we are dealing with a constantly changing reality. The struggle against it must reflect these changes.

There is the continuing, irreversible shift in the balance of forces between imperialism and anti-imperialism. There is the changing scene between the countries of imperialism, reflecting the laws of uneven development of capitalism. And there are the contradictions, shifts and changes within each of the imperialist countries. The forces of anti-imperialism are compelled to take note of these changes, because they are also reflected in the changing and shifting battle plans of imperialism.

Imperialism develops new tactics, new ideological arguments to meet the changing reality. We cannot be satisfied either with the scope or the effectiveness of our anti-imperialist propaganda.

These changes in objective reality are world wide. The shifts in tactics and ideological positions of imperialism are world wide. Any idea that each sector of anti-imperialism can effectively deal with this changing and shifting global challenge in a piecemeal fashion is a dangerous illusion. Such illusions can only result from an underestimation of the resourcefulness, the craftiness and the totally aggressive nature of imperialism.

As the draft Document correctly states—US imperialism remains the most aggressive war-like force in the world.

It continues its bloody aggression against the people of Vietnam. It continues its policies of aggression against the people of socialist Cuba. It is *the* decisive force of military, political and economic aggression in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

It remains the base of operation for the forces of imperialism everywhere in their futile attempts to halt the world revolutionary processes. It is the greatest danger to world peace. It is the nuclear Damocles Sword, held in bay, only by the forces of this new epoch and especially by the powerful military and nuclear shield of the Soviet Union.

US imperialism is in an ever deeper crisis. It can be defeated, but to underestimate the aggressiveness and the danger that it presents would be the height of folly. Creating the illusion that it presents no danger of war, is imperialism's trump card in preparation for war. Only this week, Nixon announced the fake withdrawal of 25,000 US troops in order to create the illusion of disengagement while the US resumed the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In fact, with the election of Nixon, the forces of reaction have become emboldened. Nixon continues the policies of the old administration but minus its small tactical concessions.

Aggressive continuation of the old policies without tactical concessions is the new format for both the policies at home and the imperialist policies abroad. Nixon has already abolished the "Alliance for Progress" with its appearance of concessions to its Latin American "Empire" and replaced it by the grand tour of the number one robber of the continent—Nelson Rockefeller.

He has wiped out the appearance of concessions in the foreign aid programmes.

In place of tactical concessions the Nixon administration will place a higher priority on the use of open terror—on the use of the para-military forces or the use of the CIA and FBI. Nixon will continue the tactic of the carrot and the club—but with less carrots.

This is the main direction. Of course, one has to keep in mind that the new administration has not yet dealt with the real world, which includes the wrath of the people of the USA. And, it is a fact that a policy with less sugarcoating on it can be exposed faster.

For an effective struggle, in any arena, one must know one's enemy. Because the US is the center of world imperialism, permit us to dissect some of its bloated innards. It is a powerful, dangerous foe, but it is in serious difficulties. In cash values, the annual price tag on the US policy of aggression is reaching the one-hundred billion dollars level. For the people, this becomes translated into a runaway inflation, sky-rocketing prices and rents. Forty per cent of all workers' wages are now extracted in taxes, direct and indirect. Because of this, real wages are now declining for a third year in a row.

No people or nation has ever been in such debt. The total debt by individuals, corporations and the government owed to the banks has now reached over one and one-half trillion dollars. We are the most mortgaged people in the world.

The Nixon policies of cutting back on tactical concessions is setting the stage



for new explosions in the ghettos, for more bitter strike struggles—for ever greater mass upheavals.

The US financial-industrial capitalist complex, interlocked with the powers of the state machinery at its service, with the new scientific breakthroughs at its command, organised and controlled through monopolies and ever greater monopolies known as conglomerates, has developed into history's most brutal, inhuman, fiendishly efficient, cold-blooded exploiter and devourer of resources—both nature's and man's. It has become an ever more savage monster of exploitation extracting maximum profits. It finds ever new forms of how to squeeze a little more. During the last ten years the rate of exploitation of labour has been forced up by 17 per cent.

The special, brutal nature of US capitalism is shown in its oppression of national minorities. For 350 years it has maintained a special system of oppression, applied today to 25 million Afro-American citizens. And after the long years of militant and heroic struggles, even though some important victories were won, the special system of racist oppression remains largely intact. Thus the brutal system continues in force, the discrimination and inequality, the segregation and the ghettos, with its degradation, hunger and misery. It results in an income for the black people that is one-half of the national level, in an unemployment rate that is three times higher, in a death rate that is double, in slum housing and chronic hunger for the majority of Afro-Americans, in denial of education, in being forced to work at the lowest-paid and most dangerous jobs, in being at the bottom of the seniority lists. Despite all the heroic struggles of the Negro people and allied forces among the majority white population, this vicious system in its essentials remains intact.

After the passage of many new laws and after many fine speeches, racism still stalks the land. It is still capitalism's most used and useful tool for extracting superprofits.

No ruling class has ever singled out for special oppression so many of its people, within its own national boundaries—a fact that constitutes an enduring anti-humanist indictment of US capitalism.

To the special oppression of twenty-five million Afro-Americans, US capitalism has also designed special forms of oppression of eight million Mexican-Americans, two million Puerto Ricans and the segregation of what numbers remain of the original Indian Americans, into reservations, which are barren graveyards of hunger, social deprivation and inhuman wretchedness. This same policy is applied to the Eskimo people of Alaska. The capitalist racist equation—of divide and rule equals superprofits—remains a central feature of US capitalism.

Capitalism has thus created a monster. But it has also created something more. It has given rise to a militant working class. It has created a mass revolt. It has generated a courageous, militant freedom movement of Black Americans, of the mass of Negro people. It has given life to a youth and student revolt. It has set multi-millions into motion and struggle.

It has spurred a mass struggle for peace and against militarism, which cuts across class lines and has penetrated deeply into the armed forces of US imperialism.

It has stirred into action millions of women who in many areas are more active and militant than men. A point this conference could well take note of. It has given rise to a deep probing—to a national uneasiness, to dissatisfaction, distrust and contempt for the capitalist establishment. It has set into motion a process of radicalisation—in a word, it has created a storm of protest and struggle.

We pay special tribute to the heroism of our soldiers and sailors who are challenging the autocratic military regime, who are raising the banner of peace and equality, who are exposing the aggressive character of US imperialism's wars—in the barracks, in the military mobilisation and induction centers, and at the military bases.

Never before, in the history of our country, have so many members of the armed forces taken direct action against militarism. Just look at these official, government figures; more than 53,000 desertions took place in the year ending June 30, 1968. This means that in the two-year military hitch of the average GI, approximately one out of thirty men risks long prison terms, loss of jobs and ostracism for life, because his conscience will not permit him to act as an instrument of the racist, colonialist, genocidal US military establishment.

There are more than twenty-three thousand draft delinquents. There are thousands fleeing the US for Canada, and added thousands seeking refuge in Sweden, France and many other countries. There are underground and open anti-war papers published by the GI's on the major military bases. No wonder the ruling class is exploring the possibility of abolishing the conscription system of the draft and raising military salaries, and to build an army of paid professional hirelings of imperialism.

The most dynamic and potent expression of the new wave of struggle and the process of radicalisation in the United States is the rapid growth of organised rank-and-file movements in the shops and trade unions. The power of these movements can be seen in the trade union elections. Old encrusted Trade Union bureaucracies are being overthrown.

The qualitative political shift on the American scene finds expression in these rank-and-file caucuses. The most dynamic of all the expressions, of this upsurge, are the caucuses of the Afro-American trade union members. The popularly named "Black caucuses" are now an active force in hundreds of shops and locals. A glimpse of the level of this development can be obtained from the names they adopt. The name of "revolutionary workers' caucuses" is an accepted form among increasing sections of black workers.

Motivating this rank-and-file upsurge are the new problems of the class struggle, the special problems of black workers, and the desire to reshape and to retool the trade union movement as an instrument of class struggle, so that it can meet the problems of today.

The workers who make up the rank-and-file movements are the shop militants, the radicals and, of course, the Left and the Communists.

This development is the key link in the class struggle in our country today. More, it is the key link in the struggle for social progress.

This rank-and-file upsurge is reflected in the formation of a new national trade union center, the American Labour Alliance. The base of the new center

is the three million members of the Teamsters Union and the United Automobile Workers' Union. It is a direct challenge to the infamous, reactionary Meany-Lovestone AFL-CIO leadership.

This new formation has taken up the task of organising the unorganised, especially in the racist south. But most important, it has taken a stand against the further militarisation of the country. This is an important step away from a position of open and aggressive support given by the leadership of the American Federation of Labour—Congress of Industrial Organisation to policies of United States imperialism. It has a position of seeking new ties with all sections of the world's trade unions.

Needless to say these developments on the working-class front have had great significance in all areas of struggle, including the struggle against the policies of imperialism.

The shock-brigaders of the revolutionary transition, the youth, are continuing to set the pace of militancy. The ruling circles are praying for the return of the good old days—the days of the student pranksters—of the panty raids and goldfish swallowing. The liberals are now also worried because the students are not just “letting off steam” but have presented some non-negotiable demands.

These demands go into some very basic issues of our capitalist society. They are demanding that higher education be recognised as an inherent right and a realistic possibility for *all* youth. They are demanding the end of the system in which the wealthy trustees benevolently dole out college entrance permits. They are demanding an end to the racist bars and the system of tokenism in all institutions of higher learning. They are demanding that educational institutions break their ties with the military-industrial complex. They want to close the doors of our colleges and universities to recruiting for the military and for the manufacture of lethal gases and other instruments of mass death. They want to abolish the eliteist Reserve Officer Training Corps.

These are fundamental demands that not only affect our schools but go to the heart of the basic problems of our capitalist society—they demand domestic social reform as a replacement for the policies and expenditures of imperialism.

The young workers, who are new in industry, are also in great numbers becoming the shock brigades for the working class. They spark the rank-and-file movements. They are pushing for a revitalisation of the trade-union movement. It is these young workers, many of whom were themselves recently students, who form the link between the students and the working class.

They are a strong force in the struggle against racism because they do not have some of the hangups afflicting many of the older workers. They are of the radicalised generation. They are more open to new socialist ideas. In our industrial concentration efforts these young workers are our central concern.

There is absolutely nothing on the US class scene that in any way challenges the basic concepts of Marxism.

That non-working-class sections of the population move into action separately or differently than the working class is not new or unique for the United States. This “discovery” should not be used to uphold any non-Marxist theories that reject the Marxist concepts of the role of the working class.

On the basis of the upsurge in non-working-class sections many petty-bourgeois theoreticians in the USA developed theories of revolution without the working class. Theories of revolution made by those who are not in the production process.

These concepts were especially articulated by the ideologists on the CIA payroll, namely Marcuse.

What is new and significant on the US class scene is the historic rise of struggle—the process of radicalisation in the ranks of the working class. And of great importance is that movements representing millions are recognising the fact that in industrially developed countries there is a built-in limitation to non-working class upsurge—unless they become allied with the working class. They are rejecting the theories of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

Our Party has paid special attention to the youth in rebellion. The question is not only attention—but what is the content of that attention. This is not a generation that can be won over by paternalistic, classless, bouquets. They want answers to their problems. They have to be won in sharp ideological struggle. Especially against petty-bourgeois radicalism. They have to be won to Marxist and working-class ideas.

Our Party is a part of and reflects these mass currents of struggle. We have emerged from years of extreme political oppression, on the crest of these waves of mass struggles.

Our Party has become united in giving a measure of leadership to the mass upsurge. We remain in many ways semi-legal and illegal. There are some new acts of terror and legal moves against our Party.

With great difficulty, we once again publish a daily Marxist paper now for almost a year. The next stage in the consolidation and building of the Communist Party is taking place on the crest of the new wave of struggles, and on the process of radicalisation now developing in the ranks of the working class. The Party is now giving its concentrated attention to this key area of struggle.

It is necessary to take note and to emphasise some important changes that are taking place both internally, amongst the monopoly groups within the United States, and externally in relationships between the United States and the other imperialist countries. Some significant shifts are taking place in both areas.

Some *inner structural* changes are taking place in both areas. They are true especially for United States imperialism, but they are the forerunner of similar changes of things to come in all imperialist countries. These new features are a further development of the cancerous growth of the general crisis of capitalism. They signify a new level of its parasitic development.

Internally, there is a new stage in the monopolisation of the economy. The United States, and also some of the other industrially developed countries, is at the height of a totally unprecedented avalanche, a frenzy of corporate mergers.

In the capitalist process the big fish have always swallowed the smaller fish. But, there are three new factors to this new wave of mergers. First, it has become an uncontrollable avalanche. Second, the dominant movement is by the very large corporations; it is the merging of the giants into supergiants. Giant cor-

porations with assets up to a billion dollars are being swallowed up. The third new feature is the rise of monopoly formations called "conglomerates". This new structure is adding a different quality to capitalist anarchy.

In the trade language of the monopoly thieves, mergers and acquisitions are usually distinguished as either "horizontal", "vertical", or now, as "conglomerates".

Horizontal mergers are those between corporations in the same industrial classification; vertical mergers are those between corporations which are related to one another as actual or potential buyer and seller. The new conglomerate mergers are those for which there is no technological or market rationale. There are neither technological nor marketing reasons for these mergers or acquisitions. From the point of view of production or marketing such mergers are a-rationale. They are reaching the outer limits of capitalist anarchy.

The merger movement has spread over the entire economy. Conglomeration is the new, predominant trend, in contrast to horizontal or vertical merging.

The very pinnacle of this lunacy is reached when these conglomerates are, in fact, only irrational aggregates in a galaxy of conglomerates, all financially owned and controlled by a handful of giant banks.

These monstrous anarchistic formations result from the inner laws of monopoly capitalism. They are signs of its deep inner sickness in its final stages of development.

The boom in the acquisition of irrational conglomerates is the result of financial blood clots in the aging veins of imperialism. The shift in the balance of world forces is affecting the internal processes within the major imperialist countries.

United States capitalism increasingly has faced the problem of accumulation of unused capital. This is related to problems of capitalism in this epoch. Because the shift in the world balance of forces becomes increasingly an obstacle to opening up new areas of investment. Thus the accumulated unused capital tends to become blood clots in the veins of imperialism. They become a source of pressures and irrationality.

And when the channels for its investment become restricted the monster tends to turn upon itself to devour its own. Under this pressure, its actions become more irrational. Thus it turns to irrational conglomerates, a development which brings significant political and social consequences.

This process has greatly accelerated the process of polarisation of our society. It adds to a sense of mass alienation. It gives the inner contradictions of monopoly capitalism a new quality.

It is also creating new problems for the class struggle. But in the main it is a further weakening of the structure of United States imperialism.

The rise of the irrational conglomerates can be a strong argument for the need of a rational planned system of socialism.

The rise of conglomerates is not limited to the domestic scene. It is becoming a form and a structure for imperialist acquisitions. Increasingly, the imperialist bank has become the means of imperialist control by developing foreign conglomerates under its control. For this purpose the United States has become the world's largest exporter of banks. These banks are becoming the main centers

of imperialist holdings. They are the controlling center of US imperialist conglomerates. For example, Chase Manhattan, a Rockefeller bank, now has over 1,600 overseas banking facilities of its own—plus hundreds of other foreign banks it controls. When Peru moved to end US imperialist domination they nationalised Standard Oil, but they had to move on Banco Continental with its forty-four branches because only a few years ago it was acquired by Chase Manhattan—the Rockefeller bank.

And, it is Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank that is at the jugular vein of Venezuela by its control of Banco Mercantile Agricola.

This same Chase Bank is the head of the racist imperialist conglomerates in South Africa, through its control of Standard Bank of South Africa with its 900 branches in the southern part of the African continent.

Chase Manhattan is a private imperialist empire. It is one of the big stockholders in the US war industries. It co-ordinates its profits from the war industries with the Pentagon and its world-wide network of banks. To Vietnam it has exported both napalm and banks.

Thus with the banks at the control of industrial conglomerates US imperialism has added a new link to its chain of imperialism. Through these banks it controls industries and governments.

It places the direct imperialist control one step further. It ties the noose one notch tighter around the neck of the capitalist class of the enslaved nations. Till now it has picked the pockets of the oppressed. Now it is eliminating the pockets.

In the present period of advanced general crisis of capitalism, the main contradiction is between socialism and imperialism. There are contradictions present and sharpening between the imperialist powers but they have taken second place to this main contradiction.

Since World War II, almost all small wars have been between imperialism and the national liberation movements, wars of intervention of imperialism against progressive and Communist-led governments, and imperialist wars against socialist states.

The imperialists go to great lengths to avoid wars among themselves as they lack the reserves to fight such wars and survive. Moreover, the extreme inequality of power, the absolute supremacy of US military power in the imperialist camp, has tended to render less likely the outbreak of wars among the imperialists. In particular, the military treaties, joint forces, and US bases established in the decade after World War II made such wars difficult. However, contradictions among the imperialist powers are now mounting, even though they express themselves in different forms. Uneven economic development among the imperialists makes for rising economic and financial contradictions. These are intensified by the increasing pressures and struggles for national liberation, to restrict the plunder of the imperialists, and to stop it altogether.

Uneven development economically is repeating the pattern of the interwar period.

However, the extent of unevenness is more marked than between the two world wars. In fact, it is more extreme than at any time in the history of imperialism. Japanese imperialism, at one extreme, is gaining in economic strength

with unprecedented speed. British imperialism, on the other extreme, is losing positions most rapidly.

There are also new important shifts in the relations between imperialist countries. There are important shifts on the world imperialist pyramid.

In a period when the current of history is running against imperialism, a war-orientated economy, such as US imperialism has built since the second world war, becomes a factor in the operation of the law of uneven development between capitalist countries.

It is the overseas expenditures that annually turn the US trade balance against itself. This has an accumulated negative effect on the US economy. US imperialism is caught in the vise of its plans of conquering the world.

It either now has to retreat or keep spending billions of dollars to maintain the operation of the 3,405 overseas military bases, while its chief imperialist rivals spend relatively small amounts for their military establishments.

This and other factors have drastically changed the position of Japan in the imperialist pyramid.

For example: during the past ten years the US industrial growth rate has been about 5.5 per cent per year. During the past fifteen years the growth rate for Japan has been 13.5 per cent. But, even more dramatic—during the past eight years, for Japan it has been 14.7 per cent and the past three years it rose to a growth rate of 16.5 per cent. In 1960 Japan's industrial output was 20 per cent of the US level and 85 per cent of the West German level, but in 1968 it rose to 36 per cent of US level and 157 per cent of West Germany's level. Thus Japan has by-passed West Germany, and has clearly now become the second industrial producing nation in the capitalist world.

This has shifted many of the imperialist rivalries. The contradictions between US and Japanese imperialism have greatly sharpened. The struggle over Okinawa is only symbolic of more far-reaching antagonisms between them.

This uneven development is undermining the hegemony of US imperialism in the world of capitalism—in all phases, economic, political and military. The drive of the fastest growing imperialists for a larger share of investment opportunities, markets and sources of raw materials is increasingly bringing to the fore elements of rivalry between US imperialism and the other imperialist powers.

This economic rivalry contributes to growing contradictions in the political and military spheres. NATO and SEATO, the main systems of bases and alliances of US imperialism, are significantly weakened. Even the US military grip on Latin America is now being challenged. The US and its military advisers are being driven—slowly but steadily—from foreign bases in one country after another.

Contribution to this is the relative strengthening of the socialist camp in economic and military power. And especially the economic, military and political might of the Soviet Union. This increases the risks to any capitalist power in being involved with the Pentagon planners militarily.

It is, however, a continuing part of reality that the centripetal forces tending to bring the imperialist powers together against the "menace" of communism, remain strong. Consequently, we cannot take for granted the continuation of

any given split among the imperialists. On the contrary, there is always the striving to patch things up, and to restore relative unity among the imperialists.

To ignore the possibility of an imperialist military unity directed against either the socialist sector, the forces of national liberation, or both, would not only be an illusion about the nature of imperialism, it would be a misreading of what is the main contradiction of our times.

One must not ignore the element of desperation and irrationality of imperialism.

From this it follows that only an unbreakable unity and a constant and total mobilisation of the forces of anti-imperialism can keep this possibility defused.

These are only examples of the changing scene of imperialism. We must get used to the idea that this is a period of fast moving events. This applies to changes within class forces.

The draft before us correctly raises the struggle against racism—against anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. Based on our experience we would like to sharply emphasise the importance of this phase of the struggle against imperialism.

Racism has always been a tool of imperialism. It is its most effective ideological tool. The use of the colour of a man's skin is an age-old weapon of slave masters. Imperialism has refined it. It has given it a global character.

The influence of racism is the most serious roadblock to the development of an anti-imperialist consciousness in the imperialist countries. It is an obstacle to the development of class consciousness in the ranks of the workers. Class consciousness is the strongest antidote against racism.

Racism is a live virus everywhere. Struggle and experience create the conditions for its elimination. But like all enemy ideologies—it does not disappear without a struggle. It must be taken head on. US imperialism is the main world dispenser of racism. For US imperialism it is an extension of its racism at home. US capitalism exploits 60 million wage workers to the amount of 250 billion dollars in profits each year. But it extracts close to 30 billion additional superprofits each year from a special system of racial and national oppression of 40 million of its citizens at home. They can continue these policies and practices only because of the influence of racism on the white Americans who permit it to go on.

We are speaking about raising the level of the anti-imperialist struggle. As an important feature of this struggle we must raise to a new level the struggle against racism in all its forms.

We would like to see a world ideological conference devoted to burning out the influence of racism. Communists must not only be the staunchest, but also the most skilful fighters against racism. This struggle must be seen as a key and most crucial feature of the struggle against the ideology of imperialism.

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Marxism-Leninism, and the world, and class, outlook of the communist movement was largely moulded in the struggle against the influence of opportunism.



At crucial moments the acid of opportunism, unseen and unnoticed, had weakened the ideological fibres within the revolutionary movements. It finally destroyed powerful working-class parties of socialism. The acid had done its harm. It is of importance that the crisis which tested the metal of the parties came in the struggle against imperialism. When the test came the professed internationalism of the different working-class parties vanished. The unity between parties first was diluted to a formal unity. But very quickly, even the formal ties became obstacles. World, class, ties between parties became an embarrassment.

Each party stated—their internationalism will be expressed through effective work, each within each of the national entities.

The leaders of the socialist parties, in these critical times, made new discoveries. They, very quickly, decided Marx was wrong. There were no laws of capitalism that applied universally. There were no world-wide concepts of the class struggle. In each country they discovered fundamental national peculiarities that overshadowed international similarities.

The class struggle became purely a people's struggle. Class concepts became national concepts. No party condemned internationalism, they just put it on the shelf for the duration.

The parties became large mass parties. This was good. But what was not good, was that they became broad popular parties by going along with popular concepts of nationalism and classlessness. They became mass parties by giving up their advanced working-class positions.

Only Lenin saw the nature of the acid. Only Lenin took up the struggle before it reached the crisis stage. Only Lenin saw its creeping insidious nature.

Much has happened since then. Much has changed, because the Leninist fibre of the Communist Parties is stronger than in the past. But the need to be on guard against the acid of opportunism has not. The acid is the same. It still eats at the fibres of internationalism. It still erodes class concepts. It feeds on and itself feeds nationalism. It still leads to an accommodation to the pressures of the enemy.

The relationship of forces is different—the pressures are different—the influence of opportunism is different. But as long as there will be a struggle between the two classes there is a need for a struggle against opportunism.

There are two opposite approaches to the question of relationships between internationalism and national interests. Whenever these are momentary differences between international responsibility and some specific national interests, opportunism will in all cases lead to discarding of internationalism. Opportunism leads to an emphasis on the difference and on nationalism. A working-class revolutionary concept will lead to a search for the points of unity. Opportunism will seek to widen the points of difference. A revolutionary concept leads to the elimination of the differences. The struggle for concepts of internationalism is a struggle against opportunism.

Theories of disunity are also not new in the history of the revolutionary movement. They appear in exact ratio to opposition to working-class internationalism.

In the parties of the Second International, internationalism was never con-

demned. It was dispensed with, as an obstacle to unity. Their scuttling of internationalism was covered by the numerous theories of disunity.

We are for the rejection of all disunity.

We rejected the theory that constant splitting is as natural for the revolutionary movement as it is in nature. It is an open theory of disunity. It is also a distortion of the dialectics of nature.

It is also one thing to take note and examine differences and momentary contradictions within the world socialist sector. But it is another matter to use this as the basis for a theory of disunity. A theory that in essence says "that's how things are"—"and that is how it will be"—we must therefore accept it as a fact of reality, and any attempt to find a path of unity is only an illusion.

We reject all theories which say in word or deed that attempts to bring about class unity in fact only bring disunity. We also reject the concept that silence can disperse ideological differences and thus create the basis for unity.

US imperialism has never for a moment given up its drive to chip away at the unity of the socialist world. For it, the focus of the class struggle on the world scale is the Soviet Union. For it, the Soviet Union is the political and military power base of the world's working class. It views the Soviet Union as the main roadblock to its plans of world conquest. This has been and remains the pivot of its imperialist policies.

Thus its main ideological attack is on the Soviet Union. US capitalism is ready to make significant short range concessions to any group, party or state, if these concessions fit into the tactical or strategic plans against the Soviet Union, into its plans of dividing the socialist sector and the other forces of anti-imperialism.

For example, for years there has been a well-organised high power political group composed of some of the most reactionary imperialist forces—called the "China Lobby". It has been the organising and ideological center for the US policies of aggression in the Far East. This most reactionary force has now undertaken the drive, both in the open and behind the scenes, to bring about a working relationship between the US and People's Republic of China. This is a well-financed drive, supported by some of the most aggressive monopoly circles in the heartland of world imperialism. Needless to say, these forces are not interested in US-Chinese friendship. Their main interests are not even trade with Communist China. Their aim is to use the split in the socialist world. Their aim is to try to use the People's Republic of China in its anti-Soviet plans. Its main aim is to open the doors of China for political penetration. One cannot blame China for what US imperialism does, but one cannot ignore policies that lead imperialism to conclude that it can use them.

The use of such negative policies is not a matter of agreements or contracts.

The same end is accomplished by giving the massive imperialist networks the material with which to vilify and slander the Soviet Union, socialism and the Communist Parties of the world. The imperialist network is much more anxious to spread slander coming from such a source than slander from its own barn of ideological fabricators.

US imperialism has a specific, worked out plan of action for every socialist

country—for every newly liberated country—for every political party throughout the world.

What the world must understand, no world power has ever had an active policy of penetration, of subversion, of corruption, of buying off, of terror and murder on the massive scale as is the case with US imperialism.

But the pivot around which these plans revolve is the plan against the Soviet Union.

Any accommodation to the ideological pressure that arises from this reality weakens the forces of anti-imperialism. No amount of ideological tip-toeing or side-stepping is going to change this hard rock of reality.

It is true that the Soviet Union does not ask for nor does it need the kind of defense the first young socialist Republic did. But even then the significance of the world-wide campaign was far more than the defence of the Soviet Union per se. It was an important ideological campaign. In fact this was its central purpose.

For this same reason the statement of Soviet self-sufficiency, while correct, cannot be a cover for not taking up the challenge of the anti-Soviet campaign. Such silence for whatever reason has political and ideological consequences—not in the Soviet Union, but to the masses in the rest of the world. Herein lies the importance of replying to the slander no matter where it comes from.

No one wants to condemn or to “read out” any other Communist Party. The best possible of all solutions would be for all Communist and Marxist Parties to be here in this comradely and democratic discussion. This is the only path to greater unity. However, no one can honestly say that every possible effort has not been made to bring this about. I am sure we are of one mind in our determination to continue to bring about such a collective dialogue between all Parties.

But let us not forget—there is a long history to the efforts of most Parties in trying to find a basis for a dialogue with the present leading group in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In this history there have been periods of private exchanges, periods of public discussions, periods of no public or private retorts, to the vituperative and slanderous attacks from Peking. But as we know it has all fallen on deaf ears. Silence in the face of injustice, silence in the presence of slanders and falsehoods, silence in the knowledge of a military attack is acquiescence, is support for the slander, the falsehoods and the attacks. Whether one inwardly means to acquiesce or not, is not important. It is the effects of such silence that count. The imperialist network spreads such silence as support for the slander.

The main content of the Maoist ideological attack is anti-Soviet. It is directed against the other socialist countries and the world communist movement but it is sharply focussed against the Soviet Union. This, as we all know, is the main focus of US imperialism's attack also. How are we, therefore, to separate these attacks? They cannot be separated in content, in their viciousness, in scope and persistence.

Where then is the logic in a position of remaining silent when hearing every possible kind of slander, and vilification that has no limits. Where is there logic in remaining silent when there is also proof of military attacks—all these attacks

coming from one direction. And as soon as there is even the most responsible and measured reply to the slanders and attacks—then the silence ends and the response to these slanders is called slander and abuse—these responses are called divisive. During this conference the Mao group has said, “the Soviet Union and its socialist satellites are a fascist prison camp of peoples”. How can partisans of socialism, a partisan of the working class remain silent? Must not one weigh the effects of such silence? Do not masses have a right to draw the conclusion that such silence is, in fact, acquiescence? Whether they have a right or not? They do.

Under these circumstances those who remain silent and those who dig into the pile of slander and falsehoods, in search of a word or two from which they can construct some far fetched positive connotation—may do so. But they must also accept the responsibility of what conclusions the millions draw from such positions.

What should concern all is the slanders and the attacks, of course, but what is of even greater concern is the consistent direction of the Maoist policy.

It is not a policy of confrontation with the forces of imperialism anywhere. The policy moves in the direction of a sharper confrontation with the forces of socialism and anti-imperialism everywhere. Neither the ideological nor the military confrontation moves in the direction of confrontation with imperialism—anywhere.

The point is not to read the Communist Party of China out. The real question is—how to reverse the present direction of the Maoist policy and to bring the Chinese people and nation back into the stream of anti-imperialism, and into the world communist and socialist movements.

We are in full agreement with the draft Main Document in its emphasis on the centrality of the struggle against US imperialism. This is a world-wide struggle.

In the other imperialist countries, however, this struggle will be most effective if it related to the struggle against the imperialism of one's own country. Communists can never be in the position of supporting the replacement of one imperialist domination by another—especially if the replacement is the imperialism of one's own country.

This can also be a form of opportunism.

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The US Air Force and Navy have destroyed most of the substantial structures and bridges in North Vietnam, including, by their own claim, tens of thousands of trucks, thousands of railroad engines and cars, large numbers of vessels, the bulk of all industrial installations. They have destroyed the majority of above-ground schools and hospitals, countless homes, damaged the invaluable dikes and irrigation systems.

The US Armed Forces have destroyed most of Hué, large parts of Saigon, Cantho, and other cities in South Vietnam, and countless villages and hamlets, by aerial bombardment and artillery fire.

The US Armed Forces have ruined a million acres of arable land through

defoliation, bulldozing, conversion into military bases. They have destroyed vast rubber plantations, and rice fields, shops, and small industrial establishments in South Vietnam. They have destroyed or stolen hundreds of thousands of tons of rice, tens of thousands of head of livestock.

The US government strives openly to kill the maximum number of Vietnamese people, boasts daily of the number killed, and of the "kill ratio". It has in fact killed more than one million Vietnamese men, women and children.

The US government has surpassed all of its past efforts at destruction in this war. It has dropped more tons of bombs than in any previous war. The damage has been correspondingly colossal.

The US is completely responsible for this war, and is guilty of unprovoked aggression against the people of Vietnam, North and South. Similar massive destruction has been carried out in Laos, and serious damage in Cambodia.

World public opinion must force US imperialism to pay full reparations for the damage it has wrought.

Nobody needs or wants the charity of US imperialism, and their so-called aid is only given to their clients and puppets.

What is involved here is reparations which by international custom are paid by the aggressor to the country attacked. And it is our supreme duty to make sure that US imperialism is in fact defeated in its criminal attempt to make a de facto colony of South Vietnam.

How much reparations? There is no value big enough that one states for human lives lost.

The damage done to property in Vietnam, measured by US standards, by the prices the US pays its munitions makers, by the actual costs of rebuilding at world prices, would mount into the tens of billions of dollars.

Undoubtedly, the Vietnamese people themselves will be able to add up the bill accurately. But I think:

To make economic amends, to pay its just material debt to Vietnam, the US must pay at least the amount it spent in a single year striving to conquer and to destroy Vietnam—30 billion dollars.

Let the American workers now producing munitions be put to work on providing some of the goods represented by these 30 billion dollars owed to Vietnam.

This must be made an issue in the anti-imperialist movements and struggles.

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The US is not only the economic and military citadel of world imperialism. It is also its political and ideological center. It has in its service the most massive propaganda machine of any power in history. It has at its service tens of thousands of well trained ideological and political specialists. This is a most highly class conscious cadre. This imperialist network is sharply keyed to this conference. They have been briefed and rebriefed. They have been supplied with political, ideological, health and psychological dossiers on most top communist cadres. They are not afraid of any secret decisions from this conference. They are worried about the effects the conference will have on the millions. This net-

work is geared to minimise the effects. They can do this to the extent that they can create an impression of disunity. Every discordant note is being magnified a thousand-fold. In this sense the statement of Comrade Rodriguez for the Communist Party of Cuba that they would not let their absence here be used by the forces of imperialism is of very great importance.

Let us not feed this imperialist network of propaganda.

Let us rather feed the spirit of struggle, the sense of new confidence that masses will gather from a new level of unity symbolised in this historic conference of Communist and Workers' Marxist Parties.

There are some in the communist movement who feel that the draft Document is too positive in tone. We do not think so. Communist analysis must be rounded out.

But there is one special quality in communist assessments. We are dealing with processes in motion. We are dealing with currents only in the process of emerging. It is necessary for us to seek out that which is positive, that which is emerging. We must examine weaknesses, but we must build on that which is positive.

Communists deal with currents and forces that contain within themselves the future. Our assessments reflect our deep confidence in the future of these forces. We have positive posture, because we are the present—but we are also the future.

## LARS WERNER

Deputy Chairman,  
Left Party—Communists of Sweden

The Left Party—Communists of Sweden regards fighting imperialism at home and on a world scale as its main task. On many peoples imperialism imposes a dual yoke—that of the parasites of their own country and of foreign capital. It exploits the raw material resources and the manpower of these peoples, keeping them in a state of poverty and destitution. The old and new forms of imperialist exploitation rob the oppressed peoples of the opportunity for economic growth.

The postwar period is highlighted by the struggle of the oppressed peoples for emancipation. The forms of that struggle vary, depending on the time and situation. In reply to the violence of the oppressors, the peoples are compelled to resort to arms in the struggle for liberation. National independence and social revolution open up horizons for industrialisation and rapid economic development.

Victories in the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples are of great help to the cause of peace and progress in all countries. No enduring peace can be built on plunder and oppression, on an unchanging relation of world forces; it must be based on the equality of nations. In the developed capitalist countries, too, social emancipation has to be won in fighting imperialist plunder and its effects. No people oppressing other peoples can be free.

International solidarity must be expressed in political action. The working-class movement must back up the liberation struggle of the poorer peoples, fight against its country's participation in imperialist wars and war preparations, in neo-colonialism and the plunder of other peoples. It must work for effective aid to the poorer countries, their industrialisation and economic growth. The idea of international solidarity should be upheld by defending it from the short-sighted interests and nationalist sentiments in one's own country.

Monopoly capital of the industrial countries benefits from the labour of the people of its own and other countries. It needs raw materials, markets and cheap labour in other countries and other parts of the world. It applies political pressures and infiltration, supports reaction and fascism, and defends its interests by armed force and war. Arms production, which yields immense profits, consumes labour, science and technological resources. Militarism emasculates and eliminates democratic rights and freedoms and manipulates public opinion to

suit its ends. The arms race and war provide the makers of arms with a market.

Today, the United States is the centre of imperialism and the US war machine performs the function of imperialism's police force. However, resistance to US imperialism is mounting in different ways. It is sinking in among people that the imperialist system imperils the basic interests of the nations. The need for new social relationships is now more acute than ever. The peoples demand the right to control their own resources, they demand opportunities to build a better world. The popular fight for freedom, bread and peace brought on socialist revolutions in large areas of the world. This weakened capitalism as a world system. It also helped the struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the working class.

The Left Party—Communists ranges itself with the social and national liberation movements. It supports all those who are fighting for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism. That is the spirit in which our Party maintains its international contacts.

Capitalism has grown into an international imperialist system, and the struggle against it must, therefore, also be international. The fight against capitalism and imperialism in one's own country must always be aligned with the fight against imperialism on the world scale.

The working-class movement and the Communist Party in each imperialist country contribute to the anti-imperialist struggle mainly by opposing capitalism in their own state.

Swedish imperialism is becoming more active in plundering the oppressed peoples. This is evidenced by the steep increase of Swedish investments abroad. A considerable part of these investments goes to the so-called developing countries. As in other capitalist states, we witness an "internationalisation" of the big Swedish concerns. This happens in two important ways.

Swedish investments in the developing countries are impelled by the drive for profit, for new sources of raw material and new markets. These investments are guaranteed "against risk" by the state. The SKF, Atlas Copco, Electrolux and other concerns operating in the developing countries are prompted by considerations of the maximum advantage. For capitalist Sweden private investments in developing countries extend the sphere of applying its capital and thereby serve the aim of improving the economic situation at home.

The political implications behind the private investments in the developing countries are obvious too. The co-operation of Swedish concerns with big US capital in the international LAMCO in Liberia and the activities of SAAB in Argentina, CENTAB in Thailand, Avesta Iernverks in South Africa, ASEA in Cabora Bassa, Mozambique, and the co-operation of the big banks in ADELA—that is a far from complete list of examples showing that Swedish investments go to countries where they fit in with the interests of US imperialism. The US military potential is seen by the Swedish investors as a guarantee of "stability" reducing the economic risk.

Sweden's policy towards the developing countries is based, with but few exceptions, on the same criteria as the policy of the big private enterprises. Countries where the USA is dominant are the main recipients of capital. The limited investments in Tanzania and North Vietnam are but exceptions that



confirm the rule. Sweden's participation in GATT, for example, or in the European Free Trade Association, allows Swedish capital into Portugal and South Africa. The aid to the developing countries is chiefly in loans, meaning that much of it is spent on interest and repayment.

In discussing the so-called low development of some countries, the Left Party—Communists has always emphasised that the problems of the developing countries are, in effect, a direct consequence of the imperialist system that embraces both the rich exploiter states and the poor exploited countries. The capitalist world should be seen as a single whole, the dominant feature of which is the wealth of a few and the poverty of most. The capitalist system breeds both growth and backwardness.

The underdevelopment of the economic structure of the developing countries is caused and maintained by imperialism and by the dependence on it of the countries concerned. It follows that struggle against the backwardness of the developing countries is tantamount to struggle against imperialism. The "underdevelopment" of the countries in question can be eliminated only by a social revolution that will deliver the poorer peoples from the imperialist stranglehold.

It is up to the working-class movement and the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to show their solidarity in action with the national and social liberation movements and to support their struggle. At the same time, they must work for changes in the trading policy, making it more favourable for the developing countries rather than the imperialist states as is the case at present. The trend of linking aid to developing countries with the interests of private capital should be combated. Support should be rechannelled to the progressive developing countries and the national and social liberation movements. This support should be rendered on their terms.

Solidarity with oppressed peoples and support for their struggle has always been a distinguishing feature of the socialist and communist movement. That stems from the interests and ideals of the working-class movement and constitutes a natural and necessary part of its struggle. In substance, this struggle is directed against the world's reactionary forces, against a social order that calls in question the peoples' right to liberation from home and foreign oppression. Today, our international solidarity should go, above all, to those peoples that are fighting for national and social independence against the old, still surviving colonial powers and against neo-imperialist plunder in various forms.

The Left Party—Communists devotes considerable attention to these issues in its political work. We promote solidarity with the liberation movements in South Africa and in territories ruled by Portugal. That one of Sweden's biggest industrial concerns, ASEA, plans to participate in the exploitation of Cabora Bassa, Mozambique, jointly with Portuguese and international capital, shows clearly that the struggle between the liberation movements and imperialism is an immediate concern of the Swedish working class. In our view, the Swedish working-class movement should act in concert with FRELIMO and prevent ASEA's participation in that project.

However, international solidarity today is centred first and foremost on the people of Vietnam and their fight against the aggressive US imperialist war.

Under the leadership of the NLF, the people of South Vietnam have liberated a greater part of their country. They have shown the world, too, that US imperialism can be repulsed, and that a small nation fighting for freedom is stronger than the leading capitalist power with its vast war machine. The people of Vietnam have given new hope to all the other oppressed peoples.

The active movement in support of the Vietnamese people scored an important victory in Sweden when, after a long resistance, the government took the correct view and established diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Now, the demand to recognise the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and break off relations with the puppet Saigon regime is advanced forcefully in our country. The NLF is the true popular government of South Vietnam. It controls territories inhabited by more than three-quarters of the South Vietnam population and exercises power based on popular support, whereas the Saigon junta is supported by US bayonets only.

Our Party fully backs the NLF's 10-point programme. We regard the efforts to promote solidarity with Vietnam in our country as the Party's main task today. That work has to be continued and expanded, until the foreign troops are driven out and the Vietnamese people can begin building in an environment of peace and independence. The USA must leave Vietnam! Support the NLFSV and the people of Vietnam!

The problems of European security, too, are hanging fire. The revenge-seeking circles—above all in West Germany, but also in other countries—present a big danger. Fascism is spreading again. Its influence in West Germany is on the rise. For two years, Greece has been at the mercy of a military junta. It is an urgent task, therefore, to rally all progressive forces for consolidating European security by acknowledging the present frontiers, recognising the GDR, and creating a nuclear-free zone.

Convening an all-European conference would be another good step in the drive to assure the security of the European peoples.

The fight for peace, against militarisation and nuclear arming, against racial oppression and fascism, is in political effect equivalent to struggle against imperialism. To be successful in these aims, as well as in the struggle against colonialism and various forms of imperialist plunder, all anti-imperialist forces should be united. The Left Party—Communists stresses emphatically that the International Meeting should embrace all Parties and movements wishing to participate in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The composition of the present Meeting is quite restricted. Representatives of important trends in the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist struggle are absent. Not only does this basic weakness impair thorough discussion taking into account the variety of trends, but it may also sharpen the existing split in the international working-class movement. We view critically the fact that this Meeting is being used for polemics against other Parties not represented here. This does not harmonise with the efforts of building up a common front against imperialism.

During the preparations for this Meeting we stressed repeatedly that not only all Communist Parties, but also Left-Socialist parties and, above all, national and social liberation movements, should participate in it. We should like

to express the hope that such a broad international meeting against imperialism will materialise in the near future.

The discussions at such a meeting should be confined to what is directly envisaged in the agenda. The Document submitted to the Meeting, in our view, far transcends the limits set by the agenda and diverts from it. We hold that it would be better to confine ourselves to the concrete tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Also, it is our belief that the circulated Document contains substantial deficiencies in elucidating and analysing the world situation. A number of important questions related to revolutionary strategy in the Third World, is completely ignored. General definitions obscure the actual problems and contradictions in and between socialist countries. The Document emphasises the independence of Communist Parties, on the one hand, and their responsibility to the international working-class movement, on the other, but does not state clearly that the final say in the affairs of its own people belongs, and must belong, to each Party. That we consider the basic issue of principle, especially against the setting of the critical discussion that followed the entry of troops into Czechoslovakia on August 21 last year, from which we, like some other Communist Parties, have dissociated ourselves.

The Left Party—Communists believes that international conferences should adopt forms enabling the participating Parties to draw their own correct conclusions from the discussions. That is why we take part in this Meeting as observers. We should like to express the hope that the Meeting will promote the anti-imperialist struggle and make it more effective. For its part, the Left Party—Communists is ready to apply every effort, to use every possible opportunity of contributing to the joint struggle of the peoples against imperialist domination and for the creation of a better world.

In conclusion, we thank the Soviet comrades for their good facilities and hospitality.

## **ABDEL KHALEK MAHGOUB**

**General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Sudanese Communist Party**

**Dear Comrades,**

Our Party agrees with the Main Document and also with the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin", the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!".

The convening of this Meeting, which seventy-five Communist Parties are attending, testifies to a strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement, which has faced serious difficulties after 1960. The non-participation of some fraternal Parties, regrettable though it is, does not write off the fact of the victory of the cause of unity and of the demonstration of this unity at our Meeting, the result of the joint struggle of our fraternal Parties. The efforts to cement the ranks of the communist movement, the vanguard of progress, cannot wait for complete unanimity. It is the majority, in the first place, that unites for the sake of unanimity.

We support the Main Document because it is not only a programme of action but also has a definite ideological basis. Comrade Brezhnev's speech has deepened the sound concept of communist unity of action on the basis of ideological unity. Communist Parties are united in the first place by the unity of ideology, which is rooted in the class origin and in Marxist-Leninist theory. Working out a joint action programme without ideological unity, without discussing the general strategic line and tactics of the international communist movement may suit a front which unites different class interests and ideologies for a certain period of time, but does not conform with the nature and tasks of the Communist Parties.

The disagreements in the international communist movement, although they sometimes seem to pertain to purely practical matters, are in reality disagreements of an ideological character. Despite the fact that all Communist Parties proclaim Marxism-Leninism to be their guide to action, some, for instance, call for building socialism in isolation from the socialist system. Relations between the system of socialist states and each of these states, relations between capitalist countries, modern imperialism and its international organisations, the issue of war and peace—all these problems give rise to disagreements between Communists, which are nothing else but an expression

of differences in the class interpretation of Marxism or, in some cases, of an inability to develop the Marxist teaching so as to find solutions to the new problems of the world revolution in our epoch and the problems that confront mankind today.

This viewpoint of ours is confirmed by the fact that the content of Section Three of the Main Document stating the joint action programme does not go beyond the habitual bounds or differ from the slogans usually advanced by Communists. But the essence of the matter will become clear if we pose the following questions: Why do acute disagreements arise between Communists, despite the community of their practical slogans? Why is not every effort made to fulfil this programme of action?

The common programme calls for struggle against world imperialism. But is there a Communist Party or a Communist in the world calling, openly or by intimation, for something else? In practice, acute disagreements emerge as a result of differences in ideological conceptions.

The Chinese Communists regard struggle against the Soviet Union, the socialist system and all differently-minded contingents of the communist movement as their top-priority task, an indispensable condition of the struggle against imperialism. We all agree on the matter of unity and solidarity of the Communist Parties, and at the same time we see the Chinese Communists apply their own concept of unity to some of the Communist Parties. For example, in the autumn of 1964, without having contacted us to state their views, they attempted to split the Sudanese Communist Party. It is clear, then, that the CPC regards any joint action programme from the viewpoint of the possibility to engineer or deepen divisions in the Parties not sharing its views. The CPC has reneged on Marxism-Leninism, violating the principles of settling disagreements accepted among Communists, and gone as far as to commit armed provocations against the world's first socialist state which supplied it with weapons and effectively contributed to the victory of the Chinese revolution. In so doing, it raised trumped up border issues that even bourgeois states would have settled peacefully.

We all oppose and unanimously condemn modern imperialism. But we see that a section of the working class in the capitalist countries which, moreover, is not influenced by the Right-wing Social Democrats, overlooks the activity and neo-colonialist methods of the monopoly capital of their countries in the Third World. These groups of workers do not realise that the relatively high standard of living in Western Europe and the United States has been achieved not only as a result of the technological revolution, but also due to the profits which the monopolies squeeze out of the Third World and which they use to bribe new strata of workers. Working out a programme of common action and solidarity between the working class of capitalist Europe and America and the peoples of the Third World calls above all for Communist ideological unity on all questions pertaining to modern imperialism.

Therefore the task of the international communist movement is not only to work out an action programme, but also to rectify those ideological trends and overcome those disagreements which hold down the tremendous potentialities of our movement and prevent raising its activity to a higher level.

The socialist world system—the creation of the international working-class movement led by Marxist-Leninist Parties—constitutes, without a doubt, the material basis of the movement of the peoples fighting on all the fronts of the modern world. Consequently, defence of the socialist world system is a supreme internationalist duty, because the workers of all countries, the peoples of all the world and not only the peoples of the socialist countries have a stake in the destiny of this system. The peoples of our country are tremendously and legitimately interested in consolidating the positions of the socialist system. They will not consent to any changes in its map save those that will tend to expand, increase its territory rather than bring about dismemberment and fragmentation. That is why our peoples understood and hailed the resolute measures taken in August to safeguard socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The nature of the socialist system and its internal laws demand that as a social system it should develop on the basis of the international socialist division of labour, on the basis of the most advanced forms of internationalism which under socialism are expressive of the loftiest national sentiments and notions. This system will not develop if ideas are allowed to gain currency which justify division and national narrow-mindedness or a concept of relations between members of the socialist community which identifies them with the relations of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. Unable to attain their ends through direct military interference, the imperialist powers are whipping up nationalist passions to destroy the unity of the socialist camp, to weaken it as the decisive force of historical progress.

Owing to its unity, the socialist camp possesses attraction for all peoples. Having become the principal motive force of our time, having acquired appeal, socialism began to attract broader social strata formerly hesitant or hostile towards it. The material and spiritual bankruptcy of capitalism has quickened the realisation by these strata of the profoundly humane nature of socialism. The problem of the superstructure of socialist society has acquired great importance for attracting and influencing them. The dialogue with these strata is no longer limited to comparing socialism and capitalism from the viewpoint of the satisfaction of man's material requirements; it has now shifted to the realm of the spiritual requirements of modern man, who wants to see the triumph of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy, who wants socialism to take precedence both in technology and in the social sciences and free the human mind of bigotry.

Much still has to be done for the international communist movement, with the socialist system as its vanguard, to ensure further development of Marxist-Leninist theory with the help of new creative methods conforming to the level of the complex problems of our time. Owing to a lag in this sphere, superficial ideas of the "New Left" type have surfaced in some contingents of our movement. This has happened only because these contingents raised problems which other contingents refrain from taking up. We are confident that Marxism-Leninism is capable of posing and solving such problems, for there is no other theory which would surpass it in this respect.

We consider that the Document correctly characterises inter-Party relations based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. These principles cannot

lead to the emergence of contradictions among Communists. They are founded on loyalty to Marxism-Leninism to which Communists voluntarily adhere in their practical activity in behalf of the common interests of the international working-class movement. The fulfilment by Communists of their internationalist duty is judged by the contribution of every Party to the propagation of Marxism-Leninism, by the effectiveness with which it convinces the masses in the need of selfless struggle for the cause of socialism, national liberation and progress. Affirmation of these principles calls for a stubborn struggle against Right and Left deviations, against conciliatory and nationalist trends, for the unity of the international communist movement.

Cohesion of the three components of the world revolutionary movement—the socialist system, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement—is one of the principal new features of our time singled out by us in the 1960 Statement. The past years have witnessed both flow and ebb in that respect. Today we are searching for a suitable formula that would help consolidate this cohesion. We support the clear-cut formula suggested by the CPSU Central Committee and contained in Comrade Brezhnev's speech at this Meeting, namely: Communist Parties, progressive regimes in the Third World countries, revolutionary-democratic movements, and the worker-peasant alliance. This formula will make the fight for unity more effective. It should be admitted frankly that our movement is not yet fulfilling its duty in this respect to a sufficient extent.

The socialist camp with its tremendous potentialities is prevented from advancing along the road of unity by a number of factors, such as a serious internal split, the existence of nationalist extremist ideas in some of its contingents which ignore the common interests of the anti-imperialist front, etc. Despite the great influence it wields, the working class in the capitalist countries does not pay sufficient attention to the problem of neo-colonialism and of struggle against it, i.e., to the important and essential problem of rallying the ranks of the anti-imperialist front. The successes of the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries against the monopolies depend on its solidarity with the national liberation movements suffering under the yoke of monopoly plunder.

The national liberation movement, which scored major victories over old colonialism in the early 1960s, is experiencing great difficulties now. On the one hand, it has been confronted with new forms of colonialism, and, on the other, with problems of transition from the national to social revolution. Hence shifts in the position of the various classes, changes in their development, hence the reactionary role of the ruling groups influenced by the national bourgeoisie which headed the movement of these peoples for independence after the Second World War.

We agree with the Document's appeal to heighten the peoples' vigilance towards the imperialist offensive. We also agree that the socialist camp is the principal target of this offensive. We consider, however, that it is necessary to stress more clearly the need to prevent any counterposing of the socialist camp to the national liberation movement. Of course the socialist camp is being viciously attacked by the imperialists. But it possesses tremendous possibilities

to give a prompt and effective rebuff to these attacks, as happened last August. As regards the national liberation movement, its possibilities are limited so far, and rebuffing the imperialists is more difficult for it, despite the economic, military and political support rendered by the socialist camp and primarily the Soviet Union. In our opinion, the formulation should be:

1. Imperialist strategy is aimed at destroying the might of the world revolutionary front.

2. The socialist camp is the principal target of this strategy.

3. Imperialism is striking blows at those links of this front which are the weakest at present.

As for the Document's treatment of the problems of the national liberation movement, we consider it useful to give a more clear-cut characteristic of some of its new features:

*First*, it is necessary to indicate the particularly vicious character of the imperialist attack on this contingent of the world revolutionary front. Today, things are not going as smoothly as at the time of the 1960 Statement, when the general upsurge of the national liberation movement had led to major victories over old colonialism.

*Second*, although the national liberation movement has suffered some setbacks as a result of the neo-colonialists' actions, we cannot say that the outcome of its development is entirely negative. Faced with the penetration of neo-colonialism and the need to solve complex problems of development, the national bourgeoisie which formerly headed this movement has become an impediment to the social revolution. The working class and other revolutionary forces have advanced to the fore, offering an alternative to the traditional path of development. Under the impact of new objective conditions in some of the countries that have embarked on social development, the national revolution is merging with the social revolution.

The Arab national liberation movement is a part of the world national liberation movement and reflects its common features, but it has its peculiarities stemming from the concrete conditions of the Arab countries, and principal among these is the connection between the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against world Zionism. Herein lie the real roots of the Middle East crisis.

The Zionist circles have long been trying to conceal these roots and depict the struggle that is going on as a racial or religious confrontation in order to distort the class and liberatory character of the Arab peoples' struggle for social progress and against imperialism, Zionism and domestic reaction.

In connection with the problems of the national liberation movement, we want to describe the experience of Sudan in the light of the recent events of the national-democratic revolution.

The revolutionary act of May 25 in our country confirms that, despite the activity of the counter-revolution and the sustained offensive of neo-colonialism against the national liberation movement, the general correlation of forces did not change in the mid-1960s and there is a possibility of some country breaking through the counter-revolutionary cordon and the imperialist encirclement. In the summer of 1965 the counter-revolution did win in our country, but the



popular movement, employing a flexible tactics, was able to retreat while preserving important positions in the mass organisations. This tactics enabled it to resume rallying its ranks and come out in defence of its fundamental interests, for democratic freedoms, against economic backwardness, against the imposition of a reactionary constitution in the name of Islam to crown the victory of the counter-revolution, against Right-wing bourgeois reformism with its attempts to strip the slogans of the Sudanese October 1964 revolution of their social essence. The popular movement fought on staunchly for five years right up to May 25, when a group of patriotic-minded officers expressing the aspirations of the people wrested power from the counter-revolution and turned it over to the forces of the national-democratic front.

The establishment of this new power paves the way for an upsurge of the revolutionary movement, which has been rallying to advance an alternative to the old methods of dealing with the country's age-old problems: to lead it along the non-capitalist road of development which has crystallised in the course of the revolutionary movement into a clear-cut programme of development, changing the functions of the machinery of state, solving the nationalities problem in Sudan's South and carrying out a revolution in the sphere of education.

At this stage of the Sudanese revolution the new power is beset by difficulties, the most serious of which are:

1. Economic decline and Western domination in key economic areas.
2. The positions the counter-revolution has retained among the masses, the influence of the traditional parties, and the interests of the social circles connected with their leadership.
3. The atmosphere of hostility along the southern, western and eastern frontiers.

Despite all the possibilities and internal resources of the Sudanese revolution, the material and moral support of the socialist camp plays the decisive role—above all in providing adequate conditions for preserving the new power and developing the revolution in the face of the counter-revolution and neo-colonialist intrigues.

The future of the Sudanese revolution, which is living through the national-democratic stage and going over to a new stage, depends on the continued revolutionary activity of the Communist Party and all revolutionary forces in building the national-democratic front.

The experience of our revolution shows that building up the national-democratic front is marked by peculiarities stemming from the living conditions of our people. The most important of them is that the front does not assume an integrated, centralised form, but incorporates diverse classes and groups which have different forms of organisation corresponding to the level of awareness and organisation of each component of the front in different regions of the country.

Although the front relies on a close alliance of workers and peasants, as well as other, new classes and strata, there is also the need to create simple forms of organisation to influence the majority of the population in the backward regions,

like the alliances and associations of different tribes which appeared after the 1964 revolution.

The experience and the lessons of the October 1964 revolution in Sudan are the beacon that helps the democratic revolution to find its bearings at the present stage. The most important of these lessons are:

1. As a result of a revolutionary struggle which took the form of a general political strike, the population of the developed regions (a minority of the population of the country) was able to overthrow the reactionary power and install a new, progressive government. But the absence of a trained coercive apparatus made it impossible to preserve this power. Its preservation and development required defence by armed popular detachments. Also it was necessary that the democratic forces of the army should go over to the side of the revolution.

2. The development of the Sudanese revolution should be based on a new democracy. The new forces were unable to retain their hold on the power won in the 1964 revolution because, among other things, many of them, especially the revolutionary democrats, did not have a clear idea of the new democratic road. They were influenced by the liberal democratic slogans advanced by the counter-revolution, which helped it to come to power through Western-type parliamentarianism. The new forces saw from their own experience, especially after the reaction dissolved the Communist Party and expelled Communist deputies from the parliament, that the reactionary forces do not tolerate democracy and distort even its liberal forms.

3. The discussion in the Arab world of the causes of the defeat in June 1967, suffered despite the existence of progressive regimes, and the subsequent more revolutionary and more resolute steps to rectify the situation in these regimes helped to clear up many issues, such as the role played in the new democracy by the masses, the state apparatus, the armed forces and their social composition, the vanguard role of the Party, and other aspects of the ideological development of the revolutionary democrats and their gradual acceptance of Marxism.

These and other lessons of the past five years had a positive influence on the revolutionary movement. It held out ideologically against the Rightist reformist trend which the reactionaries, who had earlier resorted to both physical and juridical violence to crush the revolution, employed to win over a part of the mass movement.

The Communist Party played a prominent role in exposing the policy of Right-wing bourgeois reformism. It was able to do so owing to its activity on the economic front, where it stimulated the trade union movement's fight for immediate demands and induced it to press for social change and influence the structure of society. As a result, the activity of the unions of factory and office workers, teachers and professional people, increased. In parliament, the Party used every opportunity to offer an alternative to the economic and financial policy of the counter-revolutionary government.

Thus, a complex and multiform struggle was waged in the conditions of the counter-revolutionary regime. The new power established on May 25, 1969 declared that it would continue the revolution of October 1964. It has opened

before the national-democratic front the road to deep-going changes designed to strengthen its unity and implement the tasks of the democratic revolution. An important feature of the events in Sudan is that the change occurred, not after the democratic front or its basic part had been fully constituted, but on the way to this goal. Favourable conditions have arisen for completing the establishment of the front, because power belongs now to one of its constituent classes.

In conclusion, allow us, comrades, to express our profound gratitude and comradely appreciation to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for their sincere efforts, for everything they have done to ensure the success of our Meeting. We are also grateful to all the other fraternal Parties that have contributed sincerely and selflessly to the preparatory work. We are convinced that their efforts, and our work at the Meeting itself, will be an important landmark on the road to the unity of the world communist movement, the pioneer of the new world.

**MARC DRUMAUX**  
**Chairman,**  
**Communist Party of Belgium**

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of Belgium has for a number of years declared for a new conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. We did so again and again in bilateral talks with various Parties.

In recent years and in 1968, as the differences in the world communist movement grew, we reaffirmed our position on this matter with increased insistence and force. There is not only a serious rupture between the vast majority of Parties and the Communist Party of China but lasting and disturbing differences have developed between other Parties, which, however, firmly adhere to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. The result, particularly after the Czechoslovak crisis and the military action of the five Warsaw Treaty countries in that country, is confusion and ambiguities.

Yet the multiplication of unsolved problems and the persistence of some differences must not lead to disunity in our movement. On the contrary, this imperatively calls for a higher level of discussion and for new theoretical and political quests. We are in a position to launch an irreversible process of decisive defeats of imperialism. But we must remain united. This is conditional on our ability to analyse the causes of some setbacks and make better use of the gains we score in struggle.

The deliberations of the International Meeting can make in substantial measure for a resolute resumption of our advance. Our Party accepts the objectives and principles contained in the Main Document on the present tasks and unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces. We may add that the Document tackles the substance of the main issue, namely, how we can clear the road to peace, freedom and socialism of the obstacles raised by imperialism. Of course, we will offer our criticisms and put forward our proposals further on. But it already seems more certain that as a result of this Meeting the world communist movement will be more united and stronger if it adopts the Main Document with further improvements, as well as the three other documents concerned with the maintenance of peace, solidarity with Vietnam and the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth, respectively.

Since the International Meeting of 1960 the masses in Belgium have been fighting for peace, economic and social demands, and greater democracy in the life of society. The Communists have scored some gains, but they have also encountered difficulties that have yet to be overcome.

Our Party has won a place for itself in the politics of the country. Thanks to its unrelenting fight against sectarianism in its own ranks and against the spirit of excommunication, it has been playing a prominent political role in numerous struggles. It now numbers more trade union leaders elected by the working people, members of parliament and people elected to local government bodies. At present the Party is advancing step by step towards the formation of a political force of progress powerful enough to curb, undermine and overthrow the rule of the big monopoly bourgeoisie. This matter is being widely discussed in all progressive organisations. The big bourgeoisie is concerned and is defending itself with energy. It has vast resources and facilities for propaganda. It is most ingenious in arguing for its policies and in sowing discord and vacillation among the working class and the democratic forces.

Belgium is one of the West European countries whose foreign policy is unconditionally aligned with that of US imperialism, the most powerful of all. The leading quarters of the bourgeois parties and the Right wing of the Socialist Party make believe that they are independent in foreign policy. Of course, the plans which these quarters advertise in certain conditions when peace and security are under discussion are of some interest. But these political groups have put the country in a very difficult position of financial, economic, political and military dependence on the United States. The stationing of the main NATO agencies in Belgium has merely aggravated the situation.

The peace movement has gathered momentum in recent years. Gaining ground among the working people are the ideas of peaceful coexistence, the simultaneous dissolution of antagonistic military blocs, progressive disarmament and support for Vietnam. These ideas have spread to the trade unions and to some Socialist and Christian Democratic quarters and organisations and have brought the younger generation into action.

We must not, however, refuse to put on record the adverse factors hampering our progress. The Communists of Belgium critically analyse the movement in general and their own activity in particular.

We must ascertain the causes of the relative lag in the growth of the peace forces in our country. Here are some considerations on this point.

There can be no doubt that the intensifying policy of subverting the fight for peaceful coexistence—a policy being pursued by the Communist Party of China—has had a most adverse effect. It has bred doubts about the effectiveness of the fight against imperialism. Between 1963 and 1965 our Party was under attack from a group of splitters, which held up our progress. But that is not the worst, for that group has already split into several powerless nuclei. The point is that bourgeois propaganda took ample advantage of that policy to split the ranks of the peace fighters. The policy of the CPC is having highly negative consequences.

Diverse Leftist trends taking various forms have appeared. They regard the fight for peace as an instrument of the policy of class co-operation. The Trotsky-

ites spread anti-Sovietism in this environment. Some elements of the progressive forces have come to regard peaceful coexistence and armed struggle as contradictory concepts whereas they correspond to different aspects, stages and periods of one and the same struggle.

On the other hand, the peace forces are influenced by bourgeois elements who, agreeing to the idea of disarmament, persist in condemning both the imperialist and the socialist countries. As a result, the peace forces do not assess properly the danger emanating from West German imperialism. Despite all our efforts since the military action in Czechoslovakia, these negative trends have become stronger. Our political positions enabled us to prevent a boycott of the ships of socialist countries in Antwerp harbour. We therefore warn some comrades against all ill-advised estimations of the activity of the Parties fighting in the citadels of imperialism. Some talk about things they do not know.

We must by all means expand in concrete forms the fight for European security. On March 30 last, the Central Committee of our Party passed a resolution to step up its campaign for the government to take concrete steps in line with the following objectives:

1. Ending the American aggression in Vietnam. Withdrawal of the US troops. Recognising the National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese people's right to freedom and independence without foreign interference. Establishing diplomatic relations between Belgium and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2. Belgium to come out immediately and autonomously in favour of the proposals contained in the Budapest appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries for European security. Parliament to ratify without delay the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

3. Growing participation in the fight of the peoples of Europe to safeguard European security through measures paving the way for the dissolution of antagonistic military blocs. These measures are recognition of the frontiers existing in Europe, recognition of the German Democratic Republic, renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of its claim to represent the whole of Germany and to the possession of nuclear weapons, and the banning of revanchist and neo-nazi organisations in West Germany.

4. Public discussion of proposals for not renewing the North Atlantic Alliance as from 1969, for Belgium to withdraw from NATO, and for seeking a status of active neutrality and security for the Belgian state.

Speaking of active neutrality, we consider it urgent for Belgium to adopt an independent foreign policy of its own.

Belgium is a small peaceful country. Its people reject the theory of security based on arms, and want security based on détente and disarmament. This is how they can fight, not only for their own security but for that of other countries and take part in a vast movement to stave off war.

Accordingly, our Party proposes an independent foreign policy of active neutrality, which is a special form of struggle—and one more accessible to us—for the dissolution of opposed military blocs and for a collective security pact in Europe. The balance of world forces warrants the opinion that winning

a neutral status that would be respected by all has become really possible.

Such an approach implies that our country must disengage itself from its commitments to NATO and the Atlantic Alliance. It would allow greater scope for fighting against military ventures, neo-colonialist and neo-fascist intrigues and racism. It involves as a necessary step greater disinterested aid to the developing countries.

Furthermore, by taking this road, our country would prevent the further use of its army by foreign powers and outside Belgium as auxiliary forces fated to be rapidly destroyed in the event of war. The foreign troops stationed in Belgium would be pulled out. Disarmament would be carried out step by step according to the possibilities afforded by the actual international situation.

We must do all we can to intensify our activity. We can achieve this on two conditions.

One condition is to step up our fight and our polemics against opportunism in our country, "Left" and Right alike.

The other condition is for the world communist and anti-imperialist movement to extend its concrete initiatives against bourgeois propaganda, which identifies peaceful coexistence with inaction. We would like the upsurge generated by the 20th and 23rd congresses of the CPSU to develop.

We will insist on the government taking steps to secure the recognition of China and its admission to the UN as a full-fledged member.

The policy of monopoly is aggravating the contradictions in our country. Whether it is a question of the demands of the national communities, guaranteed employment, the industrialisation of backward areas, higher wages, tax reforms or the problems of youth and higher education, the ruling classes are no longer in a position to find effective solutions acceptable to the masses, for the traditional political system of the big bourgeoisie has entered a period of deep crisis. This political system is based on the so-called three-party principle. For fifty years now, the two bourgeois parties have contrived to enlist the participation of the Socialist Party in the management of state affairs. The number of tripartite agreements has grown markedly since World War II. Irrespective of the composition of the government, these agreements have assumed an all but institutional character. It is a question of the three-party character of the political headquarters in foreign policy, the military sphere, in social issues and problems of education, in the control of radio and television. The system is still functioning but its crisis is deep and nothing can save it any more.

The result is a precarious hold on power and a growing instability of the government. This is why the more reactionary sections of big monopoly, which are directly linked with US and West German imperialism, would like to effect a swing to the right, reduce parliamentarianism to a fiction, form a new ultra-reactionary political alignment and split the Socialist and trade union organisations. They foment anti-communism. Police repressions against youth demonstrations have become more brutal. Part of the leading cadre of the armed forces has become a mouthpiece of the political demands of NATO and has begun to speak of democracy in threatening terms.

We must be prepared for a sharpening of the struggle in our country. There are forces which can—provided they reach an early agreement—not only frus-

trate the ultrareactionaries' plans but create initial conditions for establishing a new political power.

These forces may be defined as follows:

1. In recent years the working people have become more active, not only in campaigning for higher wages and guaranteed employment but in demanding the establishment of workers' control at the enterprises and the formation of a state sector in industry. Mass strikes and demonstrations continue. This struggle is increasingly shifting the trade unions to the left in relation to the Socialist Party, in which a Left trend continues its pressure. We must also point out the increased autonomy of the popular Christian organisations in relation to the traditional Catholic Party (PSC). The other bourgeois party, the PLP, has lost some of its following among the middle classes. Naturally, this leftward movement is not following a straight line, nor is it a simple process.

2. On the other hand, there is an irresistible growth of the movement for the genuine political and economic rights of the national communities—Flanders and Wallonia—as well as of Brussels, which must become the federal capital. In the social sphere this complex national movement for federalisation tends to fuse with the class struggle. Both bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party are badly split over the problem of the national communities.

Lastly, the constant orientation of the political headquarters of the three traditional parties towards the rulers of the United States is deeply resented by large segments of public opinion, notably by the intellectuals and young people. Besides, an increasingly intolerable fact is that, at a time when science itself is becoming a productive force, the intellectuals and scientists are shackled by a regime that is retrogressive all along the line.

The necessity for revolutionary change is beyond question. But it would be wrong to rely in this matter on only the disarray, incapacity or mistakes of the enemy. It is clear that the big bourgeoisie is in a blind alley. But only by raising the militancy of the masses to a still higher level is it possible to create a really new situation.

We have determined our road. Our goal is to bring about changes by peaceful means. But in recent months we have seen signs of an intensification of the repressive functions of the state whereas there are Socialist ministers in the government. Our task is to show our ability to propose action plans, multiply and extend our actions and bring into them as many Socialist, trade union and Christian Democratic organisations as possible.

But again, we must not shut our eyes to negative factors.

— We have yet to evolve a common programme for the forces which are swinging to the left. To fill this big gap as early as possible, our Party has drawn up a programme which it has submitted to the public for discussion. The programme includes not only demands bearing on the tax system, education, cultural and social matters but a plan for workers' and democratic control, anti-monopoly reforms and the constitution of a federal state. This is the way which subsequently should lead to socialism.

— We note that the two big trade union federations—the General Federation of Labour and the Christian Trade Unions—have formed a Common Front which, however, has not yet become a widespread movement for unity from



below in the enterprises and working-class communities. This is a weak spot. An alliance of progressive political forces should be based on the Common Front of trade unions. But at a time when a rapprochement between them is only just beginning to materialise, it is impossible in the absence of a clear-cut stance to combat trends leading to the subordination of labour organisations to the nationalist and chauvinist organisations of the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie. We must also fight against Leftist groups. It should be clear that Left unity or alliance is not the same as ambiguous unanimity.

— The movement should be led by the working class.

— At the heart of the problem of alliances everywhere is the issue of unity of action of the Socialist and Communist organisations. Unity of action does not depend on agreements at the top, nor do such agreements exist in our country. But there is a real possibility to reach an understanding with various Socialist organisations swinging to the left. We are faced with a special difficulty: our Party is far less strong than the Socialist Party. However, this did not prevent in some areas the conclusion of agreements beneficial to the working class. We think it would be a big mistake to imagine that the Communists' insufficient numerical strength makes it impossible to advance to unity. Our Party should strive for greater strength in the conditions of united action, but it does not claim that it is the only one to suggest good ideas that are bound to succeed. Nevertheless, it is we who must give young workers and students a theory of revolutionary struggle which other organisations cannot offer them, and must equip them with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. This is an important aspect of the fight against bourgeois ideology, which insists on the alleged superiority of capitalism in the matter of economic and political progress and affirms that the negative phenomena existing in the socialist countries must result in undermining socialism.

The successes that the working people of our country can achieve hinge on the further development of internationalism in the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism.

That is why we must fulfil our internationalist duty as Communists. In view of the decisive role which the socialist system, particularly the Soviet Union, plays we should acquaint the working people more fully with the real strength of socialism. But we ask the Parties in power to help us in this. We should see all that is new in the contribution of the socialist countries, which inevitably come up against the forces of the past in the sphere of economic and scientific progress as well as in the sphere of socialist democracy.

Our Party regards this Meeting as a beginning rather than an end. The Main Document does not fully satisfy us for all its numerous merits. Furthermore, we believe that the contributions of the various delegations to this debate are far richer in analysis, ideas and suggestions than the text worked out by the Committee. However, the text is acceptable as a basis for discussion that in no way handicaps the political work or the autonomy of any Party. The task is to promote unity of action and the cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Allow me to present to you and comment on the resolution which the Central Committee of our Party passed on at its meeting May 3 and 4. It says:

"The Central Committee of the CPB accepts the objectives and principles contained in the draft statement submitted to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

"This position does not rule out certain criticisms which the Central Committee reserves the right to offer."

A few words in explanation. As our long discussion is drawing to a close we consider that we can sign the Document without hesitation unless some negative proposal is included in it. We think so for the simple reason that the working people of our country will find in it most useful ideas for their further struggle. Needless to say we would like to have a deeper Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social phenomena and specific problems of our epoch, a more exhaustive search for ways and means of setting in motion and uniting all anti-imperialist forces.

Nevertheless, we attach great importance to the principles formulated in the Document. First of all, we are arriving at a fundamental agreement. We will not list these principles. But it seems obvious that the different ways in which they have been interpreted in the past or may be interpreted subsequently do not safeguard us against future misunderstandings. However, we believe in the future. All peoples should assimilate these just principles and press forward their struggle along these lines, and then they will be invincible.

The resolution of our Central Committee also says:

"The principles formulated in the draft statement are also at the basis of decisions of the congresses of the Communist Party of Belgium. The Central Committee considers that to respect these principles is the duty of all Communist and Workers' Parties."

This means that, in the opinion of our Party, the international communist movement should show to the world, not only through its declarations but by its deeds its ability to combine national and international tasks and successfully apply the principles of a convincing internationalism, of genuine and effective mutual assistance, of sovereignty without isolation, of independence and unqualified non-interference in internal affairs. It also means that the Document should contribute to the progress of our own struggle on the basis of the decisions of our Party congresses.

The resolution of our Central Committee instructs its delegates to the Meeting "to uphold positions intended to facilitate the re-unification of all forces fighting for peace, against imperialism.

"The Central Committee empowers them to uphold a project to continue subsequently the discussion between the Parties with a view to proceeding to a concrete analysis of concrete situations giving rise to lasting differences in the world communist movement and in the general movement for peace and democracy."

"It resolves to strengthen its internationalist bonds with all Communist and Workers' Parties, including those not represented at this Meeting."

Some of our amendments to the Main Document were accepted at meetings of the Preparatory Committee. We think it worth stressing that the method of preparing for this Meeting should be recognised to be right and very useful for renovating methods of discussion. The emphasis was on organising fruitful collective work, on guaranteeing the equality of all participants, and on the

possibility freely to voice the various points of view. All Communist and Workers' Parties were enabled to take part in the preparations for the Meeting. This example is of international significance.

We are also interested in other problems. We must stress at this Meeting that we support the Arab peoples' fight for economic and political liberation, meaning first of all the Arab Communists who, because of the heterogeneity of the Arab states, have to combat nationalist and racist trends hindering a settlement of the problems that have arisen in the Middle East.

We condemn the expansionist, nationalist and racist policy being followed by the leaders of Israel. But the existence of that state cannot be called into question. It is necessary to insist on executing the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. This is an important component of the struggle to prevent the aggressive forces of Israel from establishing an alibi for their dangerous activity.

We wish to add that the Communist Party of Belgium condemns anti-Semitism wherever it may manifest itself. During the anti-fascist fight that developed in our country there fell, side by side with other fighters, so many Jews that we regard it as our duty to state once again that, in our view, no Communist or Workers' Party can grow if it yields to anti-Semitic trends. Anti-Semitism and Zionism are so harmful to our common cause that we must not allow an opportunist attitude to them.

We note with satisfaction that our idea of searching for forms of continuing the discussion after this Meeting brought response at the plenary meeting. The statements which Comrade Brezhnev made on this point in his important speech, as well as statements by the spokesmen of other delegations entitle us to hope that international theoretical meetings will be held in the future to overcome the differences existing in our movement. We must work out a theoretical evaluation of the new forms of struggle born of reality.

We therefore call the attention of all delegations to the content of our Party's proposals concerning the activities that could be developed after this Meeting. We wish to specify that by "after" we mean a more or less long period—months or even years—depending on the situation.

We believe it would be a good idea to provide for the formation of international collective bodies to study a definite range of problems. They should include scientists and political leaders. We have broken up the problems to be studied into three categories but the number of groups should be greater.

The category of general problems should include examination of the balance of world forces, the state of the national liberation movement and of the labour movement in the capitalist countries, whose role in the common struggle, we fear, is underrated in some cases. The general problems should also include the contradictions between capitalist Europe and the United States, and the evolution and new role of youth in the world.

A second category should include the study of individual countries and the outlook for the social and political evolution of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and China.

Lastly, we should not hesitate to tackle delicate and disputed issues. It is not only a question of discussions about the events of August 21. We would also

do well to find an answer to the following question: how are we to re-establish relations with some Parties which are not taking part in the Meeting or are withdrawing from the world communist movement? We think this particularly important because if we fail over a long period to answer certain questions the objective result could be greater disunity even if concealed behind a façade of cohesion.

The Belgian delegation shares the opinion that differences over this or that issue should not prevent co-ordinated action by Communists and that we must solve the practical problems of joint action. We think all those who want the struggle for a system of collective security and for disarmament in Europe to rise to a new, qualitatively higher plane are perfectly right.

We are surprised that nothing has so far been said about a concrete plan of preparations for a conference of European nations. We cannot be satisfied with high-sounding appeals. We need a plan to facilitate in Western Europe contacts and meetings between Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, trade unionists, intellectuals and young people. It will take enormous effort to develop an irresistible mass movement, which alone can bring about a conference of European nations, a conference of states.

That is a matter of decisive importance. The task is to show in practice that we are resolved to change the balance of forces between the bellicose imperialist powers and the peace-loving powers. By proceeding efficiently along these lines, we will put an end to the criminal actions of imperialism, as the draft Document says in speaking of unity of action. We can induce the working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces and the peoples to unite and act together, specifically in Europe. It is an important region where it is possible to curb the aggressors, weaken, undermine and destroy imperialism and more firmly open the way to peace, socialism and freedom.

Allow me to conclude by thanking the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its hospitality and for providing excellent working conditions for our Meeting.

## MANUEL MORA

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

Dear Comrades,

Allow me to greet all of you sincerely and fraternally on behalf of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica.

The main purpose of this Meeting is to find the way to cement the unity of the world revolutionary movement. That is a high-minded and profoundly humane task, because it is through unity, unity forged on the basis of the military, economic and ideological might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, that the revolutionary movement can safeguard mankind from a calamity unseen in history.

Given genuine faith in revolution, given genuine devotion to it, unity may be achieved on the basis of a correctly formulated platform of struggle. If this genuine faith is lacking, if revolutionary conscience gives place to underhand designs, then unity will not be achieved until the enemy or enemies of this unity are crushed.

The Document drafted by the Preparatory Committee is a good one. It can play a positive role in the fight for unity, and we support it. At the same time, we should prefer it to be more lucid, to be less vacillating in its approach to the big problems of the present revolutionary movement. It is incomprehensible, for example, why we should keep silent about the policy of the present leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, who are surreptitiously co-operating with imperialism. Not only are these gentlemen prodding China towards a war with the Soviet Union (that is just what imperialism is after), but also trying to poison the minds of the backward masses throughout the world with crude falsifications of Marxism-Leninism. It is foolish to expect unity with people who have adopted this posture. They do not want unity. They laugh at unity. In fact, they have unity with US imperialism. Unity with the Chinese Communist Party will not be achieved until it relieves itself of the present leadership. Unity with the Chinese people will not be achieved until it is led by a genuinely Marxist-Leninist Party. There can be no unity with those who create a front of struggle on the borders of the Soviet Union, knowing that this facilitates the aggressive designs of German-American imperialism. An uncompromising ideological struggle must be waged against them; they must be exposed before the eyes of the democratic forces of the world, compelling them thereby to

retreat. And that struggle, we hold, should be begun in this Document.

While we do not call in question the character of the Document in its present form, we must declare openly that we do not believe in achieving unity by literary subterfuge. Fictitious unity is not unity at all, but self-deceit. What really counts is true militant unity based on revolutionary principles. That alone can be a factor uniting the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world. Certainly, we imply the unity of the communist movement. Joint action with the other, non-communist forces, is a different question.

There have been references here to tactics. We agree that the movement needs flexible and bold tactics more than ever before. However, this does not mean that we should sit back idly in face of an adversary determined to continue striking at us, employing the foulest means. In the highly expressive vernacular of our country that is called "struggle by a tethered donkey against a free tiger". That sort of struggle is not for us. We are neither donkeys nor philistines.

There are also differences of another kind, which shall never stand in the way of our unity. These concern the conception of the revolutionary struggle waged by each of our Parties in its respective country and what forms of struggle should be applied in each specific case. However, these differences have nothing to do with the basic points—the need to fight imperialism unto victory, the need to extirpate the capitalist system and to build socialism. The Communist Parties in Latin America encounter problems of a dual nature: some are specific for each country, others are common to the entire continent. As regards the former, we shall always employ methods we think are best suited for the place and concrete time in history. As regards the latter, we shall of course adhere to the common line. I am sure, for example, that if imperialism ventured one day to put into effect its plans of attacking Cuba, Latin American Communists of all generations would be ready to lay down their lives in defence of the Cuban revolution. We should not be rebuked for following tactics in our countries that may differ from what some think is right. We veteran Latin American Communists know the inside of jails, we have experienced persecution and exile. All of us have shown our capacity for sacrifice in the name of our cause.

Allow me to go on to another point related to the substance of this intervention.

We disagree with the comrades from Australia, Spain and Italy as regards their conception of principled policy in relation to certain concrete problems. Our conception is different. We hold that principles should not be viewed abstractly or applied mechanically. Even bourgeois ideologists never apply them thus. They subordinate everything to safeguarding their exploiter regime, while we should subordinate everything to the aim of smashing imperialism, safeguarding peace and building socialism.

To elucidate our viewpoint more clearly, I shall try to show how we interpret some of the internationally important events still giving rise to differences of opinion.

To begin with, we never lose sight of the fact that imperialism is keeping the world on the brink of war, that it is hatching war, intriguing continuously in order to start a war. With the help of money and the police imperialism manages to penetrate into most unexpected areas. Its skilful subversive activity

is usually conducted in secret from the masses. In the circumstances, any abstract application of principles is intolerable, because they may then become an obstacle to our cause.

That was what we were guided by in relation to the events in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, we saw that President Johnson was stepping up the criminal escalation of the war against the people of Vietnam, deaf to the protests of world opinion, to the strong warnings of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We saw, too, how Indonesia and Greece fell prey to military juntas, fanatical anti-Communists and shameless Pentagon lackeys. We were witness to Israel's perfidious attack on the Arab countries and saw behind Israel's back the powerful, threatening and blood-stained fist of the imperialists. We saw how German generals in collusion with Americans held dangerous manoeuvres in Europe. Last but not least, we saw how the agents of imperialist powers endeavoured to subvert the security of the socialist countries by means of a plan drawn up in the United States Senate. And seeing all this, we realised clearly that the hour had come to block imperialism's path in the most energetic way, to prevent it from buttressing its positions in Europe, to make it understand that it cannot continue with impunity the drive towards war. It was on this basis that we worked out our policy. The socialist world was obliged to take, and did take, measures to safeguard the revolution and world peace. That did not go against any of our principles, because, as has been pointed out, our basic principles in this alarming time for all mankind boil down to blocking the imperialist offensive, thwarting its plans of a nuclear war and safeguarding peace and the integrity of the socialist camp. We should be naive men indeed if we were to follow the principles of the bourgeoisie which they try to dress up.

Imperialism has been driven into a corner, yet disposes still of considerable resources and has never been more dangerous precisely because of its difficulties.

The prospects of smashing imperialism would still be very remote without the military and economic power of the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union. It is beyond any question that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are in the firing line and constitute the prime bastion of revolution.

The imperialists are perfectly well aware of this, and aim their fire against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. At the present stage, slander and divisive manoeuvres are their chief weapon. But subsequently they may resort to arms of destruction.

Let us not fool ourselves and justify certain tactics by means of various dodges. We must lose no time and rally the ranks of the world revolutionary movement round the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole.

In conclusion, I wish to declare our most fervent assent to all the three documents submitted for our consideration—the Appeal in Defence of Peace, the statement on solidarity with the Vietnamese people and the address on the centenary of Lenin's birth.

Expressing the thoughts of my Party and all progressive mankind, I should like to pronounce:

Glory to the people of Vietnam, the pride of the revolution and all mankind!

Glory to Lenin, the greatest humanist and unsurpassed leader of the revolution!

## **SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE**

**Chairman, National Council,  
Communist Party of India**

### **Part I**

It is an event of great historical and revolutionary significance that most of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world—the leading forces of socialism, of the working class, of national liberation—in short, of the contemporary world-revolutionary process are today meeting in Moscow to compare notes and take stock of our performance in the struggle against imperialism. In reviewing the world-wide fight against imperialism, we have naturally in our minds not only the battlefields of yesterday and today but also of tomorrow. We are here to work out collectively the line for the consolidation of our forces and for further advance. Permit me, comrades, on behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of India, to greet you all who have assembled in this hall in a world conference of the greatest revolutionary movement of all times.

It was nearly nine years ago in 1960 that 81 Communist and Workers' Parties of the world met in this very hall for the same purpose for which we are meeting today. Not since 1935, the year when the last Congress of the Communist International met, had the world Communist Parties had an occasion to review the world situation in all its aspects, until we met in 1960. The Second World War, the defeat of fascism, the ushering in of the socialist world system, the rapid disintegration of the colonial system and the advance of the working-class and democratic forces throughout the world had changed the correlation of forces in the world arena. Despite the existence of imperialism, now shrunk in size, despite the strength and aggressive character of US imperialism and its allies, human society had advanced a stage further on the road to socialist reconstruction, to complete liquidation of colonialism and strengthening of democracy and freedom. The decisive force in world development was no longer imperialism but the forces of socialism, of the working class and national liberation. Rightly was the present epoch characterised as an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The conclusions of the 1960 World Conference summed up the experience of a period of mighty revolutionary upheavals in human history and the history of whole nations, continents and class relations. Guided by the revolutionary



essence of Marxism-Leninism, the conclusions of that world assembly gave to the working people and all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces a clearer vision, perspectives and the reliable compass for charting the revolutionary course ahead.

At that conference, comrades, there were many controversies and many sharp and shrill arguments and voices. There was criticism and even anger. There were arguments on questions of principles and practical policies, of ideology and theory, and each other's actions in class struggles. Our enemies and our critics were almost certain that we would never come to any agreed conclusions. But at the end of thirty days, we all came to sign unanimously the well-known 1960 Statement of 81 Parties.

Soon after the conference the national liberation movement began to make greater strides forward. India liquidated the Portuguese rule on the Indian soil in Goa. The liberation movement in Africa and elsewhere began to move to newer offensives.

At this juncture, US imperialism, whose hegemony of this American continent and the prestige of whose might had suffered a serious blow at the hands of the successes of the Cuban revolution, decided to invade Cuba with all its military strength. It was almost to be a test of the principles and platforms proclaimed by the 1960 Statement of 81 Parties. Would the world's revolutionary forces with the Soviet Union in their van go to the help of little socialist Cuba, whose freedom was threatened by the most powerful imperialist military machine in the world? The Soviet Union mobilised its forces for the defence of Cuba even at the risk of a world conflagration. US imperialism retreated and socialist Cuba was saved. The Soviet Union proved that it was ready to defend the freedom and socialism of even the smallest member of the socialist camp from imperialist aggression and counter-revolution, from wherever it may come.

It was at this very moment of the triumph of the socialist world system and the forces of national liberation and freedom, that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government pressed their claim in several thousand square kilometres of Indian territory and on the pretext of border clashes, which they attributed to the "aggressive" Nehru Government, sent several divisions of the Chinese army into Indian territory and began an undeclared war.

China, which had signed the famous Panch Sheel (Five Principles) Pact with India, whose principles were held as a model for relations between all peace-loving nations, threw the pact to the winds and the biggest and most powerful socialist country of Asia, claiming to be guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, revealed its nationalist-chauvinist ambitions of hegemonism. This was only within two years of the solemn signing of the 1960 Statement of the conference of world Communist Parties, to which the Chinese Party had subscribed.

China attacked India but withdrew her armies as soon as US imperialists retreated from Cuba and the threatened world war was averted. But while doing so, it openly attacked the positions taken by the CPSU in relation to Cuba and our Party in relation to the positions taken by us in the India-China conflict. Our Party at this time had to openly state our differences with the

Chinese Party, when they failed to reply to our letters and appeals. We drew the attention of our brother Parties throughout the world to the Chinese attacks on our Party and to the nationalist and hegemonistic path pursued by the Chinese Party. The Chinese leadership had openly called on the "real" Indian Communists in the name of revolution and proletarian internationalism, as the Chinese put it, to split away from our Party. Our Party was denounced as a Party of revisionists, scabs and betrayers.

It must be said to the credit of the Chinese Party that they never left the world's Communist Parties in doubt as to what they wanted. They published their own alternative general line of world revolution in June 1963. They challenged each Party on the basis of a so-called "ideological" fight. But their own ideological line consisted essentially of a series of perversions, falsification and abuse of all the most experienced Parties of the world communist movement. The new dissident and disruptive Chinese general line threw overboard all the basic concepts and strategic and tactical propositions of the 1960 Statement. If one followed carefully the behaviour of the Chinese leadership in the subsequent period, it would appear as if to them the main enemy is not imperialism, but those socialist countries and those Communist Parties, who do not follow the Chinese line. In this concept the Soviet Union and the CPSU are worse than US imperialism.

We need not prolong the story further. What first appeared as mere differences and divergences on individual questions has now ripened into a full-scale aggressive messianic philosophy of Maoism. The proceedings of the 9th Congress of the CPC have completed the process of replacing Marxism by Maoism. But we are sure the working class of China will in the end succeed in restoring Marxism-Leninism to the great Party of China.

When such dangerous developments were taking place, was it not time for the Communists of the world to meet and discuss together in order to find a solution and try for unity again? At that time, it was just the beginning of the new Chinese line and things were not yet very clear. Even then years elapsed, before we all, who are now here, could agree even to meet and discuss these happenings and the serious breaches in the unity of the world communist movement.

In fact, in certain parties there was a tendency to put blame on the Soviet Union rather than see the monstrous behaviour of the CPC leadership in its true colours. Many well-intentioned attempts by so-called "neutrals" were made to make the Chinese comrades come to the conference table, desist from open polemics and disruption, and return to positions of unity of world communism. But it all failed.

It must, however, be said that it is not enough to blame the Chinese leadership alone. When they gave us an open warning of their total separation from our commonly agreed line of thinking and behaviour, we ourselves helped by refusing to come together to reforge unity.

Our differences and divergences were used by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists to step up their acts of aggression and interference in the affairs of smaller countries. They organised massive aggression against Vietnam. They armed and incited the militarists of Pakistan to invade India in

1965, in which the Chinese also openly lent a hand. Then they incited Israel to attack the Arab countries. They attacked those Latin American countries which tried to overthrow the rule of American monopolies and their puppet dictators. The influence of Maoist adventurism led the Indonesian Party into serious miscalculations, which were used by the counter-revolution to behead it.

In spite of this atmosphere of setbacks, a message of optimism and hope was spread throughout the world by the heroic battles of the Vietnamese people. When they inflicted defeats on the US imperialist forces despite the latter's superiority, in weapons and resources, this further inspired the world forces of socialism and national liberation to meet and unite for common action. Then a mighty wave of solidarity with Vietnam arose throughout the world, including the USA. The whole of the working class throughout the capitalist world began to rise in revolt against attacks on their living standards and their trade union and democratic rights. But the most unprecedented and surprising was the upsurge in the youth and student masses. Never in history were the schools, colleges and the placid depths of universities in such turmoil resounding with demands of democratic rights against the outdated rules and reactionary teachings of old chancellors, deans, and doctors.

Most of these revolts arose out of the crisis of the world capitalist system. They were motivated by the protest against exploitation and obscurantism. Though, in some places, the leadership of these struggles fell into the hands of anti-communists and in some cases in the hands of even direct agents of the reactionary ruling classes, who tried to lead them to disruption, the overwhelming mass of youths, students and workers were on the right path of revolution. They were all a signal of the rising revolution against imperialist exploitation, against unemployment and for democracy, freedom and a bigger share in the affluence of the capitalist world. Such a situation called upon all Communists and freedom fighters of the world to meet, unite and lead those forces.

Serious preparations were undertaken to bring about this Meeting and we have at last met.

It is our sincere request that having now met let us once again review the world situation and the state of the revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and lay down firm and clear tasks in the battle against imperialism.

For this purpose, the Preparatory Committee of the Conference has prepared documents, after long debate and deep thought, after taking into account suggestions from all shades of opinion.

We are glad to state that our Party, which participated actively in its preparations, fully supports the documents placed before the conference. We hope they will be unanimously adopted, even if some Parties may have some reservations on this or that point.

In a document of this kind the views of the individual Parties on all issues cannot obviously be reflected in toto and in all their details. All the same, this draft before us represents the largest measure of agreement among the participating Parties and this is no small achievement. The draft Document truly embodies what unites us as well as our shared strivings for the unity of the international communist movement.

If we adopt the draft Main Document, we shall have given a good blow to

imperialism and fulfilled a great task at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and for united action.

The Document does not discuss the theoretical roots of the divergences or at what stage of theoretical development Marxist-Leninist thought stands today. However, comrades, we have to think of the future as well. The relations between brother Parties are not limited to unity in action against the common enemy. There are innumerable political, ideological and theoretical problems on which we need collective thinking and co-operation. Our Party holds that our world conferences should be held periodically. In this very Meeting we can set up a body which can take such initiative when necessary. It can also help to organise other kinds of gatherings of brother Parties, suited to the issue and the occasion, where exchange of views and experience and a collective examination of problems can be done. This should help to resolve differences before they assume an acute form. We are not making any cut and dried suggestion because new conventions will have to be built in the course of actual experience. Nor are we proposing the setting up of a mechanism which will have some sort of authority over the participating Parties. The independence of each Party has to be respected. But the bilateral and multilateral meetings which we have evolved since 1960 are not enough if we are serious about the position taken in the Document, namely, that the national and the international tasks of Communist Parties are indivisible.

## Part II

Comrades, the running thread and spirit of our Document is that though the world revolutionary movement is passing through a complicated and critical period; though on certain fronts it has received certain, temporary setbacks; though imperialist aggressiveness, and above all, US imperialism is endangering world peace and national independence in various continents; though West German revanchism is again raising its head; despite all these phenomena, the forces of socialism, democracy, national independence and peace are stronger than the forces of imperialism and reaction, and can inflict a defeat on the enemy by moving into united action.

Imperialism cannot change the balance of forces in its favour, it cannot reverse the historical process of its doom, it has failed to secure its strategic objectives after the Second World War, despite the strength it has achieved on the basis of vast technological growth and the acts of aggression for which they are used.

The glorious victories of the Vietnamese people, led by their Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, have proved, more than anything else in recent years, the greatest truth of our epoch, the truth that where the forces of socialism, democracy and national independence are merged into one, the victory of the people and the defeat of imperialism are inevitable.

One has only to cast a glance at the events between the two wars, and history of the last two decades to see in a moment the meaning of the shift in the world balance of forces. Gone are the days when the Spanish Revolution could be

massacred in cold blood and no aid could reach it, because of the barrier raised by fascist and bourgeois governments against Soviet help. Gone are the days when Abyssinia, Manchuria and Shanghai could be invaded with impunity. The new period is now exemplified by the defence of Vietnam and Cuba, aided by the might of the Soviet Union, by the aid rendered to the Arab peoples, and so on.

This is the change in the world balance of forces which neither Washington, London, Bonn or Tokyo can alter.

This has not come about without fearless struggle of the working class, the peasantry and other revolutionary forces all over the world. But it is historical truth that this change has been brought about dominantly by the sacrifices of the people of the Soviet Union and their Communist Party, who shed their blood in the Second World War and finally defeated Hitler and German imperialism. Thereby they weakened the world imperialist system, gave birth to the world socialist system, strengthened the advance of the revolutionary working class in the capitalist countries, and began the liquidation of the entire system of colonialism. It is this victory, we must not forget, which gave the crowning success to the Chinese revolution and the sacrifices of the Chinese people.

It is necessary to remember all this not because we want to gloat over our past victories and close our eyes to the present problems and our failings, but so that we can retain unwavering faith in our convictions and in one another, while grappling with new complicated problems that confront us.

It is further necessary to understand that not all the new problems have arisen because of our failings. Many in fact are the product of our advance and successes.

It is a fact that the total volume of production and rates of productivity are higher in the capitalist world than in the socialist world. The US imperialists, taking advantage of their geographical immunity from direct ravages of war, re-equipped its industry with new technique, based on electronics, computerisation, automation and new chemistry. The new giant monopolies, embracing whole countries and spreading into various countries, completely controlled the state, enlarged their vast rate of superprofits and made US imperialism the richest exploiter in the world.

But all those gains led to deeper crisis in the economies of the imperialist and capitalist countries. Automation and the technological revolution led to increase in chronic unemployment and the petty rise in the wages of the employed workers secured by them after hard struggles, failed to find internal markets for the rising production. Inter-imperialist competition for markets, currency wars, company mergers and invasion of the West European capitalist countries by the aggressive dollar deepened the crisis. And in search of more profits, of more markets, the imperialist pressure on the newly liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to convert them into neo-colonial bases increased. In those countries which had taken to the capitalist path of development, the imperialists, led by the US dollar, offered collaboration, big financial credits, supplies of commodities, particularly tools and raw materials, under the mechanism of the P. L. 480. And to facilitate their neo-colonial designs, they have been trying to establish reactionary political regimes in those

countries which would be amenable to their pressures. Showing around their affluence and their technological achievements, they began to influence the intelligentsia of the newly liberated countries into believing in the superiority of the capitalist system over that of the socialist system.

Though the countries of the socialist camp and particularly the Soviet Union had to spend vast resources to overcome the ravages of war on their own soil, the advantages of the socialist system enabled it to accomplish this task quickly. Despite the fact that it had to meet the imperialist threats of hot and cold wars, and at the same time give aid to the new countries of the socialist camp, like China and the East European People's Democracies, the Soviet Union also made great strides in scientific and technological revolution, in automation and cybernetics and in computerisation. And their scientific and technological revolution did not create problems of unemployment or markets. On the contrary it lightened the load of labour and led socialist men to richer life. And when the Soviet men first flew in space, the imperialist claims of the superiority of the capitalist system in science and technique suffered a defeat.

The results of the competition between the two systems, the differences in the approach of the imperialist and socialist camps towards the problems of mankind and particularly the vast millions in the newly liberated countries could best be seen in India, a country of five hundred million people, the second largest mass of humanity, next to that of China. It can also be seen in the history of development of many other newly independent countries of Asia and Africa.

The problems of the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa arise neither because of the so-called population explosion nor because the people of these countries are incapable of governing themselves. The problems arise primarily from the immense poverty and backwardness which the imperialist exploiters have imposed on them and their continued opposition to allow these countries to develop in peace and to return to them even a fraction of the loot that they carted away before being driven out.

This surely is not to deny the new problems which have come on the scene.

First and foremost, the alignment of class forces which brought about the sweeping unity of the people in the struggle for national freedom from foreign rule, does not and cannot continue after the achievement of independence when the problem of radical structural changes in the economy of the country come to the forefront.

Monopolists, bankers and speculators and similar sections of the bourgeoisie which mushroom after the end of colonial rule, resist the new socio-economic reforms with all their might and strength. They ally with landlords, princes and religious-feudal elements to suppress the new upsurge of the people which wants to move forward from national independence to social liberation. What is worse, they begin to enter into a growing collusion with imperialism, with foreign private capital, against the common people, even at the cost of mortgaging the newly won independence of the country.

In a number of countries, confronted by a growing popular and democratic opposition, and above all, by the militant unity of the working class and the advance of the movement of the peasantry and landless labour, these forces of

foreign and internal reaction whip up mass religious fanaticism, linguistic chauvinism, inter-tribal conflict, and so on, for disrupting the fighting unity of the toiling people which they can no longer suppress by bullets and batons alone.

And then new problems arise among the revolutionary classes also.

The wretched living and working conditions of the working class in the newly independent capitalist countries of course do not change without grim and bloody battles. All the same, the ruling bourgeoisie constantly attempts to tempt and entangle the working class, the more so the large numbers of new entrants who have no traditions of class struggles, into the web of conciliation, arbitration and similar traditional bourgeois techniques of labour control. The rulers favour trade unions bossed over by their political parties against genuine, militant, class trade unions.

An effort is made, in the countryside, with varying degrees of success, to develop a stratum of rich peasants and capitalist landlords by various forms of state aid. This stratum, because of its influential social, economic and political position in the rural areas, takes an offensive against the poor peasantry and rural labour, and strives to disrupt their unity.

A number of Left and democratic parties, mainly petty-bourgeois in composition, ideology and leadership, join hands, by and large, with communist forces in the worker-peasant movement in respect of the struggle for economic demands and protest actions against governmental repressive measures. But they also fall victim to adventurist and opportunist tactics in various spheres of political activity. Essentially Left-nationalist in character, they often take chauvinistic and even anti-Soviet postures on questions of foreign policy.

The upsurge of youth has become a characteristic feature of many newly independent countries also during this decade. Primary and secondary education, and even polytechnical education, has expanded rapidly in comparison with the conditions under foreign rule. Youth coming from the better paid industrial working class now goes in for collegiate education. The number of middle and lower middle class youth who combine part-time service with attendance at academic institutions which conduct their classes in the mornings or evenings, has grown at a phenomenal rate. Not only the economic, but even the social and cultural distinction between them and the educated working-class youth has been substantially erased.

But national economy, which has not grown commensurably with the bare needs of the people, has not even kept pace with the demands for employment of the vastly increasing numbers of the educated youth. Educated unemployment has reached unprecedented heights. Meanwhile the economic and cultural aspirations of youth, fed by growing knowledge of world developments and events resulting from the expansion of the mass media of information, have increased as never before.

It is this vast and yawning gulf between new aspirations and their non-fulfilment, and the resultant massive discontent and bitterness, that has brought about what is literally a new explosion of youth in India and certain other newly independent countries. It is essentially a very healthy discontent, indicative of a new and militant enthusiasm in the younger generation.

Naturally it has created problems, which in reality are a challenge for the Communist and other revolutionary parties in those countries. What is called the adventurism and sectarianism of youth is in the main an expression of impatience, exuberant energy and lack of experience among youth rather than of serious belief in this or that adventurist theory. However, it is absolutely a political problem, and not a law-and-order problem as the bourgeois rulers make it out to be.

The more serious problem is of youth that get drawn into organisations based on religious or linguistic fanaticism. It is more difficult to wean them away from such ideological affinities and draw them into organised, mass militant action than the section that is fascinated by adventurist slogans.

Comrades, our Party in India is facing and grappling with all the problems stated above, problems of the struggle for strengthening and carrying forward the country's national independence in the direction of thoroughgoing changes in the political, economic and social life of the people which would enable them to take to the non-capitalist path of development on the road to socialism.

### Part III

On the attainment of independence in 1947, the Indian National Congress, which was the leading force of the anti-imperialist movement, formed the government of the country. It has ruled the country for the last twenty-two years. On attainment of power, the Congress Party became the ruling party of the national bourgeoisie, which gave to the feudal princes and landlords a share in the governmental power. As political power was concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, the path of economic development pursued by the Congress has been and remains clearly a capitalist path.

Suffering from colonial backwardness in which the British imperialists left the country, lacking in capital and heavy industry for swiftly overcoming its backwardness and to meet the needs of the people, the Congress Party tried its best to attract the American monopolists and the British industrialists, who had large investments in the country, to invest in heavy industry, iron and steel, engineering, chemical and oil. But the imperialists had no desire to allow this vast country to become economically independent.

So, as of necessity, the Indian bourgeoisie turned to the socialist camp, mainly to the Soviet Union, for economic assistance to build the basic heavy industries. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp agreed and rendered immense aid.

Seeing the socialist policy and the attraction that the socialist camp developed in the minds of the people of the country, and the sharp protests with which the masses opposed the policy of the imperialist powers to keep India backward, imperialist monopolies were compelled to render partial aid in exchange for which, however, they pumped out enormous profits from the country.

The situation has come to such a pass that the government now has to borrow from the foreign capital market more money even to meet the interest due on previous loans, which go on piling up faster than before.



For its own economic and political aims, the government adopted a policy of non-alignment, of peace and friendship with countries of both camps. Though essentially non-aligned, and following a policy of peace, the government of India, as the representative of the national bourgeoisie, did not give unequivocal support to the national liberation movements in other countries, until mass pressure demanded it. They did not recognise the emigré revolutionary government of Algeria. As chairman of the International Control Commission for Vietnam the Indian representative tended to side more with the US version of events rather than with the Vietnamese. It did not condemn the bombing of North Vietnam though it demanded a halt to bombing, at the same time expressing an understanding of the position of the US imperialists. While willing to trade with the German Democratic Republic, it is still reluctant to recognise the GDR as an independent state, though it has long acknowledged the existence of two German states. The Indian bourgeoisie values more the credits given by West German monopolists than the trade with the GDR. Not only West German credits but even West German ideology finds favour with certain reactionary sections of the Congress leadership.

It has, however, to be mentioned that the Indian government has unequivocally supported the Arab countries despite the pulls and pressures of the Israeli and US supporters in the country.

In its relations with its neighbours, like Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and even China, the Indian Government has expressed itself in favour of peaceful and friendly relations and settling disputes by negotiation. But, unfortunately, India's peaceful and independent development has always been hampered by the Anglo-US imperialist conspiracy to sow national enmity and to provoke conflicts, including armed clashes between India and the neighbouring state of Pakistan. In recent years the situation was further aggravated by the Chinese leadership's incendiary policy of provoking the Pakistani ruling circles against India. The 22 days' war between the armed forces of Pakistan and India in 1965 might have had incalculably disastrous consequences for both countries, had not the peace-loving statesmanship of the Soviet Union and its timely intervention brought the end of hostilities through the Tashkent agreement between the two warring sides, foiled the sinister game of the imperialists, reactionaries and adventurists, and opened the way for a lasting Indo-Pakistani settlement.

Our Party, relying first and foremost on the growing democratic forces of India and Pakistan and on the common interests of the peoples of both countries, strives and will continue to strive with all its strength to convert this area of imperialist-provoked tensions into an area of peace and friendship among the neighbouring states of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. For the achievement of this aim, the great influence and prestige of the peace-loving and anti-imperialist Soviet foreign policy can be a decisive force.

Our Party also stands for and campaigns for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and we are happy to say that public opinion in the country is positively in favour of such recognition. We also support the initiative to open negotiations with the Chinese People's Republic for settling the outstanding differences and building friendly and peaceful relations.

The path of capitalist development pursued by the Congress was bound to lead to a severe political and economic crisis. Based on heavy indirect taxation, deficit financing, inflation, growing reliance on foreign private capital, and loans borrowed from imperialist countries; based on the motive of private profit as the incentive for capital formation; based also on various compromises with landlord and feudal elements, our national economy landed itself in a profound economic crisis about the middle of our third Five-Year Plan, in 1964-1965.

The overall grip monopoly capital has acquired over the economy is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that within the last five years the assets of the giant monopoly houses have almost doubled.

The capitalist path of development has given rise to an enormous concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of the seventy-five monopoly houses which sit at the apex of our economic life. Particularly disturbing is the fact that these and other big business houses have entered into numerous collaboration agreements with the US, British and West German monopolists for the joint plunder of our national resources. These so-called collaboration agreements constitute an important feature of the neocolonialist drive by the US and other imperialists against our country.

These developments are inevitably reflected in the growing attempts by reaction to gag the voice of the working class and to suppress the people's democratic rights.

In the recent period the mass movements and our Party have had to face mounting attacks on democratic rights and civil liberties. The Chinese aggression on our borders provided the Congress rulers with an opportunity to proclaim throughout the country a state of emergency which continued for five years. Fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution were suspended and the bureaucracy and police were invested with arbitrary powers. During this period tens of thousands of political workers, trade unionists and others connected with mass movements were imprisoned without trial and otherwise persecuted.

Although the emergency has been lifted, the Congress regime is still enacting repressive legislations to suppress the struggles of the working people. Certain reactionary circles are openly demanding the banning of the Communist Parties. The central government, too, is considering new legislative measures which would invest it with powers to ban political organisations.

Faced with the disintegration of the Congress Party and prodded by monopolists and other vested interests, the Congress regime is increasingly turning against even the limited bourgeois parliamentary democracy and is undermining it. Defence of the political gains of the people has become an urgent task today and our Party is in the forefront of the struggle for defending and strengthening democracy.

The imperialists took full advantage of the difficulties of our national economy to force the Indian bourgeoisie and the Indian government into surrender to neo-colonialist pressures. They imposed the shameful step of devaluation of the rupee in 1966 as well as de-facto abandonment of the policy of economic planning itself. Under such pressures several positive features of the economic development have been whittled down or given up.

These steps resulted in a further steep rise in prices, widespread closure of factories and mass unemployment, increased misery of all sections of the working masses including the white-collar workers. The rate of economic growth has fallen behind the minimum targets which were planned for. The masses reacted to this through the biggest and most massive strike struggles ever seen in the history of post-independent India. On many occasions, these struggles simultaneously enveloped not only the entire working population of cities, but life throughout an entire state was paralysed by this movement. This is what we in India call the Bandh.

Our Party played a leading role in initiating and leading this Bandh movement which enveloped whole states throughout the length and breadth of India during the year 1966. The main slogan we gave—of forging an all-in united front of the Left and democratic forces to replace Congress rule—began to acquire real flesh and blood during the experiences of the Bandh movement.

It was the strength of this mass movement that was mainly responsible for the severe defeat sustained by the Congress Party in the Fourth General Elections in 1967. For the first time after independence, the ruling party of the Indian bourgeoisie, the Congress Party, lost its monopoly power in nine out of the 17 states in India and its firm majority in the Indian parliament was reduced to an unstable one of barely 40.

Left and democratic ministries, based on fronts in which Communists played the leading role, were formed in two states. In addition, our Party entered into non-Congress Coalition ministries in three more states.

But the Congress government at the centre and the forces of reaction could not tolerate such a situation. By flagrant violation of constitutional propriety and the norms of parliamentary democracy, by using the weapon of political blackmail and economic pressure, four of the five state ministries in which Communists were participant were illegally and arbitrarily dismissed with the help of Presidential powers and the state legislatures were dissolved. This happened in the second half of 1968.

Mid-term elections had therefore to be ordered in four states in February 1969. The results of these mid-term elections have led to the intensification of the political crisis in the country and within the ruling party itself as well as the general sharpening and polarisation of struggle between the forces of reaction on the one hand and the Left and democratic forces on the other.

The results of these mid-term elections have fully confirmed the validity of the central slogan our Party has issued — the unity of Left and democratic forces on the basis of a common democratic programme to serve as a viable alternative to Congress rule. In the State of West Bengal, where such a front came into existence, the United Front secured a resounding victory over Congress and a United Front ministry in which Communists play the leading part has come into existence. Besides the fact that West Bengal is a state of a big concentration of heavy industry and a strong base of foreign monopoly capital in India, the significance of a firm Left and democratic United Front victory in West Bengal with Communists playing a leading role for future political development in India cannot be overestimated.

In the other three states, though such a result could not be achieved due

to the fact that the other Left and democratic forces did not respond to our appeal for such a firm front, the Congress Party has been badly weakened and battered. The experience of the election has also created new ways for building up unity of the Left and democratic forces and follow the example of West Bengal.

But, above all, the results of the mid-term elections have intensified the political crisis inside the Congress Party at the centre. Everybody now realises that the last days of Congress monopoly of power at the centre have arrived. In this situation, the alternatives at the centre stand clearly posed: either a Left and democratic front is forged in time to take over power at the centre, or a reactionary combination of Right-wing parties and groups will take over power at the centre. These are the alternatives facing the country and the people. All political parties in India are discussing this situation and preparing for one or another of these alternatives.

Polarisation has also started taking place within the Congress Party itself around these issues. The Indian monopolists and their foreign allies are trying to set up a new Right-wing reactionary coalition party to take over the state power on their behalf. In such a situation, our Party attaches the greatest importance to the urgent task of forging a Left and democratic united front on the basis of a minimum programme to serve as a viable alternative to Congress rule at the centre. We are opening up a dialogue with the other parties of the Left on this question.

Side by side, our Party is putting forward the policy of utilising the two state governments in which Communists play a leading role in the United Front Government—Kerala and West Bengal—of utilising the limited state power embodied in these governments as levers and instruments of securing relief for the working mass, however limited the possibilities for them may be under the present Indian Constitution, and thus of building up the strength and striking power of the Left and democratic front and of the mass organisations and mass struggles; to effect a breakthrough in other parts of the country as well as for capturing power at the centre. In these tactics, our Party is fully taking into consideration the concrete conditions of state power in India and the manner in which the fight for the power at the centre has to be conducted. Our slogan for the Left and democratic government at the centre is gaining popular support every day.

#### Part IV

A new round of mass struggles of working-class actions has developed in our country in the recent period, centering around the question of wages, trade union rights, unemployment and land. The Communist Party is heading this new wave of mass struggles and strengthening the forces of Left and democratic unity through these struggles.

The all-India one-day strike action of central government employees of September 1968 which had to confront severe repression and mass shooting; the great "March to Parliament" led on May Day this year by the united

front of all Indian trade union centres and independent federations around the issues of wages, job security and trade union rights (barring only the trade union centre controlled by the ruling Party, the National Congress); the marches and demonstrations of youth and students against unemployment organised in the month of March to May, 1969; the mass movement for occupation of fallow and waste lands by agricultural workers and poor peasants in different states of India last year and this year: these are among the symptoms of the sharpening of the class struggle in the days ahead.

We want to tell you, comrades, that in this situation, when the task of building unity of the Left and democratic forces to hurl back the challenge of reaction has become so urgent, our Party has come out with new initiatives to forge unity in action of the communist movement in our country.

The division in the Indian communist movement that came in 1964 was mainly due to the splitting activities launched by the Chinese Party leadership against the international Communist and workers' movement, following the letter of June 14, 1963, where they launched their disruptive alternative line and platform. These splitting activities have done the greatest damage to the revolutionary movement in our country. Our Party from that time on has been constantly fighting to build up unity in action between our Party and the parallel Party which calls itself the Communist Party (Marxist).

Both at the Bombay Congress of our Party held in 1964 and at the Patna Congress of our Party held in 1968, our Party made such appeal for united action.

The Communist Party (Marxist) has constantly been rejecting our appeals and denouncing us as "revisionists" who, according to them, should be fought to a finish.

At the Fourth General Election held in February 1967, the Communist Party (Marxist) concentrated their main attack against our Party. They refused to form a single united front with us in West Bengal and other states with the result that the Congress and reactionaries benefited from this division and disunity.

Similarly, in all other states also, with the exception of Kerala, the CP(M) concentrated on defeating our Party—even by allying themselves with reactionary forces.

The results of the 1967 General Election proved the correctness of our Party's policies and slogans and dealt a severe blow to the calculations of the CP(M). Our Party emerged stronger than the CP(M) both inside Parliament and in most of the state assemblies.

It is this chastening experience that led to the beginnings of some serious rethinking within that Party. The formation of a single united front in W. Bengal and its resounding victory in 1969 was a signal triumph for the political policies and unifying role of our Party.

Experience therefore has led to a situation when our Party's appeal for united action is now beginning to secure some response from the CP(M). Recently our Party at the session of its National Council held in April 1969 decided to appeal to the CP(M) that the leaders of our Party and of their Party should meet and discuss the question of closer co-operation and understanding

between the two Parties and closer unity in action, in order to forge unity of the Left and democratic forces on an all-India plane, to meet the challenge of reaction and offer a viable alternative to Congress rule at the centre. We put forward three concrete proposals: the formation of an all-India co-ordination body between the two Parties; the formation of a joint bloc of the two Parties in Parliament and in the state assemblies where no united fronts yet exist; unity in action on the mass fronts and in the mass organisations.

Although the CP(M) leadership did not accept the specific points put forward by us for joint discussion, the meeting between representatives of the two Parties was held in Calcutta on May 24, 25 and 26 and led to the signing of a joint Communiqué.

Our Party regards the meeting and the Communiqué as a good beginning and will do everything possible to carry forward this development.

Having split the Indian communist movement once in 1964, the Mao leadership has continued the good work since then. Under Maoist inspiration, a sizable section has now split away from the CP(Marxist) and formed the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) which publicly proclaims its allegiance to Mao's thoughts. This Party includes several misguided young men and militant elements. The Mao leadership has now come out denouncing the leadership of the CP(Marxist) as "revisionists" and "agents of the Indian bourgeoisie", the very epithets which the CP(M) leaders hurled at us when they split away.

The task of unifying the communist movement in India has thus been rendered still more complicated.

The leadership of the CP(M) has now come out in open criticism of the leadership of the CPC and of the ideology of the thought of Mao Tse-tung being a negation of Marxism-Leninism. But it must be remembered that they still regard what they call "Soviet revisionism" as one of the main impediments to political ideological unity of the world communist movement. In this they once again stand on the side of Maoism.

Even while criticising some decisions of the 9th Congress of the CPC the CP(M) leadership reiterates its broad agreement with the so-called general line of the Chinese leadership contained in the Chinese June 14, 1963 Letter.

Our Party, despite all this, will continue steadfastly with its policy of working step by step for re-unification of the Indian communist movement. We regard the task of building closer unity in action between our Party and the CP(M) as the first urgent step in this direction. The limited success we have achieved so far we regard as a success for our political and tactical line as corresponding to the realities of the developing Indian situation. We venture to say that more and more people are rallying to this line of our Party.

If there are friends here who think they can help in this direction, we and our Party shall welcome such help. We shall not regard such help as "interference" in the internal affairs of our Party.

There are friends here who have appealed that in the interest of unity there should be no criticism of the Chinese leadership at this conference. We are sorry we are not in a position to respond to this appeal. The damage done to the Indian revolutionary movement by the splitting and disruptive policy

of the Mao Tse-tung leadership has been too serious, costly and extensive for us to keep silent about it. And that damage is continuing even today. It is impossible to report on our movement in India without referring to the harm done and the problems created by the Peking leaders. Even at this very moment over the Peking radio and otherwise they are instigating provocations and attacks against the united front governments in Bengal and Kerala, and in this respect the positions of the Maoist leaders coincide with those of reactionaries within our country.

## Part V

Comrades, the draft appropriately refers to the question of socialist democracy. It is valid as ever that victorious socialism exerts its influence on the world revolutionary developments chiefly by its economic achievements. But with such breath-taking achievements in the construction of socialism and communism, the question of constantly strengthening and deepening socialist democracy naturally comes more and more to the forefront. In fact, it is on the basis of enrichment and elaboration of socialist democracy that the creative energies of the working people in the socialist countries can be unleashed in full measure. For the working people in the capitalist countries, especially the younger generation, the flowering of socialist democracy also becomes a force of great attraction. This would seem particularly so when the broadest strata of the people are being attracted towards socialism and the revolutionary working class. Any incident or happening in the contrary direction causes concern and confusion, and tends to alienate the masses in the capitalist countries from the lofty ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This matter deserves closer attention of the Communist and Worker's Parties.

Before I close, I would like to emphasise that our Document draws pointed attention to our task of a constant struggle against Right and Left opportunism. I would like to say that recent experience highlights the phenomenon that both Right and Left opportunism lead to narrow nationalism and even to national hegemonism. It is this danger against which each one of us has to exercise the maximum vigilance, against which we must pit all our strength so that proletarian internationalism, which has always been the breath of our nostrils, is reinforced and strengthened with every passing day.

We are patriotic parties, the most consistently patriotic parties, in spite of all the bourgeois slanders directed against us ever since the Communist Manifesto saw the light of day 120 years ago. There is no higher patriotism than Marxism-Leninism.

But while we are patriotic parties, national parties, we are not nationalistic parties. We are national contingents of the international brotherhood of workers, irrespective of creed, colour and nationality. The moment this burning consciousness begins to become dim in our minds and activity, that moment we begin to depart from the highest principle of Marxism, from proletarian internationalism.

The acid test of our international solidarity lies in this that the socialist

countries go all out to give all assistance, economic, political, diplomatic and even military, to all the peoples of the world fighting imperialism and reaction. But proletarian internationalism is not a one-way traffic. We from the capitalist countries have also to face our task. Our proletarian internationalism lies certainly in mutual assistance, but equally, and even more, in giving all possible support to the socialist countries when their achievements or security are threatened by imperialism and its vile conspiracies.

Such in our opinion, is the key message of the Document we are going to adopt. Let us be loyal to it, loyal to the teachings of Marx and Lenin, loyal to the cause of unity of all revolutionary and democratic forces in their common struggle against imperialism, and victory is certain. The future belongs to us, to the toiling people of all countries. The days of imperialism are numbered.

Comrades, I cannot end without expressing the deeply felt thanks of my Party and its members to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the invaluable initiative taken by it in bringing about this Conference. Our heartfelt thanks also go to the CPSU and its leadership, without whose role our conference could not have yielded the results achieved by it. We express our thanks to all those Parties who are present here and some who are absent for their efforts to contribute to the cohesion of the world communist movement against imperialism.



**JOHN GOLLAN**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Communist Party of Great Britain**

The Communist Party of Great Britain, which was one of the 18 Communist and Workers' Parties which issued the call for this conference in November 1967, regards the presence here of delegates from 75 Parties as an important success for the international communist movement and the struggle against imperialism.

Listening to the speeches of the delegates it is clear that there is no significant difference between us as to our main tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle. This is good. The international communist movement is the most powerful political movement existing today. The more it is united in its common tasks the more it will be able to unite the three great revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist countries, the international working class, and the national liberation movement—into one common stream that can defeat and end imperialism.

To us who have always worked at the centre of a great imperialist power, internationalism has always been a cornerstone of our Communist position.

Our labour movement is increasingly taking a progressive stand on the main international issues such as Vietnam, Nato, Greece, Southern Africa, and in this process we, of course, have played our part. As you know a considerable movement on Vietnam has taken place in Britain.

It is the recognition of our responsibility and the connection of the struggle on international issues with the advance to socialism in Britain which underlies all our work.

These are conscious independent decisions, arising out of our convictions.

The more we become a real Party of the British people the more effectively we can fulfil our international responsibilities.

As Lenin put it: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle *in one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this* line, in *every* country without exception" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75).

We have consistently worked in the spirit of these two principles. Our Party was born out of the struggles of the British working class, and was established

in the midst of struggle against British intervention against the young Soviet republic.

Throughout the nearly fifty years of our existence we have maintained our internationalist traditions in deeds. Communism without internationalism is unthinkable to our Party. There are many Parties in this hall who can testify that we always did what we could when solidarity was required. We are proud that among the three courageous British seamen who were arrested in Greece last week for distributing anti-fascist leaflets, two were members of our Party. Our internationalist practice has not fallen short, either, when our help has been required to assist guerrilla forces overseas.

The struggle to prevent world war, end the nuclear menace and achieve peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social systems is vital for humanity and a necessity for any strategy of social revolution.

Only a fool would underestimate the danger of world war arising out of the aggressive policies of imperialism. But it is precisely the estimate struck in this Meeting regarding the balance of world forces in favour of peace, the strength of the socialist system, the mass efforts of the international working-class movement, and the powerful national liberation movement that convinces us that we are not in a period of an automatic relapse to the worst days of the cold war.

Development of peaceful coexistence is impossible or precarious as long as the war in Vietnam continues.

The fight to compel the US to end its aggression, withdraw its forces, and leave the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs, is at the centre of our common struggle for peace. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, led by the Vietnam Workers' Party and the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation, with the assistance of the socialist countries, and supported by the world-wide movement of protest against the US aggression, has forced US imperialism to sit down at the conference table with the representatives of the Vietnamese people. But US imperialism still refuses to abandon its war and withdraw its forces. It refuses to accept the 10-point proposals of the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation, which together with the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam provide a just basis for bringing the war to an end and safeguarding the independence of Vietnam. What is needed now is a further extension of the campaign against the US war on an international scale, and for that reason we give our full backing to the draft Appeal on Vietnam. There is a danger in the present situation the movement might relax. On the contrary, it must be stepped up in every way.

In Europe, the British Government is playing a shameful role in helping to strengthen Nato, and encourage West German militarism. Long before the Czechoslovak events, Foreign Minister Stewart and Defence Minister Healy acted as pacemakers to strengthen Nato and stir up tension in Europe. The Healy-Schroeder nuclear tactical plan, the talk of using nuclear weapons first in the event of war in Europe, and the plans for a European wing of Nato, equipped with nuclear weapons, are signs as to how far the alliance between London and Bonn has gone. Strauss's recent visit to London was a further step in this process. In his speech to the British Parliament he brazenly outlined

his plans for a separate nuclear force. Clearly, once this force is established, West Germany would not be long in establishing its claim to place its hands on the nuclear trigger.

Two alternatives face Britain. Either to continue down the dangerous road it is treading, in alliance with Strauss and West German reaction and neo-nazism—or to take up a policy of peaceful coexistence, and to work for the ending of military blocks in Europe and their replacement by a system of European collective security including recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and of the post-war frontiers. The first alternative is the road of nuclear menace and disaster. The second is the road of peace and security. We welcome the peace policy of the socialist countries. Their initiative in Europe through the Budapest Appeal is finding an echo. There is a growing identity of views on European security between the people of Western Europe and the socialist countries. Very much more remains to be done to win this aim. One of the important results of this Meeting will be that all the European Parties will redouble their joint efforts in rallying the peoples for peace and security in Europe.

In the Middle East the most urgent task is to undo the results of the June 1967 war and establish conditions of peace and security so that the peoples can be free to promote their social and economic progress and bring about the necessary democratic and political changes in their countries. This requires the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories and recognition of the right to existence to all states in the region. We fully support the struggle of all the Arab peoples for their just aims and against imperialism.

The armed struggles now taking place in the Portuguese colonies and in Southern Africa demand our response. This region is the principal area of the world still remaining under direct colonial or minority European rule. These are regimes of fascism, racialism and apartheid. The imperialists have been compelled to despatch large forces there to keep the people down. Portugal has sent 140,000 troops; and South Africa and the Smith regime are employing increasing forces against the mounting struggle in Southern Africa. It seems to us that the response of the international movement to this important front of struggle against imperialism needs to be still greater. We, for our part, are doing what we can, and will consider how to develop solidarity with the peoples of Africa still further.

Imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This Meeting should note some important new features in the development of monopoly capitalism which we think are insufficiently treated in the Main Document.

Here we would like to stress four points for consideration.

*First.* The sheer size and speed of mergers is producing monopoly concentration on an unprecedented scale, and presents new problems for our movement. By this process, aided by big state subsidies, super-trusts are being created. They dispose of immense capital resources, employ huge armies of workers, and wield tremendous economic, social and political power enabling them to take the main decisions which decide the future of the country.

One authority has calculated that in the near future 230 such trusts will dominate the economies of the entire capitalist world.

The struggle against these super-trusts can no longer be confined to economic demands. What is now sharply posed is the social and democratic demand to take over the monopolies. For the future of society such concentrations of power can no longer be left in private hands.

*Second.* The new scientific and technological revolution in the major capitalist countries takes place within this process of mergers and monopoly super-concentration. As a result it is distorted and used to extract superprofit. In the name of scientific efficiency and rationalisation production is streamlined and automated, so-called uneconomic plants closed and unemployment created.

The number of scientific and white-collar sections grows, and along with this there is an increase in the trade union and political activity of these sections—a valuable addition to the anti-monopoly movement.

*Third.* The super-trusts are international in scope operating on a world scale. They jump tariff walls and national boundaries and move their capital across frontiers. The huge overseas investments of the big British monopolies are a major factor in Britain's continuing balance of payments problem. In the same manner the super-trusts of other countries, especially the US, operate in Britain.

These trusts are the major force of neo-colonialism. The bases overseas are to protect their interests. They are the main force of imperialist expansionism. They are the force which drives for war.

All this emphasises the need for international trade union co-operation. The struggle against these international combines in all their branches at home and abroad requires the joint efforts of all national trade union centres.

*Fourth.* The concentration of economic power is paralleled by a drive to concentrate political power in the same few hands of the super-firms. Monopoly is profoundly anti-democratic. Over fifty years ago Lenin, whose centenary we will be celebrating in the coming months, pointed out that "the political superstructure of this new economy, of monopoly capitalism" (imperialism is monopoly capitalism) "is the change from democracy to political reaction" (Vol. 23, p. 43).

Representatives of the big monopolies, who already occupy key positions on various state boards which support the interests of the monopolies, are attacking the parliamentary system, and calling for a coalition government, and even for a government of "businessmen".

But this very process of the concentration of economic and political power is giving rise to a widening battle for democracy against the monopolies, which are increasingly being identified as the enemy not only of the workers but of the widest strata of the people. Never before have Lenin's words on the need to wage a many-sided, consistent struggle for democracy as an essential part of the struggle for socialism been more apt.

At the centre of the political struggle in Britain is the fight to defeat the penal legislation against the trade unions which the Wilson Government threatens to introduce. It has already led to a mass revolt in the trade unions, to demonstrations and one-day stoppages in areas. A special Trades Union Congress, the first in fifty years, has totally rejected the government's proposed penal legislation. The demand for a 24-hour national strike against the legislation

is growing. The left, progressive forces, by their mass actions, have made important inroads into the Government's incomes policy.

The Communist Party has continually warned that the Government was heading towards a collision course with the trade unions and the labour movement. The biggest crisis in the labour movement for half a century is the result. A significant shift to the left has been the dominant feature in the trade unions. It is a factor of the greatest importance for the future of British politics.

As a result of all this there is an increasing realisation of the need for a complete change in the policy of the Government.

An alternative economic strategy to the present right wing economics means in effect the advance of the working class against the rich. The change in the approach to the solution of the balance of payments which we advocate means a challenge to the role and power of the bankers and the trusts. Slashing military expenditure, and a new foreign policy of peace hinders imperialism and militarism. Taking over the super-trusts means ending the economic and social power of the monopolies and a big step to making democracy more real.

In winning such advances—and they can only be won by struggle—an important change in the relationship of class forces in the country could take place, with the strengthening of the working-class and middle sections compared with the capitalist sections, of the socialist and democratic forces compared with Toryism and reaction.

It is in this sense we see the connection between the immediate struggle and the strategy for a socialist revolution outlined in our programme, *The British Road to Socialism*, which is the application of our Marxist-Leninist principles to British conditions. The struggle for the alternative policy helps to create the political preconditions for an advance to socialism. Our road to socialism, and the forms which the British people will use to build their socialist system, are based on the traditions, history, culture, institutions and circumstances of our country. The socialism we work to achieve will establish the political power of the working class and its allies, the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, the creation of a system of planned production to meet the people's needs, and the setting up of a state and institutions which will safeguard the socialist system and allow the fullest democratic participation by the working people in building their own socialist future. This requires a great political and democratic struggle. We are only too conscious of the shams and deceptions of the present democratic system in Britain. We are continually exposing it, and the bourgeois ideology and social democratic ideology that supports it. We exist, live and work in the midst of this political fight.

But we also see real and valuable democratic rights. Some argue that the British ruling class "gave" the working class these democratic rights, that they only allow pluralism of parties to the extent that this does not endanger the capitalist system.

We find this argument strange, to say the least. The ruling class in Britain "gave" the working class nothing, not even the vote. What democratic rights we have we had to fight for and win, and we will fight to keep them. They are the product of struggle. Today one of the most important of these rights, the

right to strike, is under attack. The British working class will never give up this right, legislation or no legislation.

To every effort to restrict and destroy democratic rights in Britain we reply with the fight to defend and extend them, and show that the full flowering of democracy is bound up with the triumph of socialism and the ending of class society. In defeating all attacks on our democratic rights we make possible the mass democratic advance to socialism.

Socialism will never come in Britain as a result of the action of some minority, but only with the consent and mass participation of the majority of the people and their democratic organisations.

Vital here is the ending of the right-wing grip on the labour movement, decisively changing the balance of power in the movement, and taking it to the left with socialist and communist unity. Without working-class unity in Britain we will never win even important partial demands, much less win socialism.

It has also been argued that some Western Communist Parties only see this issue in parliamentary terms and votes. This is a caricature of our position. It is above all an issue of mass struggle, of strikes where necessary, of mass movements which can compel radical changes and weaken the grip of capitalism, by bringing into action the full and formidable organised strength of the working class.

But in the final analysis that movement must aim to express itself in the struggle for a parliamentary majority pledged to socialism. To deny this in British conditions is to shirk the necessity to convince and win the majority of the working class for our socialist aims. And if we can't do that, how are we going to carry through a socialist revolution? In some undisclosed way, in defiance of the will of the mass of the people? This is how the ultra-lefts argue, and we combat their ideology, too.

It is then argued that if this movement really threatened capitalism the monopolists would abolish working-class parties or "pluralism", as it is put, and abolish democracy. To say that this movement will inevitably be subverted is tantamount to denying the possibility of the advance to socialism in countries like ours without armed struggle, and the denial of the very things we have written into our Main Document concerning the possibility of the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism.

A mass movement capable of winning a parliamentary majority and a government pledged to socialism would also have the power to defend that majority against subversion from any quarter whatever, using whatever means are necessary for its defence.

Our proposals regarding Parliament and the rights of opposition parties is connected with the way we see the struggle for socialism in British conditions. The working class will defeat these parties politically.

As regards the Main Document, delegates are no doubt aware that our Executive Committee will take the final decision on our attitude after we return.

In submitting our amendments to Sections 2 and 4 of the Main Document, we wish to explain our reasons for doing so. The agenda for this conference is that which was agreed on at the February 1968 Consultative Meeting in Budapest, namely one main item: "Tasks at the present stage of the struggle

against imperialism, and united action of Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces."

In our view, therefore, the question of relations between socialist countries, and between Communist Parties, is not really appropriate for a document based on this item.

Of course, the differences between some socialist states hinder their cohesion and therefore do damage to our common cause of the struggle against imperialism. But the Main Document does not deal with the differences, only with the principles of relations.

The great positive advances in the socialist countries have been dealt with in this conference. No one could fail to be moved by the impressive figures illustrating this progress in the report of Comrade Brezhnev. No one can speak to a national liberation leader without being told of the tremendous political and material aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The key position of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and socialism is a fact.

If the principles of relations between socialist states were being fully implemented there would be no problem of relations between them. A repetition of the principles, valuable and correct in themselves, does not get us too far. What is needed is to discuss what has gone wrong, and where and in what circumstances these principles have not been fully applied.

Is it logical to argue that the Document must contain paragraphs dealing with relations between socialist states, but that delegates should not discuss the concrete application of these principles to events which have been discussed in every Communist Party? If this conference considers we should not discuss such things, then it certainly should not keep in the Document paragraphs on relations between socialist states. If, on the other hand, delegates wish to retain these paragraphs, then surely we must discuss them—and this means not just the principles but as they have manifested themselves in actual life.

It is on this basis presumably that many delegates have discussed China. Some delegates from socialist countries have also referred to the political positions of some Parties in Western Europe. We have no wish to interfere in anyone's internal affairs. But of course the momentous decision of the five socialist states to intervene militarily in Czechoslovakia profoundly affected every Communist Party. We said it was wrong.

We are concerned here not only with the principle of relations laid down in our Document.

We are convinced that the problems which arose were closely connected with the further development of socialist democracy frustrated by the deformations under Novotny.

The January 1968 Plenum took decisions to overcome this, which we all welcomed. A complex situation then arose in which anti-socialist and anti-Soviet elements were active. But these were essentially political problems requiring political solutions. These political solutions had to be taken by the Party concerned.

We express confidence that the difficulties will be overcome by the Czechoslovak Party and People.

Working in the conditions that prevail in Britain, these issues are publicly discussed. This applies as well to the position of the Communist Party of China on which we have publicly explained our views, and will continue to do so. The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China abandoned the correct course adopted at the 8th Congress in 1956. The Communist Party of China is departing from Marxist-Leninist positions. However, we will not develop our position on this great issue here.

There is a further consideration. Five socialist countries are not represented at our conference. We do not believe that the working out of principles governing relations between socialist states can be complete or indeed fully valid if several of the countries concerned are not present to inform us whether they subscribe to these principles or not.

Broadly speaking, our remarks also cover Section 4 of the Main Document, most of which we have proposed should be deleted. The question of relations between Communist Parties, and the principles governing their role and activity, is not, in our view, relevant to the agenda of this conference. Each Party is sovereign. It alone, through its highest authority, its national congress, can decide its policy, its activities and its role. There is not and cannot be any collective body or directing centre which can usurp the sovereign rights of Parties and decide such matters for them.

Of course, all Parties can learn from one another. All Parties can exchange views and experiences. We maintain the closest relations with other Parties, especially those with whom we are more directly linked in common anti-imperialist struggles. With some of these Parties we have differences on some questions, but this in no way hinders us from acting in solidarity with them in our common struggle.

In view of the complex and different conditions and national circumstances in which Parties work, differences of estimation, views and emphasis are only to be expected. This is a normal fact of life.

It is valuable that we have been able to discuss some of them, even if only partially. This is a strength, not a weakness of this Meeting.

So we have unity on the immediate tasks in the struggle against imperialism, and differences on other issues. This measure of dialogue is a sign of the maturity of our movement.

As we are sovereign Parties, the way in which these meetings are conducted has been important. We have sought to reach agreement by consensus and not by vote.

If there were a majority on an issue, the minority could not expect the majority to give up its position. Similarly, the majority cannot expect the minority to give up theirs. So consensus, not votes, is the method we have worked out.

Since we have our differences, we need a sober scientific examination as to their roots and substance, in order to work to overcome them. This requires patience and understanding. It is certainly not helped by the indiscriminate use of labels about each other. We are all Marxist-Leninist Parties. All Communist Parties are using Marxism-Leninism in a search for solutions to the problems of our time. There is a complex of reasons for our differences. We need



to examine them without presumption or pre-judgement, or insistence on the correctness only of one's own position.

As long as differences exist, and while we strive to narrow the area of our disagreement, the international communist movement must act on the basis that what unites us all is what we can agree on, namely our common fight against imperialism and our communist aims. What is not common ground at present cannot be made the subject of imposition of one Party's views on another.

Differences that are not easily reconciled must not be allowed to cause new and deeper differences, to harden positions and make solution more difficult.

The 75 Parties present here are solidly ranged against imperialism. This is the big news to tell the world. This is the outcome of our Meeting which will inspire the millions who are exploited and oppressed by imperialism. Yes, the capitalist press will try to utilise our differences. But we are mature Parties. And the people are adult enough to understand.

Let the message go out from this Meeting. We 75 Communist and Workers' Parties are united in the struggle against imperialism and war, in the fight for democracy, peace, national independence and socialism.

**EVREMOND GENE**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Guadeloupe Communist Party**

Comrade delegates,

Permit me to greet you on behalf of the Guadeloupe Communist Party delegation and through you, your Parties and peoples.

Permit me, also, to renew our gratitude to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the cordial reception accorded us in their hospitable capitals. We pay tribute to the high sense of responsibility with which, beginning with the Budapest Consultative Conference, these two Parties, setting a concrete example of internationalism, worked—as the Communist Party of the USSR is still doing—to provide optimal arrangements for this Meeting.

Our Party approves all the draft documents finalised at the concluding session of the Preparatory Committee, particularly the draft of the Main Document.

**THE POSITION IN GUADELOUPE**

Dear comrades, notwithstanding the so-called assimilation law of March 19, 1946, Guadeloupe factually remains a French colony. Tied to the Common Market in 1957, it has since been a rural appendage of the EEC Six. *The economic position is such that the land, factories, all the main means of production, are in the hands of foreign capitalists.*

European trusts, operating through French monopoly capital, are on the best of terms with Martinique capitalism, and hold sway in our country. Canadian and US capital has also penetrated the economy.

Guadeloupe is thus a cockpit of rivalry between European colonialists, the Martinique bourgeoisie and Canadian and US capitalists.

*The Guadeloupe people are steeped in poverty, which increases as more and more of the wealth they create is drained off. Their dignity is trampled upon by fraudulent elections, racial discrimination, humiliation and oppression. The people are denied their natural and inalienable right to shape their future.*

It is no exaggeration to say that social conditions are steadily deteriorating. Every now and again, there are attempts to suppress popular protest by vio-

lence; *two years ago the streets of Pointe-à-Pitre were littered with killed and wounded. Nor is the tension relaxing.*

Responsibility for the social tension lies primarily with colonialism. It breeds social instability by creating economic situations fraught with disaster. Nor is that all: as our Political Bureau says in its latest statement, it also "*helps the emergence of Leftist tendencies and groups, honeycombed with colonial agents operating hand in glove with traitors of the labour movement and all manner of adventurers acting in the interests of the capitalist coterie closely linked with American imperialism.*"

These are the methods used:

*First*, anti-communist propaganda to produce massive ideological and political confusion.

*Second*, appeals to boycott elections and resort to armed action, as a substitute for mass political struggle.

*Third*, threats and provocations against our more prominent leaders.

These are elements of the reckless and adventurist policy the Leftist elements are trying to impose on our workers' movement.

*We are therefore justified in saying that Leftism and colonialism are merging in an alliance against the Communists, the true anti-colonialists.*

In Guadeloupe we were able to steer clear of this adventurist course, because our Party, for all its shortcomings and weaknesses, has sunk deep roots in the masses and is closely connected with the Young Communist League, women's and trade-union organisations. This is evidenced by the fact that, despite the rigged elections, bribery and foul blows by anti-Party elements, we are represented in 10 of the 34 municipalities, which account for more than 35 per cent of the country's territory and more than 45 per cent of its population. There are six Communists and one Communist sympathiser among the 36 General Councillors. The only Communist in the French National Assembly elected from the Overseas Departments (Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana and Reunion) is from Guadeloupe. Similarly, the only pro-Communist Senator from the Overseas Departments comes from Guadeloupe. Lastly, during the recent French presidential elections, Comrade Jacques Duclos polled a larger per cent of the vote in Guadeloupe than in any other Overseas Department.

To this should be added that election results are by no means an accurate measure of our influence. For that influence actually extends to 55—65 per cent of the population. Besides, we know only too well what reliance can be placed on these elections—we neither overestimate nor underestimate them.

And yet the menace is from the "Left".

## POLITICAL CONFUSION TACTICS

Other fraternal Parties, too, find themselves obliged to combat "Left" or Right opportunism, or both. Our comrades in the French Communist Party are waging this complex two-front struggle. And they are doing so successfully.

The differences concern not only tactics, but also the over-all strategy of the

world communist movement: estimation of the imperialist forces; leading role of the working class; roads to socialism; the decisive role of the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union, in the battle against imperialism; the problem of war and peace, etc. Some suggest that we abandon the Leninist principles of Party organisation. National chauvinism, that common denominator of all opportunist trends, is boosted in place of the basic principles of proletarian internationalism. There have been attempts to resurrect the personality cult. The culminating point of this escalation is open anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda. Splinter movements are being organised and supported, and they quickly slide into abusive polemics, provocation of violence, and armed aggression. *All this breeds doubt and distrust. The result is political confusion.* No wonder an ill-informed worker will say: "I can't make head or tail of it. Yesterday there was a united and disciplined communist movement. Now there are Moscow Communists and Peking Communists, hurling abuse at each other."

In defiance of known facts, some journals persist in describing the divergences between the Maoists and the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' Parties as a Soviet-Chinese feud.

*This political confusion has its impact on the anti-imperialist front.*

*Assassination of prominent leaders, destruction of large detachments of the world revolutionary army, and the excessive caution of certain elements, hamper, to a definite degree, a consistent rebuff to the imperialist aggressors.*

## • MOST URGENT TASK

What, then, shall we do, comrades? What are our tasks in the present circumstances? Unite, unite and once more unite the broadest popular masses. Bring together all the anti-imperialist forces under the banner of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, *thereby giving more effective support to the struggle against American imperialism, primarily in Vietnam, the Middle East and Cuba.*

*But the most urgent task of all, we think, is to secure a new upsurge of the international communist movement, and already now do everything towards that end; assure the success of this International Meeting by strengthening our unity.*

## CONCERNING THE DRAFT OF THE MAIN DOCUMENT

There is unanimous agreement on Section Three of the Main Document. The differences are over Sections One, Two and Four. Some comrades think we should not have given *an analysis of the international situation*, or an appraisal of the revolutionary forces, or *a definition of the principles and methods needed to secure united action of all Communist and Workers' Parties.*

They argue along these lines: we must avoid issues on which there are serious differences in the international communist movement. However, these

and other comrades name other, no less serious, differences, and think the Meeting cannot avoid examining them.

Leaving aside the obvious contradictions inherent in this argument, our delegation believes that the Meeting cannot offer the peoples of the world definite aims without analysing, on the one hand, the concrete situation in which they will have to fight for these aims and, on the other hand, defining the basis for unity of the Communist Parties, that cardinal factor in rallying all the anti-imperialist forces.

The Meeting should not, therefore, discuss problems that are not ripe for discussion and might only cause harm. But we cannot overlook ideological attitudes and political actions which, while creating the illusion of unity, are incompatible with the genuine unity towards which we are striving because of their anti-Soviet, anti-Leninist, anti-internationalist, and anti-communist orientation.

### FIGHT BACK

Yes, comrades, the experience accumulated since 1960 shows that hushing up the ideological differences between the Chinese leaders and the entire international workers' movement only egged on the Chinese leaders to intensify their subversive work against Parties true to Marxism-Leninism.

*They began their systematic subversion with verbal attacks, often pitiful and ludicrous, but soon passed to direct attempts to disorganise and split the workers' movement.*

Nor did they have any qualms about using a motley crew of renegades and adventurers in launching their attack against the Communist Parties. They did not hesitate to provoke bloody incidents on the border of socialist countries. They are preparing the Chinese people for a war against the USSR. Lastly, their 9th Congress consummated the break with the international communist movement by proclaiming Mao Tse-tung's ideas the "Marxism-Leninism" of our epoch.

I ask you, comrades, can our forum remain silent and passive in face of this new escalation of splitting activity?

Can our Meeting fail to justify the great hopes for unity it has awakened in all real revolutionaries—the peoples of the socialist community, proletarians of capitalist countries, fighters of the anti-colonial front, victims of savage imperialist repression, all our brothers languishing in prisons and being done to death by the class enemy?

In the judgement of our delegation, silence or indifference would be an expression of weakness. We must firmly and consistently uphold our Marxist-Leninist ideology. In this particular case our delegation believes we have to fight back by *all the Communist and Workers' Parties participating in this Meeting solemnly reaffirming the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In practice this means approving the Main Document and all the other statements the Preparatory Committee has placed before us.*

By doing so, comrades, we will have taken a big step in fighting imperialism and the renegades in our own movement, and in consolidating international

communist united action. This would be proof of our faith in scientific socialism in the face of the splitters and adventurers.

Yes, comrades, our peoples would then tackle the tasks before them with renewed confidence, and our firm resolve to carry these tasks to completion would echo across frontiers, helping the courageous Chinese people eradicate the virus of Maoism. We would, at the same time, give the peoples of Iceland, Cambodia, Yugoslavia, Albania, Thailand, Malaysia, Burma, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Japan and China a clearer understanding of our tasks and win mass support in other countries, too.

Just as you can't save a plant by leaving a worm in it, just as you can't cross incompatible organisms, or cure a disease without removing its causes—we cannot improve the health of our Party family as long as an opposing trend persists. There can be no compromise with anti-communism; it must be fought, isolated, destroyed.

### CONTRADICTIONS CAN BE OVERCOME

If we flexibly apply the realistic tactics Comrade Brezhnev set out in his remarkably meaningful and enthusiastically hailed speech, life itself will soon put an end to the differences.

As Comrade Brezhnev said, it is necessary:

1. Predicate all our practical work mainly on what the Communists of all countries hold in common. Jointly solve the practical problems involved in united action.

2. Maximise and expand contacts between fraternal Parties through bilateral, multilateral and regional conferences and through international co-operation in such collective-work forms as international conferences.

3. Generalise the Parties' theoretical work, and on this basis carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory, upholding its principles and fundamental ideas.

This approach to composing the differences and contradictions, and to a proper understanding of our differences, we believe, is an absolutely correct one, for it proceeds from:

1. The international character of the working class. "We are internationalists", Lenin said.

2. Unity of Marxism-Leninism as an international theory: the Guadeloupean and the Siberian are inspired by one and the same theory.

3. The need for each Party to take into account concrete conditions, uphold the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and the general principles of Party activity that follow therefrom.

Theory can provide only general guiding principles, but the activity of each Party must not impede united action of the entire movement, or run counter to its over-all strategy, or undermine proletarian internationalism.

This implies flexible application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of each country on the basis of proper interpretation of concrete historical experience. *It implies, also, combating national chauvinism, confusion, divergences, splits and anarchy.*

*And so, fidelity to Marxism-Leninism is the basic condition of our solidarity and unity.*

Since March 1965, people have been saying: We are united by much more than divides us.

Well, the time is ripe for applying Lenin's sacred behest: *March forward firmly holding each other's hands.*

*Forward, then, Comrades!*

*May united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world live, strengthen and triumph anew!*

## DOMINIQUE URBANY

Chairman,  
Communist Party of Luxembourg

We have gathered here to work out a platform of joint struggle against imperialism, the main enemy of mankind, to co-ordinate our actions accordingly and to buttress the unity of communist ranks.

In recent years our Party repeatedly called for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, for greater world communist unity. As we see it, it is compulsively necessary in the interests of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and its allies to eliminate differences that threaten our advance and reinforce the international unity of the communist ranks. That unity is a necessary precondition for decisive success in rallying the working people and all progressive forces to the joint struggle against imperialism and reaction.

I speak here on behalf of the working people of a small country. And it is people of small countries that feel the need for international solidarity in the fight against the class enemy most strongly. We trust that our Meeting will not disappoint the working people of Luxembourg.

The Meeting has all the premises for success in firming up the unity of our movement. The Preparatory Committee has drafted the Main Document, which the overwhelming majority of the Parties here present have approved of. The draft of the Document contains a correct and profound analysis of the situation and the world balance of forces and draws the right conclusions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The draft as a whole and all its sections present a good basis for invigorating the united actions of the world communist movement.

The Communist Party of Luxembourg expresses its complete and unconditional agreement with the draft Document. We hold that the Document is only valuable as a single whole. It is not a cake from which each of us may cut the slice he likes best.

I take the liberty to single out a few of the paragraphs that seem more important to us.

The draft says that the aggressiveness of the United States, the main imperialist power, has increased. This means that the danger of local wars and, consequently, the danger of a new world war, has not been eliminated. This also applies to Europe. The military NATO bloc is experiencing certain difficulties at present. There are internal frictions, as well as mounting resistance from the



masses to its expensive and dangerous military policy. All the same, NATO is still a strong and aggressive bloc, stepping up the arms race and buttressing its organisation. It is particularly dangerous, because it is the main support of the revanchism and militarism of West German imperialism bent on abolishing the GDR and revising the results of the victory over Hitler fascism. It is a constant threat to peace in the heart of Europe and it would be a tragic mistake to underestimate that danger.

To be sure, the peace forces in Western Europe have grown stronger, while the difficulties of the imperialist warmongers have increased. In this situation, our Party has succeeded by its persevering and long struggle against the arming policy pursued by the Luxembourg government in NATO's interest to mobilise the masses and secure the repeal of military conscription.

Our demand that Luxembourg should revert to its traditional neutrality is evoking a broad response among all strata of our people. There are indications that the recently formed Christian-Liberal government will follow a more realistic policy with regard to the Soviet Union and will not oppose the idea of a European security conference.

Yet it would be a mistake to draw overly optimistic conclusions from these successes in Luxembourg and other countries, or from the difficulties in the capitalist camp, particularly the European Economic Community. The imperialists still dispose of powerful means and resources. They are ever ready for armed ventures and only wait for a suitable opportunity. And the weaknesses in our movement, the lack of unity in our ranks, may only spur them to new adventures. To bridle the imperialists, we must co-ordinate our aims and efforts. Individualism of any kind can only do us harm.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev and other comrades have convincingly portrayed in their speeches at this Meeting the perils for socialism, the world communist movement and world peace implicit in the criminal policy and activity of the CPC leaders. We share this view completely. No Communist, no Party can be indifferent to the fact that the Maoist adventurers in China are perverting Marxism-Leninism, replacing it with their chauvinist great-power theory, destroying the Communist Party, replacing it with army-dominated coercive machinery, organising provocations against the Soviet Union, undermining international working-class solidarity and conducting subversive divisive activity in other Communist Parties, where a dangerous situation is developing as a result.

The anti-Soviet policy of the Maoist rulers, their divisive actions in the world communist movement, present an immense danger primarily to peace, because they may prod the imperialists to new armed ventures. No Communist, no peace champion can keep his silence or stand aloof in face of this course, nor confine himself to merely advising the two sides to "make up". That is why we, the Communists of Luxembourg, firmly denounce the pernicious policy of the Maoist leaders that so impairs the unity of the world communist movement and runs counter to all the principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is why we side with the Soviet Union, which defends Marxism-Leninism, the socialist cause and peace from the attacks of the Chinese leaders.

Of late, the imperialists have mounted a bitter offensive against Marxism-Leninism on the ideological front, conducting it in a "sophisticated" way, in

a novel manner, using artful and refined devices masked by talk about some new model of socialism. For example, they maintain that Marxism-Leninism is applicable in the Soviet Union only and inapplicable in the "civilised" West. Attempts are made to prevail on the working class that if a bit of water is added to the wine of Marxism-Leninism and a bit of socialist flavouring to the vinegar of capitalism, they will get a beverage suitable and acceptable for all. In scientific terms this concoction is called "convergence", politically it is named "humane socialism" and in practice it connotes collaboration with capitalism for the purpose of saving it. The task of all Communists is to combat with due vigour every attempt of the bourgeoisie and its fellow-travellers to distort the Marxist-Leninist teaching. What this implies is that we should in our Parties fight all shades of revisionist and "Left" trends and deviations mercilessly and consistently.

The Imperialists and the Right-Socialist and extremist parties, groups and formations that follow their lead, have of late redoubled their efforts to split the ranks of the Communist Parties and impede their international co-operation, to set the socialist countries one upon the other, to undermine the international solidarity of the working class, to "soften up" the socialist camp and the Communist Parties from inside, and to sow mistrust and enmity against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As we know, in the West even the entirely insignificant splinter groups of adventurers with anarchist, Trotskyist or "Leftist" leanings are afforded the media of the press, radio and television to disseminate Right-opportunist views and Maoism. The foes of socialism, monopoly capital and its agents, are past masters at exploiting the weaknesses and vacillations in the communist movement for their own ends, and at attracting the vacillating element in its ranks. Through the radio, television and other media, including illegal means, as well as their agents and sympathisers, they conduct ideological subversion in the socialist countries, playing mostly on "national" sentiments. They howl about the alleged oppression and suppression of these countries by "Moscow" and about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "dominating" other Communist Parties.

National feelings are deep-rooted and, as such, deserving of respect. But national feelings manipulated by the class enemy often grow into narrow-minded nationalism and may be used to fan chauvinism, becoming a dangerous weapon in the hands of reaction. In the socialist countries, national feelings may be used by foes of socialism as a perfidious weapon; in all countries they are used against internationalist working-class solidarity and particularly against the Soviet Union, that powerful bastion of socialism, whose very existence is a guarantee of the national independence of nations.

This danger must be spotted before too late and combated vigorously.

In recent times, much is being said about the principles of independence, about each Party's own way of fighting imperialism and reaction, and national specifics in building socialism. These principles have not been overlooked in the draft of our Main Document. That is good. After all, they are correct principles and we have used them for years in our struggle. In any case, the Luxembourg Communists have always lived up to them.

But correct principles may be incorrectly used. For example, a Party breaks away from the world communist movement if the principle of independence is

wrongly interpreted or overly and one-sidedly emphasised, if that principle is accentuated to the exclusion of others, while the principle of international solidarity is obscured; or if it serves merely as camouflage for revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism.

Each Communist Party deals with all its problems independently. All Parties are equal. They are responsible for their actions and policy to the working class of their countries. But they shoulder international obligations as well, because they are also responsible to the international working-class movement. More than ever before, the successes or setbacks of each Party in the fight against the class enemy of its country depend on the successes or setbacks of the working class as a whole in its international struggle against imperialism and, most of all, they depend on whether the positions of the socialist camp grow stronger or weaker. It is in the interest of each Communist Party to take its place in the united front of the world-wide working-class struggle. This does not imply any subordination of its interests to those of another Party, for joining the united front of struggle is a voluntary act prompted by the Marxist-Leninist recognition that it is necessary.

In the present situation we need not discuss securing the independence of individual Parties, which none in our ranks imperils and which, by the way, does not in the least consist of dissociating oneself from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The prime task today is to invigorate the international solidarity of the Communist Parties, the principles of proletarian internationalism and the unity of our movement.

Our Party combines fulfilment of national tasks with fulfilment of international duties in the fight against imperialism and reaction. And we are convinced that we owe our success of recent years to just this approach.

The victory our Party scored in the municipal and parliamentary elections last November and December has been particularly revealing.

As you know, we supported, completely and unconditionally, the measures of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries in Czechoslovakia in August last year. At that time, the reactionary bourgeois parties, and with them the ardently zealous anti-communist leaders of the Socialist Labour Party, organised a strident campaign against our Party. It was probably comparable only with what we experienced in 1956 in connection with the counter-revolution in Hungary. The reactionaries boasted publicly that this time they would "wipe" our Party "off the face of the earth", for which purpose they called pre-term elections in two large industrial towns and, finally, went to the length of dissolving the parliament. But they were bitterly disappointed. Our Party scored a sensational victory in the November and December elections. Everywhere, in the tiniest hamlet and especially in areas with a predominantly working-class population, the number of votes polled by CP candidates increased. In terms of the whole country, we polled more than 15 per cent of the votes (against about 12 per cent in the previous election). The Socialist Labour Party, led by Right-wingers, suffered palpable losses, the electors blackballing the more phrenetic anti-communists.

It stands to reason that more than one factor contributed to our election success: the people's increasing discontent with the reactionary policy of the

former Christian-Socialist government coalition, coupled with our Party's successful battle for the people's social demands—for higher wages pegged to rising prices, for a better pensions scheme, against exorbitant taxation, against dropping standards of living depressed by high prices and inflation, and against the military policy of the government. Our Party is strong in the big enterprises. It works continuously for working-class unity and, above all, for trade-union unity, which a few years ago culminated in the fusion of the free labour union led by our Party with the labour union led by the Socialists.

All this has won us confidence among large sections of workers. And it should be stressed that the working class of Luxembourg has demonstrated unequivocally in the election that it approves of the firm stand our Party took in August last year, and this despite our class enemies and their malicious anti-Soviet campaign.

As the elections showed, the confidence of the working people in our Party, in the Soviet Union, in the GDR and other socialist countries, far from diminishing, has markedly increased.

Some delegations said here that the measures of the five Warsaw Treaty countries in support of the CSSR last August had harmed the world communist movement. Yet our Party's success in the elections shows that no such harm resulted for the communist movement in Luxembourg. On the contrary. The influence and prestige of our Party increased even among sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In the hour of decision, when the class struggle attains a peak at home or internationally, we must not let ourselves be cowed by petty-bourgeois laments or the howls of the class enemy; and never must we waver. To help the wavering, Lenin taught us, we must not waver ourselves. True, our little country is not the centre of the universe. But some of the bigger Parties would probably benefit from an examination of the reasons why the Communist Party of Luxembourg scored its success precisely in connection with the Czechoslovak events.

As we see it, the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and the documents it is adopting, will, beyond question, to a decisive degree, help invigorate the solidarity and fraternal alliance of all the Communist and Workers' Parties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with its rich experience in struggle and its tradition, with the biggest successes to its credit in building socialism and communism, a Party that has always been unshakably loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity, a Party on which all of us can fully rely.

Our Party is convinced that the Meeting will not disappoint the hopes and expectations of the Communists of all countries, that it will pave the way for further success in the world-wide struggle of the working class, all progressive-minded people, all peace forces against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism, that it will represent a decisive stage in the achievement of complete world-wide communist unity.

## **YUMZHAGIIN TSEDENBAL**

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party**

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Mongolian Communists, our delegation conveys warm, heartfelt greetings to the representatives of all the fraternal Parties present here. In the person of the participants in this Meeting we greet the Communists, the working class and all other working people of all continents and express our sincere solidarity with their courageous struggle for common aims, against imperialism.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party assesses this Meeting as an outstanding event in the life of the fraternal Parties, in the development of the international communist movement. The participation in the Meeting of representatives of the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' Parties shows the success of the line of strengthening the cohesion of the international communist movement.

Experience shows that international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties are the most effective form of co-ordinating common tasks of the struggle for peace and socialism, and of working out the platform of united action. We firmly believe that the present forum of the world communist movement will successfully carry out the honourable tasks before it and that it will be a new landmark of the joint vigorous actions of the world's Communists in the struggle against imperialism, in strengthening their unity.

The preparations for the Meeting, which were conducted in the course of many months, brought to light and convincingly demonstrated the desire of fraternal Parties for unity in the anti-imperialist struggle on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This desire, stemming from the consciousness of the community of aims and vital need for unity, made it possible to create an atmosphere of understanding and close co-operation among Parties and lay a sound foundation for our Meeting's success.

This international communist forum was prepared by the collective efforts of Communist Parties on the most democratic basis, with consistent observance of the norms of comradely co-operation and equal rights of all the participating Parties.

We consider that the work of the Preparatory Committee was useful and fruitful. This was facilitated by the active efforts of the fraternal Parties which took part in the work of the Committee, particularly the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who created all the necessary conditions for the work of the Preparatory Committee.

The speech made at this Meeting by Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, contains a profound and objective analysis of world development, clearly defines the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and is a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of the international communist movement. An important contribution has also been made by the speeches of the representatives of other fraternal Parties, which are consistently guided by the great Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Comrades, drafts of extremely important documents, drawn up as a result of careful and detailed discussion in the course of the preparations, have been submitted to our Meeting. They are the fruit of the collective experience of Communist Parties, the result of co-ordinating their stands on key problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. Our Party approves with satisfaction the drafts of the Main Document, the address on the centenary of V. I. Lenin and other documents, and favours their adoption by our Meeting.

The draft Main Document deals with the most pressing problem of modern times, the basic subject of discussion at our Meeting, from Marxist-Leninist positions. This is the question of the tasks in the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and all other anti-imperialist forces.

We consider that in its structure and content the Main Document is an integral whole and fully conforms to the tasks confronting our movement. It contains a concrete analysis of the policies and contradictions of modern imperialism and objectively assesses the leading trends of world development. Such an analysis is absolutely necessary for a correct determination of the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and for uniting the forces opposing imperialism. On the basis of this analysis the Document substantiates the need for and the tasks of intensifying the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism.

Developments over recent years show that, forced to manoeuvre under the pressure of the revolutionary forces, imperialist reaction seeks to preserve and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression, hated by the peoples, and retrieve the positions it has lost. The imperialists, above all the US imperialists, are launching counter-attacks against the forces of peace, socialism, democracy and national liberation in an attempt to stop the advance of the world revolutionary process.

Resorting to the most diverse means, including provocation, counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary coups and armed interventions, imperialism seeks to force the peoples of the world to accept its policy and tries to keep international relations in a state of constant tension. By their aggressive actions, the reactionary imperialist circles generate crisis situations in different parts of the world.

In the draft Main Document it is emphasised that although as a world system imperialism has not grown stronger it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The

aggressiveness of the USA, the chief imperialist power, has increased. This correct and realistic conclusion, which allows for neither an underrating nor an overrating of the forces of modern imperialism and fully conforms to Lenin's definition and analysis of imperialism, can best serve the cause of mobilising the broad masses for the struggle against imperialist reaction.

The world situation is characterised by a steady growth of the forces of the international revolutionary movement and a further change of the general relationship of forces in its favour. No matter to what counter-measures it has resorted, imperialism has not been nor will be able to reverse the development of the modern world.

The most striking testimony of the bankruptcy and doom of the forces of imperialism is the failure of the US plans of aggression in Vietnam. Far from having forced the heroic Vietnamese people to their knees, and having failed in their far-reaching aims, the US imperialists have found themselves isolated morally and politically and been compelled to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The historic successes of the Vietnamese people are the result of their unshakable will, courage and staunchness, and of the massive assistance and support for their just struggle by socialist countries, chiefly the Soviet Union, and the result of the fraternal solidarity of all democratic and progressive forces of the world.

Like other fraternal Parties, our Party considers that today one of the prime tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle is, through the efforts of all progressive and peace-loving forces, to compel the US ruling circles to end the aggression in Vietnam and agree to settle the Vietnam problem on the basis of the Vietnamese people's just demands, which have been once again clearly stated in the 10-point programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Our delegation hails the creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which will unquestionably play a big role in mobilising the country's patriotic forces and ensuring the final victory of the Vietnamese people.

The attempts of the imperialists to overthrow progressive regimes in Arab countries and restore the positions of colonialism in those countries with the help of the Israeli aggressors have been frustrated thanks to the determined resistance of the Arab peoples and the effective support given them by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, backed by the US, West German and other imperialists, the Israeli ruling circles persist in their policy of annexation and expansion, committing inhuman crimes and launching new military provocations. The Mongolian people and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party resolutely support the just struggle of the peoples of Arab countries, regarding this struggle as part and parcel of the common struggle of the peace-loving forces against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The socialist world system, the most powerful revolutionary force of modern times, is in the vanguard of the struggle for humanity's social progress. To a decisive extent the growth of the socialist world system's might facilitates a further change of the world balance of power in favour of socialism, to the detriment of imperialism.

The Soviet Union, the first country to blaze the path to socialism for mankind, a country which is successfully building communism, is the main force of world socialism and the mighty mainstay of the revolutionary movement of modern times. This historic role of the first land of socialism is determined not only by its growing economic and military potential, decisive contribution to curbing imperialist aggressors, defence of the revolutionary gains of socialist countries and support for the national liberation movement of peoples. In the present complex international situation the Leninist Party and Soviet state show an example of a high sense of responsibility for the international revolutionary movement, utter devotion to its internationalist duty and consistent struggle for the vital interests of the working people of all countries, for the consolidation of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism against all forms of distortion and misrepresentation. That is why, in spite of the slanderous inventions and fabrications of the imperialist bourgeoisie and anti-Soviet elements of every hue, the working people and Communists in all countries turn their eyes with profound hope and trust to the great Land of Soviets, the glorious homeland of the October Revolution, the inextinguishable beacon of the revolutionary movement of our day, drawing their inspiration from its successes and example in the struggle for a happy future.

Sincere fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union, with its Communist Party, all-round support of their titanic efforts aimed at consolidating the positions of socialism, at the defence of peace and the security of peoples, have always been an integral part of proletarian internationalism in our movement. Mongolian Communists, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, attach vital importance to the further all-round strengthening of the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR, and cordial and close ties between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Meeting naturally devotes much attention to the struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries who are being directly subjected to imperialist aggression and encroachments—the peoples of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba and the German Democratic Republic. On the strength of these socialist outposts in Asia, Latin America and Europe, on the success of their peoples in socialist construction and the defence of their revolutionary gains will largely depend the future of socialism in these parts of the world. That is why we fully support the tasks and calls, contained in the documents of the Meeting, to strengthen solidarity with the fraternal Parties and peoples of these countries, who are in the frontline of the struggle against our common enemy.

Under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Parties, the peoples of the socialist countries are scoring outstanding successes in economic and cultural construction, in the improvement of their socialist social relations. The experience gained in building the new life shows that, despite the difficulties, the leading tendency in the socialist world is the ever fuller manifestation and action of the advantages of its economic, social and political system, and consolidation of relations of class brotherhood of the peoples of the socialist state; on the principles of socialist internationalism, equality and mutual assistance. The attempts to



depict the socio-political system of the socialist countries, guided by the Marxist-Leninist Parties, as non-democratic, and their relations as unequal are incompatible with the class, proletarian approach to the phenomena of social life.

It is necessary further to note that the forces of international imperialism are spearheading their struggle above all against the countries of the socialist system. These forces have repeatedly tried to "roll back" socialism with the aid of military gambles, and have not even now abandoned the idea of direct armed struggle against it.

At the same time, the imperialist circles have been mounting ever wider political and economic pressures and ideological subversion against the socialist countries, pinning special hopes on undermining socialism from within by activating and supporting anti-socialist elements. In their attempts to restore the old system, forces hostile to socialism—external and internal—link up with each other and resort to refined forms and methods of struggle. In this context, it should be said that the view that the socialist countries and the Communist Parties may display international solidarity with the people of this or that socialist country only in the event of an armed imperialist attack, remaining indifferent in face of other forms of imperialist encroachments on their socialist gains, is obviously wrong. This standpoint clashes with the principles of international class solidarity, the interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the world communist movement. The defence of socialist gains against any encroachments by imperialist and internal reaction is an internationalist duty of all the socialist countries and Communists throughout the world.

The working-class movement is a most important component of the anti-imperialist struggle, its most active force which undermines the foundations of monopoly domination in the capitalist countries.

We follow with wholehearted solidarity and admiration the courageous struggle of Communists in the capitalist countries, who, in complicated and difficult conditions, despite sacrifices and privations, fierce repression and terrorism, head the working people's class battle against the system of exploitation and oppression, against the military gambles of the imperialists, the revival of fascism, and for democracy, national independence and socialism. The powerful strike movements and other actions by workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people, students, and the broadest masses of people which swept the United States, France, Italy, Spain, Japan, the Latin American countries and other areas of the world in recent years show the fresh great possibilities of the anti-imperialist class struggle and the enhanced role of the Communist Parties.

The national liberation struggle of the peoples has risen to a qualitatively new stage. In connection with the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of a great number of new national states in Asia and Africa, the task of eliminating the last vestiges of colonialism is on the order of the day.

A most important feature of the present stage of the national liberation revolutions is the entry of some young states on the non-capitalist path of development, which opens up the possibility of surmounting the backwardness they inherited from the colonial past, and creating conditions for transition to socialism.

There are great difficulties and trials in the way of the new direction of de-

velopment of the newly independent countries. In order to stamp out the liberation movement of the peoples, the imperialists try to make use of the difficulties facing the states in this zone, support and foster reactionary forces in them, weave criminal conspiracies against the legitimate governments and seek to sow discord in the ranks of the fighters for national independence and social progress.

In these conditions, we must stress the exceptional importance of unfolding a resolute struggle against the designs of the imperialists and their minions, strengthening co-operation of the peoples of these countries with the international communist movement and its product—the socialist world system. Historical experience, including the experience of our own country, shows that only by consolidating the alliance with the socialist countries and the international working-class movement is it possible for the newly independent countries to achieve progressive social development and to safeguard their independence against encroachments by imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Comrades, in the present conditions of world development, when the growing strength of the forces of socialism and democracy opens up fresh possibilities for extending our action, all the Communist and Workers' Parties are faced with great tasks in activating the struggle against international imperialism, which is stepping up its moves against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and all progressive forces.

Our Meeting, proceeding from the collective experience of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, gives a clear-cut definition of the main directions in the struggle against the common enemy. The united action platform for all torrents of the world revolutionary movement continues to be based on the struggle against the danger of another world war, in defence of peace and the principles of peaceful coexistence. Participants in the Meeting justly stress the importance and significance of united action to achieve these aims. The activity of the Communist Parties aimed at solving these pressing tasks will naturally promote further cohesion of the international communist movement, and will raise our unity to a higher level. This will undoubtedly have a positive effect on consolidating the alliance of the socialist, national liberation and democratic forces of the world.

The strengthening of unity and cohesion of the international communist movement is the main factor for uniting all the anti-imperialist, democratic forces and intensifying their actions in the struggle against imperialism. It is known that there are serious difficulties and differences in our movement. In view of the penetration of the eroding influence of opportunism into some sections of the communist movement, there are stronger tendencies acting to the detriment of its international cohesion.

However, these difficulties and differences are not decisive in the development of the socialist countries and the communist movement, because the constantly operating factors uniting the fraternal Parties and countries are much stronger than that which divides them. The existing differences can be overcome only as a result of tireless, active efforts by the fraternal Parties, and through united and concerted action to achieve common goals.

At our Meeting, which has concentrated on the problem of fighting impe-

rialism, differences cannot be brought to the fore. It would be even more erroneous to demand the resolution of these differences as a condition for co-ordinated action against the common enemy. The very fact that the Meeting has been called and the adoption of the documents submitted to its consideration will undoubtedly be an important step in the gradual elimination of the existing difficulties. Our Party has come out and will continue to come out together with other Parties for the patient elimination of differences between Communist Parties on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Our delegation expresses its full agreement with the proposal of the CPSU and a number of other fraternal Parties to organise systematic exchanges of opinions and to hold international theoretical conferences.

Uncompromising ideological struggle against all forms of opportunism is the prime task of all Communist and Workers' Parties. Lenin stressed time and again that if unassociated with struggle against opportunism, the anti-imperialist struggle is no more than an empty and specious slogan. It should be noted that both Right and "Left" revisionism more than just distorts the Marxist-Leninist teaching. It also weakens the ideological pillars of the Communist Parties, leading to abandonment of the class struggle, to departure from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The reactionary forces are not just by chance banking on greater activity by all kinds of revisionists and splitters in the communist movement; they know perfectly well that, interlacing closely with nationalism, Right and "Left" opportunism ultimately causes Communists to shed their revolutionary qualities, to degenerate and merge with their class adversaries.

Comrades, as we speak of the struggle against imperialism, of making it effective, of taking joint action to cement the world communist movement, we are obliged to touch on those obstacles that impede our struggle and are used by imperialist and reactionary forces. We cannot, therefore, by-pass the question of the great-power chauvinist, anti-socialist line of the Mao Tse-tung group in China. This is doubly important, because after the so-called 9th Congress of the CPC, which officially endorsed the Maoist political line, the danger emanating from the Chinese leaders to peace and socialism has grown more acute.

As we know, the present Chinese leaders, who substitute struggle against the socialist community and the world communist movement for struggle against imperialism, have been for years working to weaken and subvert the world anti-imperialist front by their actions and are thereby helping the forces of reaction and war.

Having broken with Marxism-Leninism, with proletarian internationalism, the Peking group conducts an undisguised and unbridled ideological and political struggle, as well as subversive activities, against the Marxist-Leninist Parties, seeking to split their ranks, to corrupt the communist movement and saddle it with its anti-Marxist ideas and the Maoist line. The Maoists proclaim any Communist Party or socialist country that refuses to follow the Peking line to be "revisionist" and guilty of "betraying Marxism-Leninism, the socialist cause".

In their anti-socialist struggle, the Chinese leaders are aiming the main blow against the CPSU as the staunchest and most experienced contingent of

the communist movement, and against the Soviet Union as the principal and powerful bulwark of the socialist community. The Peking leadership is bent on discrediting the policy and high international prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet Union by all the means at its disposal, and to sow distrust towards them. Whipping up nationalist frenzy and anti-Soviet hysteria, the Mao Tse-tung group applies every effort to purge the minds of Chinese working people of all friendship and sympathy for the Soviet people, of all gratitude for its truly internationalist aid and support in liberating China and in China's socialist development. The Chinese population is told that war with the Soviet Union—the friend and ally of the Chinese people—is inevitable. The rabid anti-Sovietism of the Chinese leaders led to the disgraceful armed provocations which they organised on the Soviet-Chinese border. These hostile Mao group's sallies are viewed by the Mongolian Communists as an act of aggression against the other socialist countries as well.

Considering the present situation, it is proper to say in no uncertain terms that it would be a big mistake to ignore and underestimate the threat of armed conflicts coming from the Mao group. We cannot help noting that failures in home and foreign policy only accentuate the adventurism of the Chinese leaders. The recent Maoist congress that approved Mao Tse-tung's thesis about the inevitability of a new world war and, in particular, a war against so-called "social imperialism", set the sights on war preparations against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Peking leaders are mobilising China's material and human resources for militarisation, for stepping up war preparations, generating a war psychosis in the country.

It should be stressed that the situation created through the fault of the Chinese leaders should not be viewed as the sole concern of the CPSU and CPC, the USSR and CPR only. The Maoist anti-Soviet policies and actions directly affect the basic interests of the entire socialist community, the entire world communist movement. China's ruling circles are bent on undermining the unity of the socialist countries, on sowing distrust and hostility among them, and on subjugating them to their dictates.

The Mongolian People's Republic, one of China's neighbours, is directly affected by the Mao group's anti-socialist policy, being exposed to its hostile attacks all down the line. In trying to impose their anti-Marxist line on our country, the Peking leaders have for years exerted direct political, economic and ideological pressure upon us. The sharp reduction by the Chinese authorities of economic ties, of all types of co-operation, with the Mongolian People's Republic has naturally inflicted, and continues to inflict, great harm on the economy of our country. The Mao group conducts a frenzied anti-Mongolian campaign. Subversive literature pours into Mongolia, round-the-clock radio broadcasts are saturated with lies and slander. Calls resound from Peking continuously, urging our people to rise against the People's Revolutionary Party, overthrow the people's government and abolish the existing social system. Resorting to demonstrations of force, the Chinese authorities have whipped up tension along our nearly 5,000-kilometre-long border with China. Peking's firebrand and propaganda campaigns are designed to impede the Mongolian people's building of socialism, to discredit our country

internationally, undermine the traditional Mongolian-Soviet friendship and drive a wedge between the fraternal peoples.

The Mao group's anti-Mongolian policies and actions are based on its great-power chauvinist claims to our country, which they picked up from the Chinese militarists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. As you know, Mao Tse-tung's latest statement of intention to annex Mongolia was made as recently as 1964 in a conversation with a group of Japanese Socialists. It is easily seen what the plight of Mongolia's working people would be if Mao Tse-tung's great-power designs were to materialise. This may be seen from the oppression and humiliation suffered by Mongolians, Kazakhs, Tibetans, Uigurs and other national minorities in China, from the gross violations of their rights and freedoms.

Speaking of Peking's expansionist policy, we refer not to any imagined threat sometimes arising in the imagination of individuals as a result of erroneous appraisals of reality or of allergic reactions to questions that, among other things, concern sovereignty and independence. We speak of a real danger emanating from the Chinese ruling circles, aimed, above all, against countries neighbouring on China.

The Mongolian people flatly reject the groundless claims and slanderous attacks of the Maoists. At the same time, the Communists and the working people of the MPR, who have deep respect for the great and hard-working Chinese people, for Chinese Communists-internationalists, are determined to preserve and strengthen normal relations between our two countries, consistent with the interests of the Mongolian and the Chinese peoples. Our Party and government applied, and continue to apply, every effort to normalise relations with the CPR. But far from meeting us half-way, the Chinese leaders are intensifying hostile actions against our country.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has always conducted a principled struggle against the anti-Marxist course and subversive activity of the Chinese leaders. As we see it, exposing the essence of the policy and practical activity of the Mao Tse-tung group is of vast importance in the present conditions for cementing the unity of all the revolutionary forces, for repulsing imperialism. This is not only the cause of separate contingents of the communist movement, but the internationalist duty of each Marxist-Leninist Party.

Dear comrades, it is noteworthy that the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is taking place at a time when Communists and working people the world over are preparing to mark the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

A man of genius who continued the teaching and the revolutionary cause of Marx and Engels, the acknowledged leader of the international working class, Lenin was a great friend and teacher of the oppressed peoples, showing them the only correct way of achieving their national and social liberation. The Mongolian people rightly associate their freedom and independence, their successes and victories in building the new life, with the name of the immortal Lenin, with his great teaching, the militant weapon of all the contingents of the world communist movement.

As they approach this historic date, the Party members and working people

of socialist Mongolia are becoming more conscious of Lenin's greatness, the greatness of his brilliant ideas, of his revolutionary struggle. Our Party sees it as its sacred duty to be unflinchingly loyal to Lenin's ideas, to be irreconcilable to all signs of opportunism as Lenin was, and firmly uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism. It is determined to mark the Lenin jubilee by stepping up activity in guiding the building of socialism, by redoubling its political, ideological and organisational work among the masses, by consolidating in every way the time-tested Mongolian-Soviet friendship, the friendship and co-operation with the peoples of other socialist countries, by invigorating fraternal solidarity with the Communists and working people of all countries.

In our epoch, the ever-living teaching of Lenin has become a source of strength and inspiration for millions of people in all countries in the struggle for peace, democracy, national and social emancipation, for socialism and communism. Unquestionably, the Lenin jubilee is the outstanding event that will cement still further the great army of fighters for the happy future of mankind battling under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

In conclusion, allow me, on behalf of our delegation, to express to the Central Committee of the CPSU our heartfelt gratitude for the splendid facilities provided to our Meeting, for the immense efforts made to assure its success, for its consideration and fraternal hospitality.

## TUNJI OTEGBEYE

Head of Delegation, Nigerian  
Marxist-Leninists

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of Nigerian Marxist-Leninists permit me to express fraternal greetings to the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties at this Meeting, to express our deep appreciation for the invitation to participate in the preparatory meeting and to make our formal maiden appearance in the fold of the international communist movement.

We wish to thank the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for creating the necessary conditions for the success of the preparatory work, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for their hospitality, for the very ideal conditions for a warm get-together in Moscow—the pulsating heart of the world communist and working-class movement.

Our delegation will like to record our support for the Main Document — “Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces”.

We consider this Document a good summary of the experiences of fraternal Parties, an effective weapon in our struggle against imperialism and a creative Marxist-Leninist exposition of the world situation.

The forces of the socialist countries, the forces of the working class in developed capitalist countries and the forces of the national liberation movements constitute the revolutionary forces of our epoch. Of these the socialist world system is the most decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The economic achievements of the socialist world system lead to the raising of the living standard of the peoples of the socialist countries, to greater victory in the field of science and technology, to the immense defence capacity of socialist countries and in particular of the Soviet Union, to the greater possibility of furthering the struggle in support of peace, national liberation and socialism. These great achievements facilitating the development of socialist democracy are an inspiration to the revolutionary fighters of the world and indeed constitute “the best agitator for socialism both among the people of the capitalist countries and the peoples who have shaken off the yoke of colonialism” (Comrade Brezhnev).

It is a fact today that active relations between ruling Communist Parties are the cornerstone for promoting many-sided co-operation among socialist states. That in order to create the necessary condition for further and higher rate of economic and all-round growth in the socialist world these inter-party relations should be further strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. For it is this cornerstone that ensures the ever-increasing possibility of the united socialist world system being the key factor for the promotion of the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism.

This is why the disruption of inter-party co-operation due to imperialist ideological warfare against the countries of socialism or due to a deviation from Marxism-Leninism constitutes a grave danger to the foundation of the world anti-imperialist struggle.

This is the reason why the unity of the socialist countries and the safeguard of socialist gains of each socialist country, the safeguard of the frontiers of the countries of socialism, become the supreme internationalist duty of all Communists, of all Communist and Workers' Parties, of all forces engaged in the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism.

Our epoch, characterised by the transition from capitalism to socialism, is witnessing unprecedented victories in the socialist countries, in the struggle of the workers in the developed capitalist countries, in the struggle of the revolutionary forces for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This epoch also marks the declining of the forces of imperialism. The fact that imperialism is on the decline is further confirmed by the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Cambodia.

This is a blow to the citadel of imperialism in Western Europe—the militarists of the Federal Republic of Germany—and its backer the USA, and a great victory of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism.

It is important that we realise that the waning in strength of imperialism is a factor for its increased brutal aggressiveness. It is clear today that this increase in aggressiveness of imperialism calls for vigilance on the part of the world revolutionary forces and its vanguard, the world Communist and Workers' Parties.

The imperialist offensives in Africa, Asia and Latin America to stifle the struggle of the national liberation movements, the imperialist offensive in the developed capitalist countries to maintain the status quo, the imperialist offensive to sabotage the construction of socialism and communism in the socialist countries—call for a conscious renewed effort to unite the Communist and Workers' Parties so that in unity we can play a more effective role as the vanguard in struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation and socialism. This historic Meeting becomes imperative and it is our hope that by the end of our deliberations we will have agreed on the specific guidelines for joint action against the forces of imperialism.

The US aggressive war in Vietnam, the imperialist-inspired aggression of the Israeli ruling circles in the Middle East, the threat to the sovereignty of Cuba, the imperialist-inspired secession in Nigeria, the wars against national liberation in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Pissau, Southern Rhodesia and



South Africa, and other imperialist manipulations against the world revolutionary forces show clearly that although imperialism is on the wane it is far from being just a paper tiger.

The increased imperialist offensive in West Africa led to the reactionary coups in Ghana, Mali, Sierra Leone and Dahomey.

In Nigeria the imperialist forces ganged up to split the country and weaken the revolutionary struggle of the people by playing up reactionary nationalism. It is our hope that genuine friends of the Nigerian people will study the situation in Nigeria and make such appraisal as will be helpful for the thorough understanding of the problems facing our country. Just now there are too many sweeping generalisations based more on emotion than reason.

This is why we deem it necessary to give a brief outline of the position of the Nigerian Marxist-Leninists in the Nigerian crisis.

Nigeria consists of over 100 national groups with a population now estimated at 61 million (UNO Census 1969 Feb.). It is rich in agricultural and mineral resources, holding leading positions in the world in the production of cocoa, groundnuts, palm oil and kernels, cotton, tin and petroleum.

Unlike the development that took place in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries resulting in the breakdown of old feudal empires and the rise of nation-states under the impact of capitalism, on the socio-economic formations in Nigeria was superimposed the influence of foreign monopoly capital. The semiprimitive communal, semi-slave and semi-feudal culture fell under the heavy influence of capitalism. The road to the formation of a nation-state was halted and in its place was the colonial experiment of arbitrarily forcing people within specified areas together to form a multinational state.

Nigeria adopted a federal constitution and at the time of independence had four states—the North where the Hausas form the majority, the West where live the Yorubas, the Midwest which had a large number of small national groups, and the Eastern Region where the Ibos are the largest national group.

At the time of independence, the bourgeoisie from the Eastern Region who now lead the struggle for secession shared effectively with the feudalists from the North the control of the federal government and fully controlled the government of the Eastern Region. They could not be said to be an oppressed national group. In fact their members were great advocates of unity and of a strong federal constitution.

Like in any bourgeois state, there soon developed cut-throat competition between the bourgeoisie of one nation and the bourgeoisie of other national groups in a bid to gain economic advantage.

The imperialists took advantage of the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and feudalist ruling groups in Nigeria and financed the secession of the Eastern Region of Nigeria.

In considering the secession in Nigeria, Marxist-Leninists must consider the effect of such a move on Africa, on Nigeria itself. Further they must pay attention to the content of the secession and the internal and external motivating factors.

Every country in Africa, as a result of colonial heritage, has acute national questions to solve. It is well known that the imperialists have worked up reac-

tionary nationalism in Congo-Kinshasa (Katanga), in Uganda and Kenya to split these countries. The Biafra experiment would have been a justification for intensifying this line of action which would lead to more mushroom states which can easily be kept as neo-colonial puppet states. Secondly, the energy which would have been spent in consolidating the anti-imperialist front would now be spent in fratricidal national struggles. Either way the imperialists stand to gain.

The strongest case put forward by the supporters of secession is that the "Biafrans" should have a right to self-determination, including secession.

In answering those who hold this view we have to point out that the Eastern Region of Nigeria is occupied by the Ibos who number over seven million people (1965 census), the Efiks 3.5 million, Ogojans 0.8 million and the Igaws 1.5 million.

That the petroleum and the rich agricultural areas were in the minority areas. That even under colonialism and after political independence the minority national groups have always struggled for self-determination but their efforts were thwarted by the ruling Ibo bourgeoisie who controlled the regional government and had a strong influence in the federal government.

Therefore it is important to realise that the Ibo bourgeoisie secessionists after the pogrom in the northern states decided to set up a Biafra without any mandate from the people and certainly against the aspiration of the minority groups in the area for a right to self-determination, in order to found a new state dominated by the Ibo bourgeoisie. The short-lived administration of the secessionists in the minority areas showed clearly an effort to dominate the minority national groups and their rich natural resources.

In this venture the secessionists had the support of the USA, France, West Germany, Portugal, South Africa, Vatican, some independent African states, and the Mao Tse-tung clique.

We must not lose sight of the fact that contradictions among the imperialist circles also have its effect on the secession. The US and French imperialists wanted to seize the rich oil deposits of Nigeria from Britain. The secessionists became a pawn on the chess board of the imperialists.

Besides, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists hold the view that it is only a united Nigeria that will be able to fight effectively against foreign exploitation, for economic independence. Realising that Africa has been split into small states—over thirty of these states have populations of under five million—it becomes imperative to keep Nigeria united and to develop its potentialities for the furtherance of the African revolution.

In his work, "Critical Remarks on the National Question", Lenin stressed that the right of nations to self-determination should not be confused with the advisability of secession. He emphasised that, "...while, and in so far as, different nations constitute a single state, Marxists will never, under any circumstances, advocate either the federal principle or decentralisation. The great centralised state is a tremendous historical step forward from medieval disunity to the future socialist unity of the whole world."

The creation of twelve states by the federal military government of Nigeria provides real conditions for the exercise of the right to self-determination. The former Eastern Region of Nigeria now consists of three states. We might

recall Lenin's words: "Far from precluding local self-government, with *autonomy* for regions having special economic and social conditions, a distinct national composition of the population, and so forth, democratic centralism necessarily demands *both*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 46).

In the light of this Marxist-Leninist exposition which has been justified by history and the example of the USSR, the claim of the bourgeois secessionists of the Eastern Region of Nigeria to self-determination and secession cannot be justified.

We would like to stress that the struggle to keep Nigeria united is a struggle against imperialism, a contribution to the cause of national liberation and full independence. As such we have cause to thank all the anti-imperialist forces which have given moral and material support to this struggle. More especially we thank the CPSU and the entire Soviet people for an objective appraisal of the Nigerian situation and their positive stand against imperialism.

In Nigeria, the struggle for a united front of all patriotic forces against neo-colonialism and local reaction is the cornerstone of Marxist-Leninists' programme for the present stage at home. We agree with the Document that in both the national and international spheres the existing situation demands the united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

This realisation ought to lead all Communists to close their ranks and to sit at a conference of this nature to iron out differences, adopt a common attitude towards imperialism and give the other revolutionary forces of the world a united communist leadership.

But on the contrary today we note several Parties who take a definite negative attitude to this Meeting.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China—the Mao Tse-tung clique—come in for special mention in this respect.

The slander against the great Party of Lenin, against the gigantic achievements of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people and other socialist countries, the splitting activities among fraternal Parties and the introduction of adventurist programmes among developing parties and democratic forces, the persistent effort to isolate the anti-imperialist forces of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the progressive forces of the capitalist countries and their reliable friends, the peoples of the socialist countries—all these, far from enhancing the course of socialism, impede the revolutionary progress of our epoch by widening the gap between Communist and Workers' Parties, endangering the solidarity of the socialist countries, and indeed constitute a great help to imperialism.

In the Nigerian crisis, the Mao Tse-tung clique ganged up with the most reactionary imperialist circles—the USA, France, West Germany, Portugal and South Africa, to support the secession in Nigeria. More and more the Mao Tse-tung clique lines up on the same side with imperialist forces against the vital interests of the Nigerian people, against the forces of national liberation.

Comrades, far from burying our heads in the sand like the proverbial ostrich, far from avoiding the criticism of this manifestation of nationalism, big-power

chauvinism and racialism which constitute a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, a grave danger to the world-wide revolutionary struggle against imperialism, delegates to this Meeting must direct their minds to find a lasting positive solution to enhance through struggle the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist movements is the key factor to our further revolutionary progress. Our delegation will therefore sign the Main Document.

It is significant that this Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties is taking place in Moscow on the eve of the centenary celebration of Lenin's birthday. This factor should give us all inspiration to unite our forces against the forces of imperialism and war so that we can celebrate the glorious centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our great teacher and leader, with greater offensives of the anti-imperialist forces, with greater victories of the contingents of world revolutionary forces, based on our correct appraisal of the world situation by the creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

In accordance with the spirit of the document to commemorate the centenary of the birth of the immortal Lenin, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists are making preparations to build a hospital to be named after Lenin for the care of our sick people. Further we have directed that the foundation stone of the Lenin Library be laid on 22nd of April 1970. We hope to establish Lenin's inaugural lectures which will be a yearly feature and in which outstanding leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties will be invited to participate.

These new ventures will be concrete contributions to the development and spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas in Nigeria, to the further growth of the friendship of the Nigerian people and the people of the socialist countries, a cornerstone of proletarian internationalism. It is therefore fitting that the unity of our Parties should also be vividly expressed in the material and moral support for this type of ventures in awakening centres of the revolutionary struggle of the African peoples, where bourgeois ideology with its corrupting influence is sowing confusion and doubts among our working people.

We fully support the document on the celebration of the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

It is envisaged in the Main Document that after the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, larger and broader meetings of the contingents of the world anti-imperialist forces will be called to further consolidate the unity of action of the peoples of the socialist countries, all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, the newly free and the oppressed colonial peoples in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

We wish to emphasise that there is urgent need for these meetings at the international level, at regional levels and in particular in Africa where the co-ordinating centre for African anti-imperialist fighters ceased to exist after the unannounced disappearance of the All-Africa Peoples' Congress secretariat.

It is true that the full facts of the socio-economic formations in Africa are not fully understood and therefore need a more careful detailed examination. However, the revolutionary movement in Africa may be carried away with

such terminology as non-capitalist road, or progressive non-capitalist road of development, which may be a varying qualification for the mounting struggle of the patriotic forces of Africa in the struggle for the national democratic revolution, for full economic and cultural independence from neo-colonialism. It should be borne in mind that the non-capitalist stage of development in one or another country is not the final culmination of the revolution. This stage is only a transitory period in the process of the national democratic revolution. If it is not so understood such terminology blurs the assessment of the correlation of the class forces in operation and the increase in number and activities of the revolutionary forces of the working class and the peasantry and leads to overestimation of the role of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in further developing the national democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. This terminology may further blur the leading role of the working class and the necessity for its vanguard Party, the Party of Communists, in the development to culmination of the national democratic revolution and the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a precondition to the success of the socialist revolution.

Facts are becoming available about the fall of progressive regimes in Ghana, Mali and some of the other African states. Facts also need to be collected about social conditions and the correlation of class forces in such progressive countries as Algeria, UAR and Sudan. Perhaps we Communists should find out how Cuba, having overthrown local reaction, took a non-capitalist road and by the full appraisal of the nature of the struggle gave birth to the unity of the Communists and established the vanguard Party for the promotion of the socialist revolution.

African Communists must found a platform for the appraisal of theoretical problems in Africa, for sharing practical experiences in struggle so that they can make more profound and far-reaching contributions to the development of Marxist-Leninist thought, so that they can become a more potent vanguard of the African liberation movement, so that they can make a vital contribution to the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

We would like to register our support for the document on Vietnam. We firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against Yankee imperialism, for full national independence, democracy and social progress.

We support the Appeal in Defence of Peace. We uphold the view that "wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments on freedom of nations—all have their roots in the policies of imperialism". As such, our Meeting, calling and working for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces constitutes at the same time the backbone for the struggle for peace. It becomes our binding duty to unite all progressive, peace-loving bodies in the struggle to ensure the triumph of the sacred cause of world peace.

Long live the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

## MEIR VILNER

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Israel

We greet the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on behalf of the Communist Party of Israel. This Meeting is an important milestone in cementing the unity of the world communist movement. What we should specially like to stress is that it was prepared by collective effort on the basis of the broadest democracy.

We consider it our duty to make special mention of the contribution to the preparation and organisation of this Meeting by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. And for this we express to them our gratitude.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel has discussed and approved the Main Document. Its four sections are interlinked and comprise an indivisible whole.

One cannot define the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle at this stage without analysing the international situation, the balance of forces of the two world systems, the socialist and the capitalist, the problems of the socialist world system in its development, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries, and the struggle of the national liberation, anti-imperialist movement in the present stage. How, indeed, to cement the unity of the Communist Parties without determining the norms of relations between them, without analysing, if only in general outline, the development of the world communist movement with all its historic achievements and its difficulties? Could the world communist movement consolidate the front of all the anti-imperialist forces without a common line and a clear idea of the ways to this aim?

The Document worked out collectively by the Preparatory Committee reflects those common elements which unite our communist movement. It will help our movement to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle and invigorate the united action of Communist Parties, of all the anti-imperialist forces, in the struggle for peace, democracy, the independence of the peoples, and socialism. It will help our movement to conduct jointly a political and ideological struggle against Right opportunism, which is drifting towards Social Democracy, as well as Leftist adventurism.

Today, we hold, the main danger to the communist movement comes from

nationalism, manifested in a narrow and inept approach to the problem of national interest, with what are thought to be national interests given precedence over the interests of the communist, anti-imperialist movement. It is doubly dangerous when this tendency surfaces among Communists in a socialist country.

Experience shows that nationalism may assume the form of either Right or Left revisionism. Both varieties inevitably merge when directed against the general line of the communist movement, against Communist Parties following that line and, particularly, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Document of our Meeting elaborates on the basic propositions of the 1957 and 1960 documents, generalising the new phenomena of our time and defining the tactics and strategy of our movement accordingly. Like the documents of previous meetings, the present one refutes the dogmatic conceptions that it is impossible to avert a world war. Those conceptions have nothing in common with the creative application of Leninist principles to the new international situation.

At the same time, the Document reveals the utter incompetence of the revisionist standpoint, which underrates the danger of war.

Some revisionists discourse on imperialism having changed its character. Others regard certain changes in imperialist tactics as changes in strategy, implying thereby that imperialism has all but abandoned its essential aims.

Matters came to a point where the very existence of imperialism's global strategy is either totally denied or, at least, called in question. In fact, however, the ever sharpening contradictions among the imperialist powers in no way prove the non-existence of imperialist global strategy, the essence of which lies in subverting the socialist world system, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement of the peoples.

Underrating imperialism's global strategy inevitably dampens the desire to consolidate the communist movement and the socialist camp.

Denying the existence of imperialist global strategy or underrating it leads all too often to unprincipled rejection of proletarian internationalism in practice, and to justifying national separatism and pragmatism in international relations.

The Main Document of our Meeting warns against belittling the dangers of imperialism's aggressive policy. And rightly so. An arms race unprecedented in scale is under way in the United States, West Germany, and other capitalist countries; the war in Vietnam continues and the Middle East situation remains dangerous, fraught with war. Aren't the wars in Vietnam and the Middle East proof enough that imperialist global strategy is a hard fact of life?

Even Israel's ruling circles, who at first in effect tried to deny it, no longer make a secret of the role played in imperialist global strategy by the June war. They speak of it openly these days, demanding that the United States abide by its policy of all-out support for the course of continuing occupation pursued by the Israeli ruling circles.

From the beginning, our Party declared that the June war was contrary to the rock-bottom interests of the Israeli people, that it was started in the interests of the imperialist powers, principally the United States. The expansionist

aspirations of the Israeli bourgeoisie and our country's Zionist ruling circles coincided with the imperialist designs in our region.

The heroic Vietnamese people is fighting in the front line of the anti-imperialist struggle. The solidarity and support of all progressives is on its side. The victories of the Vietnamese in the battlefield, like their political victories—winning public opinion on all continents and isolating the US aggressors—are an immense contribution to our common anti-imperialist struggle for peace and progress.

Our delegation accepts with great satisfaction the Meeting's Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin". We believe preparations for the great anniversary to be a good opportunity for deepening and extending ideological work in each Party, and also for collective discussion by the whole movement of various ideological questions. Together with the CPSU, with all Communist Parties, with all progressive mankind, our Party will mark the Lenin centenary in a fitting manner.

Comrades, the socialist world system is the main revolutionary force of our time. No international event can be appraised correctly in isolation from the class struggle between the two world systems, the socialist and the capitalist. The Soviet Union is the main force of the socialist world system, whereas the United States is the main force of the capitalist system.

Defining the special place objectively occupied today by the socialist world system and the special place objectively occupied in the socialist world system by the Soviet Union, is essential for working out the strategy and tactics of the working-class movement, for appreciating the anti-imperialist struggle and for drawing the right conclusions about the ways of struggle in the specific conditions of each country.

The special, central place occupied by the Soviet Union in the socialist world system and by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the world communist movement does not hinge on anyone's arbitrary, subjective wish. This history-conditioned objective fact does not cease to exist just because someone refuses to acknowledge it.

We firmly reject the nationalist, divisive, anti-Soviet policy of Mao Tse-tung and his followers against the whole communist movement, a policy which is doing enormous harm to the anti-imperialist struggle. The 9th Maoist Congress of the CPC voiced the monstrous contention that the Soviet Union, with the United States, heads the imperialist camp and has, therefore, to be "fought to the finish". That is a "big leap" indeed, a leap from Marxism-Leninism to disgraceful apostasy.

The adventurism of the Chinese leaders, who have gone to the length of armed provocations against the Soviet Union, does tremendous harm to the Chinese people, to their socialist gains. We are sure the day will come when the Communist Party of China itself denounces the nationalism and anti-Sovietism of the present Chinese leadership and assumes a worthy place in our ranks.

In the view of the Communist Party of Israel, anti-Sovietism is equivalent to anti-communism. The Soviet Union has been and remains the world bastion of peace, the independence of the peoples, democracy and socialism.

Our Party thinks highly of the internationalist policy of the CPSU, the



internationalist spirit of the Soviet peoples. Soviet foreign policy is a principled one, and Leninist to the core. The Soviet Union shoulders the heavy burden of main defender of the socialist world system, main helper of all the peoples fighting for national independence, against imperialism.

The speech at this Meeting of Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, contains a profound and exhaustive analysis of the international situation, the problems of the world communist movement and the socialist camp, the relation of forces and the problem of war and peace. It is saturated with genuine internationalism. One's attention is attracted by that part of it which refers to the growth and perspectives of the Soviet Union. The one fact that industrial production in the Soviet Union has more than doubled in the eight years since the previous Meeting is for all of us a source of deep joy. The stronger the Soviet Union, the more solid the socialist cause in the world, the more hope there is that peace shall vanquish war, and the firmer the peoples' confidence in the success of their struggle for social and national emancipation.

We Communists fighting in the capitalist environment rejoice deeply over the fresh successes of the socialist countries, over their increasing contribution to the common struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of peace, the independence of the peoples, and socialism.

Comrades, each Party charts its policy independently on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to suit the specific national conditions of its country. Fraternal solidarity and co-ordination of action in the common struggle against the imperialist foe is the decisive principle governing relations among Communist Parties.

While accentuating the independence of each Party in framing policy, we reject the opportunist and nationalist interpretation of independence by those who measure independence by the degree of dissociation from the CPSU. This so-called independence goes against the unity of the world communist movement, against proletarian internationalism.

Far from contradicting each other, the international and national interests of each Party are, in effect, a single whole. There is no such thing as antagonistic contradictions between the requirements of proletarian internationalism and the true national interests of each people. But there is a contradiction of another kind. An antagonistic one. That contradiction is between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism.

Comrades, in the Middle East bloodshed has continued for all of two years. Both sides suffer casualties daily. The so-called six-day war has, in effect, been going on for more than 700 days. As in the Arab countries so in Israel, the number of widows and orphans, of wounded and of invalids, grows continuously.

A far-flung offensive has been mounted as a consequence of the June war against the democratic freedoms and rights of the working people. Many leaders and activists of our Party and other public figures opposed to the war and territorial annexation, have been arrested and tortured. Many of our comrades have been deprived of the freedom of movement. Many have been dismissed from their jobs. The atmosphere of extreme chauvinism and war hysteria has impelled a shift to the Right in the working-class movement and in Israel's socio-political life. For the first time, Israel has a government

uniting all the Zionist parties on a common platform of war and territorial expansion. The extreme reactionary elements have gained a firmer grip in and outside the government.

At first, our Party was the only political force to be hit by reaction. The members of the Party and of the Communist Youth League of Israel withstood the ordeal with honour. At the beginning of this year the Party held its 16th Congress, which contributed considerably to consolidating our ranks ideologically, politically and organisationally. The Congress revealed that the Party's Jewish-Arab unity has grown stronger in the difficult conditions. The membership has grown by 15 per cent in the three years between congresses, while that of the Youth League has grown even more.

We are certain that their own experience, coupled with the struggle of our Party and the course of events in our region and the rest of the world, will bring it home to the people of Israel that by opposing the aggressive June war our Communist Party upheld the honour of the Israeli people and showed the world that Israel is no monolithic reactionary bloc of militarists and pro-imperialists, that Israel has forces who offer the Arab peoples sincere co-operation in the struggle for peace, against the common imperialist enemy.

The main slogan of our Party is: "Not with imperialism against the Arab peoples, but with the Arab peoples against imperialism!"

In the invaded Arab territories resistance to the occupation is mounting steadily. That is natural. The policy of oppression in the occupied lands, the policy of collective penalties, banishment, prison torture, demolition of dwellings, economic strangulation and other repressions—all these brutal measures of the occupation authorities only stimulate increasingly determined resistance, a resistance that is becoming wholesale, chiefly in the form of mass strikes and demonstrations.

Our Party works for a political solution of the present Middle East crisis on the basis of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. A tremendous contribution is being made by the Soviet Union to the effort of preventing a new war in our region, ending the bloodshed, and eliminating the consequences of the June war. The Soviet stand, as presented in the speech of Comrade Brezhnev at our International Meeting, has evoked a strong interest among the Israeli public.

Israel's Communists and progressives received with satisfaction Comrade Brezhnev's following statement (I quote): "We firmly demand full implementation of the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which opens the way for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

That is the spirit, too, of the Statement adopted by our Meeting on June 7. That the delegation of the Communist Party of Israel backed this Statement caused an outbreak of anti-communist hysteria in our country. The extremists renewed their demand that the Communist Party should be banned. The advocates of territorial expansion were infuriated by the fact that Israeli and Arab Communists took a common stand with the Communists of the whole world, a stand that rejects the policy of aggression and annexation and demands complete fulfilment of the Security Council resolution.

It should be noted that the Israeli rulers are not alone in refusing to comply with the Security Council resolution. Extremist Arab groups, too, are against it. Alongside the fair demand that Israeli troops be withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories, and that the national rights of the Palestinian and Arab peoples be respected, they oppose the very existence of the Israeli state. We firmly reject this attitude. They forget the harm such chauvinist postures and declarations caused on the eve of the war. Those declarations only helped the Israeli rulers to mislead the popular masses in our country, to mislead a great many people throughout the world, helped to portray a war of aggression as a defensive war.

Unlike the Israeli government, the Arab states of Egypt and Jordan have officially declared their readiness to carry out the Security Council resolution to the letter, envisaging withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories, termination of the state of war, recognition of the right to sovereign existence of all states in the region, a fair solution of the Arab Palestinian refugee problem in conformance with the UN decisions, and freedom of navigation in international waters for all the states of the region.

The refusal of Israel's ruling circles, guided by their Zionist ideology, to fulfil the Security Council resolution is the main obstacle to a peaceful accommodation. And, obviously, this hard-headed posture is encouraged by the rulers of the United States, FRG and Britain.

The Communists and all progressives of Israel will tirelessly combat the government's policy because, as they see it, it goes radically against the interests of peace and the vital interests of the Israeli people.

The war has increased Israel's military, economic and political dependence on US imperialism. At the same time, Israel's rulers are busily expanding their ties with West German imperialism. This is not accidental. There is a striking resemblance in the attitudes of the West German and Israeli governments, particularly as regards their refusal to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Deep concern is aroused by the recent announcement of the former Deputy Security Minister of Israel that "West Germany has supplied Israel with free arms worth \$ 500 million".

The Communist Party of Israel works for a radical change of Israeli policy, for a policy independent of imperialist powers and foreign monopolies, a policy of peace.

In our view, the most important and urgent task is to unite all forces in Israel that oppose the occupation and want peace, irrespective of political views and party allegiances. We are working for a united front of all those who realise that occupation and peace are incompatible and demand observance of the Security Council resolution.

Another important and urgent task is to combat the attack on democratic freedoms, to combat the threat of a ban that hangs over our Party. For this, we are rallying all forces which realise that the repressions launched against Communists will finally spread to other strata of society.

Our Party also considers it important and urgent to fight for the vital interests and rights of the working people, who bear the brunt of the war expenditures and are the main target of the government's anti-labour policy. While the guns

roar, the workers and other working people continue to fight for their class interests. The workers in the ports of Haifa and Ashdod are battling for their rights this very day. Recently, the government invoked emergency laws introduced years ago by the British colonialists in order to foil a postal workers' strike.

Comrades, we are full of optimism despite the difficulties. We are confident that the forces of peace will triumph in Israel. The solidarity and support of all champions of peace, of all progressive mankind, is on their side.

Our Meeting is a source of optimism and of faith in our forces, in the power of the international working class, the power of the anti-imperialist front.

So let us redouble our unity, comrades, and raise aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, fulfilling our duty thereby to our own people and to the cause of peace and socialism!

**ALI YATA**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco)**

Dear Comrades,

We are happy to extend to you the warmest fraternal greetings from the Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco) and voice our sincere satisfaction at being in Moscow, the beautiful capital of the world's first socialist state, among our brothers in doctrine, in struggle and in hopes from all five continents.

It gives us pleasure to express to the Soviet delegation, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our admiration and deepest appreciation of the persistent efforts they have undertaken to convene this highly important meeting of Communists, of the excellent organisation, of the warm hospitality and the attention with which they surround us.

We also thank all the fraternal Parties which have taken part in preparing this forum and above all the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party which, as we know very well, has played an important part.

The delegation of the Party of Liberation and Socialism arrived at this Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties with an awareness of being a participant in a momentous event in the history of the working people, with the conviction that our joint actions and our work will give a fresh impetus to the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, for progress, socialism and peace.

At numerous meetings of leading bodies, our Party has analysed the present world situation and first and foremost the problems of consolidation of the socialist countries and the development of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement. One of the principal conclusions reached by us is that the present balance of world forces, which has long been in our favour, can be further tipped in favour of the struggle for the interests of the peoples. We are convinced that unity and co-operation of the revolutionary forces should be a motive force of this change.

That is why our Party is taking part in this Meeting with a deep understanding of its responsibility. The attention of our Party and our people, just as that of all the workers' and progressive parties of the world, is riveted on us; they are awaiting much from our deliberations.

We have tried to do our utmost, on the national scale, for the preparation of

this Meeting, having taken part, to the best of our abilities, in international preparatory conferences, for we do not separate the global tasks of this Meeting from the practical tasks we are carrying out in our domestic and foreign policy.

Internationally, we stand for the rallying of the socialist countries, contribute to raising the level of the anti-imperialist struggle, support the struggle of the Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries, and strive to promote the co-operation and solidarity of all the revolutionary forces of the world. On the national plane, we are endeavouring to impart fresh strength and energy to our actions, fully in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist teaching. We take pride in the fact that after twenty-five years of clandestinity, after successive periods of illegal and semi-legal existence, we have finally secured recognition of our legal existence. We are taking better account of the concrete conditions of our country, development of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle, to enhance our influence and consolidate our ranks.

Our experience tells us that these sittings are, in a way, a continuation on a higher and broader plane of our workaday activities. And so we have come here to enrich ourselves through familiarisation with the experience of the fraternal Parties and also to submit to you our own conclusions which are the product of our practical political activity and not of academic discussions.

Moreover, we feel sure that the work we are launching will conform with the aspirations of the entire suffering and fighting mankind which believes in the socialist ideals that unite us and which hopes, with full reason, that our debates will be crowned with historic resolutions and decisions.

May I assure you, dear comrades, that the delegation of the Party of Liberation and Socialism will spare no effort in this direction and that it is resolved to make its maximum contribution to the success of this Meeting, as it was instructed by the National Committee at its May 18 session.

True, our Meeting is not attended by representatives of the entire world revolutionary movement. Some fraternal Parties have not found it necessary or possible to take part in it. Some national liberation organisations do not have firm links with our movement yet. Fairly big contingents of the international proletariat are affiliated with parties of a reformist or Leftist colouration and therefore keep aloof from effective struggle. But even those who are absent here are interested in our work and watch what we are doing.

Nevertheless, even in its present, incomplete composition our Meeting presents a broad, powerful and inspiring forum.

The issue is one of achieving co-ordination of all our revolutionary actions, thwarting the global strategy of imperialism, and defeating it.

This co-ordination should not boil down to a simplification of problems, which would merely create a seeming unanimity of views. It should be real unity, in all its diversity, of not only the Parties present here but also the Parties which have not replied to our invitation and the Parties which will join our movement tomorrow, for the downfall of imperialism, of capitalism and the advent of socialism are inevitable.

Considering the complete freedom of expression, the atmosphere of accord, understanding and fraternity which prevailed during our preparatory work

and prevails now, it can be confidently said that never before have we witnessed such serious and painstaking preparation for a meeting of representatives of the world communist and working-class movement. This is proof of definite headway, but it also promises new achievements, new prospects, on the condition that we continue along this road, relying on the results already scored.

Dear comrades, the National Committee of our Party carefully scrutinised the draft Document which is the result of a preliminary exchange of opinions and which we regard as a solid basis for fruitful discussion. Having studied it, we have considerations to offer to your fraternal attention.

Most of all, our attention was attracted by the analysis of the international situation.

Imperialism as a system has not ceased to exist and, consequently, remains a menace to all mankind, aspiring for world supremacy under the leadership of US imperialism.

Imperialism has every reason to regard the socialist system as the main force that opposes and restricts its influence. Therefore it constantly nurtures the hope to destroy socialism militarily and carries on a frantic arms drive. It is vainly trying to frustrate socialist construction with the help of local wars, as in Korea and Vietnam, resorting to subversion, as in Cuba, and organising one provocation after another. It uses every opportunity to engineer a split among countries of the socialist system, speculating on certain difficulties or contradictions, and is doing everything to prevent other countries from becoming socialist or embarking on the socialist road.

On the other hand, imperialism regards states of the Third World as its domain. It stubbornly defends its privileges there, suppresses the movement for liberation and stops at no crime to retain neo-colonialism established by it. It is trying to win new positions and consolidate existing ones.

Finally, US imperialism continues the economic conquest of other capitalist countries, pursuing a policy initiated by the notorious "Marshall plan". Federal Germany, into which it has invested 25,000 million marks, and Japan are cornerstones of its system. Great Britain and Switzerland are used as capital investment spheres, while the economy of France, Italy, Spain and other countries is becoming ever more closely tied to its monopolies. All this creates a complex and dense network fastened by the NATO and SEATO military pacts.

Thus, we see that US imperialism remains true to itself, displaying constancy in its claims. It has merely changed methods conformably with the changes in the world, reviving Japan and Federal Germany, the losers in the Second World War, and implanting neo-colonialism in order to supersede its allies in their colonies.

But we also note that despite its aggressiveness imperialism does not dare to unleash a third world war so as to establish its world domination. The reasons for this indecision are the military and economic might of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, the political correlation of forces that favours socialism, and the will of the peoples for peace, which will not hesitate to come out jointly against US imperialism and will destroy the edifice of world capitalism.

However, although it seems unbelievable that US imperialism may resort to war, this supposition gives us no right to declare that there will be no war. We are faced with an irrefutable fact: the United States is preparing a war.

We want to safeguard mankind from the untold devastation and losses that a third world war would bring, and for this we should uphold the cause of world peace without intimidating the peoples, for that would be playing into the imperialists' hands, but by turning the struggle for peace into a slogan of struggle against imperialism.

On the other hand, US imperialism is unleashing local wars which can certainly trigger off a world war. But that is not inevitable. This is evidenced by the war in Vietnam, despite the participation in it of considerable armed forces and some allies of the United States, and despite the Americans' attempts to extend this conflict to other Asian countries.

The danger of a local war turning into a world war should not, therefore, be regarded as a sufficient reason for refusing to wage a national liberation war when the conditions demand this, still less so for denying solidarity and material and political assistance to a national liberation war, for, as a matter of fact, it is the imperialist forces and not a local war that can cause the outbreak of a world war. Everything that weakens imperialism is in the interest of peace.

Secondly, our considerations concern the national liberation movement.

We noted already, at the Preparatory Committee's session in March, that the order of enumeration of the revolutionary forces adopted at our 1960 meeting had been changed.

May we say at once that it is not a question of national or continental pride or of any prejudice with regard to the working-class movement in the European capitalist countries. And it is not our objective to cling at any cost to a schematic formulation or a definite dogmatic order.

Being as we are Marxists-Leninists, we recognise the historical role of the working class of the capitalist countries. We highly appreciate its struggle, and we are convinced that its successes will positively influence our entire movement. We wholly subscribe to the tested principles of our doctrine, which assigns to the working class the fundamental task of destroying capitalism, that base of imperialism against which we are all waging a struggle.

However, the reasons for changing the order adopted in 1960 are not clear to us. Only a critical analysis of the role of the national liberation movement which would give cause for speaking about its weakening or about the existence of definitive victories of the West European working class—only such an analysis could justify this change. The absence of any scientific assessment of this kind makes us apprehensive lest the role of the national liberation movement should be somehow underrated, with regard both to that part of it which is fighting against the direct yoke of colonialism and that which has already done away with political colonial rule and is fighting for economic independence and progress. After the Second World War the national liberation movement has been on a constant rise, which is one of the essential causes of the crisis and weakening of imperialism, and as such roused admiration all over the world.

True, imperialism has managed to rally and undertake a series of successful counter-attacks; the liberation movement has sustained a number



of defeats and in some cases has had to retreat. This has happened, for instance, in some countries of our African continent, specifically in Ghana.

We see the root cause of this defeat in the absence of an advanced organised revolutionary party capable of leading the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia in their struggle, of arming them politically and ideologically in order to establish genuine and profound democracy as the sole reliable safeguard of national anti-imperialist sovereignty.

But these local defeats could not affect the general line of development of the national liberation movement, which remains on the whole ascendant. The national liberation movement has held out, it has continued and extended its struggle. Suffice it to recall the strenuous valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people, both in the South and the North of the country; the courageous armed struggle being waged by the peoples of the Portuguese colonies; the refusal of the Arab peoples to regard themselves as vanquished, despite the military defeat in 1967, and their switchover to the offensive phase of their struggle.

That is why, proceeding from an analysis of the principal contradictions between the Third World and imperialism, and noting the peoples' will for progress and their fighting spirit, one has full reason to foretell that the national liberation movement will steadily develop.

This struggle is not only seriously shaking imperialism, it has indisputable revolutionary merits, for economic and political liberation brings with it social emancipation and thereby opens up socialist perspectives.

However, we should not forget this principle of Marxism-Leninism: the inevitable should not be accepted as something automatic, entitling one to a wait-and-see attitude; it is necessary to stimulate developments and correctly direct them. In a word, it is necessary to guide history.

That is why we understand our confidence in the socialist future of the Third World countries as a stimulant of our fighting ability, as vigilance towards the bourgeois strata, which, as Lenin noted, while supporting the national movements, come to terms with the imperialist bourgeoisie and join in its fight against the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes. Such are the main internal obstacles to the rapid development of the national liberation movement and the establishment of socialism. It is the historical task of the Communists of the Third World countries to remove these obstacles.

Just as was the case with our predecessors in the socialist and developed capitalist countries, we must, despite our numerical weakness, organise and guide the masses, direct the struggle of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, deepen its revolutionary political content in order to lead the peoples to complete liberation and to socialism.

Our teaching enables us to make a precise assessment of the role of the local bourgeoisie without overestimating or underestimating it, and in doing so never to lose sight of the principal, top-priority objective—struggle against imperialism.

There arises, in direct connection with the problems of the national liberation movement, the question of neo-colonialism, which we cannot afford to overlook but, on the contrary, should deeply study. It is necessary to know what neo-colonialism is, to see all its evils, to study its methods, reveal its aims and indicate

the means of combating it. It is perfectly obvious that this question is of global significance.

It is necessary to prevent the spread of the idea that the destruction of the colonial yoke puts an end to imperialist domination, that the principal contradiction in the development of the underdeveloped countries is no longer the contradiction of their relations with imperialism but stems from their more or less archaic social structures, and that the problems confronting the industrially advanced countries are no longer connected with the problems of the underdeveloped countries.

It will also be recalled that neo-colonialism is bent on perpetuating the colonial empire of the past. It has become its direct successor; its rule spreads over approximately the same zone that was ruled by old colonialism; it utilises the surviving colonial structures, preserving those of them which can be preserved: military pacts, currency zones, domination in the cultural sphere, traditions in foreign trade, etc.

In this way neo-colonialism hopes to go on disposing of the resources of the former colonies: first and foremost minerals but also agricultural and water resources, fishing, manpower, etc.

By way of illustration, here are data for 1962 about the share of the Third World in the import of some raw materials by developed capitalist countries:

lead	42.7 per cent	bauxites	86.8 per cent
zinc	45.9 per cent	oil	92.7 per cent
iron ore	49.1 per cent	timber	49.3 per cent
copper	57.8 per cent	cotton	61.1 per cent
phosphates	64.5 per cent	rubber	75.5 per cent
manganese	74.1 per cent	jute	97.5 per cent
tin	85.5 per cent		

These data were taken by us from the UNO world economy survey.

On the other hand, neo-colonialism is doggedly hanging on to the markets which these countries present for large amounts of Western goods delivered even to the remotest villages.

These manoeuvres impede the consolidation of the sovereignty and independence of the underdeveloped countries, which, as is known, continue to export raw materials and to import manufactured goods. In this connection mention should be made of pseudo-industrialisation expressed in the construction of bottling and packaging enterprises or, at best, the erection of assembly lines for imported parts (for instance, car assembly lines). These enterprises are, in fact, elements of an extensive system created by omnipresent monopolies.

Finally, neo-colonialism employs all means to influence the policy of the governments, to set them against the progressive forces and use the positions thus acquired in its struggle against the national liberation movements in neighbouring countries. Witness the example of Angola and Mozambique.

In the context of purely capitalist relationships, neo-colonialism reflects a tendency to expand export of capital. Let us note, in parentheses, that precisely this underlies the imperialists' sham philanthropy which they call "aid" to underdeveloped countries. In this respect neo-colonialism is an im-

provement on imperialism: the possibilities for the import of capital from developed countries are shrinking, as is evidenced by the international currency crisis. The collapse of the old system of colonial rule was utilised by imperialism as a good opportunity for the exportation of its capital. As we have seen, this capital has been becoming less and less productive owing to its monstrous squandering for unproductive purposes. To be sure, the imperialists would not have provided capital had it been put to rational use. But at the same time it is expected to ensure maximum profit. Let us cite but one example. In 1964 the stream of capital flowing out of the Third World countries in dividends to the capitalist investor countries reached \$4,900 million. In the same year, private direct investments, and those in stocks and shares, from capitalist countries in the Third World states amounted to \$1,575 million in foreign currency. Thus, the ratio is three to one.

Also in 1964, US private investments (including re-invested profits) in the Third World grew by \$900 million, while repatriated profits reached \$2,363 million, exceeding the former figure by 160 per cent.

Mention should also be made of the process of international monopoly concentration, which is not limited to colonial possessions dependent on any one imperialist power, but leads to the internationalisation of monopoly activity which gives the monopolies a free hand in exploiting the working people of the Third World. The operations of the European Common Market, which has drawn a considerable part of Africa into its orbit is an illustration of these neo-colonialist intrigues.

Confronted with the world revolutionary movement and in particular the socialist countries, neo-colonialism is seeking to check the development of the countries that have fallen under its control and to bar their road to socialism. Hence its vociferation about the spectre of communism and systematic support of the local reactionary authorities whom it incites against progressive and popular movements—a dirty business in which the CIA and its branches specialise.

Imperialism uses neo-colonialism as an instrument in perpetuating the status quo in its shrunken capitalist domain. But the real distinction between the oppressed countries and the capitalist oppressor states remains in this world, and therefore the need is greater than ever for an alliance of the peoples of the oppressed countries with the proletariat of the exploiter states, for they have a common enemy and common interests.

Lastly, neo-colonialism still cherishes the hope to regain lost ground and get even with socialism. This thesis is openly advanced by the FRG with regard to the German Democratic Republic. The aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the sallies against socialist Cuba are indicative of the same aims. But they are reaching for more than they can grasp. The German Democratic Republic, which is indissolubly linked with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries of Europe, is becoming an invincible state enjoying growing prestige. This is testified to by the diplomatic recognition extended to it by Cambodia and such Arab countries as Iraq, Syria and Sudan. The gallant Vietnamese people are winning a historic victory over the principal imperialist country of the world. As far as Cuba is concerned, it boldly and not

unsuccessfully continues to build socialism, despite all difficulties, impediments and provocations, and serves as an inspiring example to the peoples of the Third World.

We come to the conclusion that the battle against neo-colonialism should be waged with redoubled energy, that there is need for solidarity based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and for joint efforts of the exploited peoples, the proletariat in the exploiter countries, and the socialist world system.

Considering the global importance of the struggle of the Third World peoples against imperialism, the direct and indirect international implications of this struggle, the military, political and economic obstacles with which it is confronted, and the shortcomings in the organisation of its revolutionary forces, we hold that international solidarity with this struggle should be particularly active and vigorous.

The chief role in extending this solidarity is played by the socialist countries, which shoulder the burden of international responsibility and which, we are positive, will go on fulfilling their mission with honour. This solidarity is also extended by other contingents of the working-class movement both in the capitalist and the Third World countries, regardless of whether they are directly or only indirectly affected by the battle.

This solidarity rests on the proletarian principles reflecting correctly understood supreme interests of the revolutionary movement. Communists have no doubts on this score. But as far as non-Communists in the socialist, capitalist or developing countries are concerned, their solidarity should be backed up with political and ideological explanatory work indispensable for refuting the petty-bourgeois argumentation and the appeals for magnanimity and even pity, which can only disunite the peoples and give rise to feelings of distrust and even paternalism.

Solidarity as it has been manifested within our international communist and working-class movement is a concrete positive revolutionary cause which will ultimately do a good service to all peoples, including the people which is rendering assistance and thereby displaying a high degree of political consciousness.

The discharge of principal duties dictated by solidarity is needed by the colonially oppressed peoples for their complete liberation from direct colonial rule.

On the African continent, still greater assistance should be given to the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, who are waging a stubborn struggle against a mammoth coalition composed of Portugal, the United States, the NATO countries and the Republic of South Africa. Assistance should also be given to Morocco, whose territories Sakyet el Hamra, and Rio de Oro and the towns of Ceuta and Melilla are still under Franco's heel. Constant assistance is needed by the peoples of Namibia, Rhodesia, Zimbabwe and Southern Africa who are the victims of the most monstrous racism.

These embattled peoples, whose worthiest representatives assembled at Khartoum last January, expressed their profound gratitude to the international workers' movement and the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, should continue to receive assistance in most diverse forms, but first must

come, in keeping with their wishes, gratuitous arms deliveries with no strings attached.

As regards the underdeveloped countries, aid to them should be aimed at securing victory in the struggle against neo-colonialism.

Solidarity should be displayed on the moral and political plane in order to frustrate the imperialist intrigues and specifically the reactionary and anti-popular conspiracies of the type we witnessed in Ghana and such which are being prepared against Guinea.

It should be manifested in the economic sphere, where it is needed to cast off neo-colonialist patronage and overcome backwardness with the help of the above-mentioned financial and technical means; solidarity should compel the omnipotent foreign capital to retreat, inflict a defeat on the trade monopolies and help the underdeveloped countries to break the shackles of world prices dictated by imperialism.

A tremendous contribution to the achievement of these aims is being made by the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, which affirm a new style of international relations differing from those which the developed capitalist states establish with underdeveloped countries. This new style should be deepened, perfected and generalised.

It is also necessary to expose everything that is being done in the guise of "aid" by the Western leaders, who emasculate it by entrusting banks with the elimination of differences in the development levels and continuing, under the cover of this alibi, the realisation of their neo-colonialist designs.

It is generally known that aid by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and its branches boils down to the export and investment of bank capital, US capital in the first place.

It is also known that the decisions of the UN conferences in Geneva and Delhi are in danger of remaining on paper. The strength and economic superiority of the Western monopolies are an obstacle to the realisation of the principal demands advanced by representatives of the Third World.

The rostrums of such conferences can be useful from the viewpoint of propaganda and analysis of problems, but it should be borne in mind that world contradictions are misinterpreted at them. Exclusive reliance on these conferences can lead to inactivity, and in this instance it is quite appropriate to point to the danger of "parliamentary cretinism".

In so far as we reject the vague and deluding concept of formal equality, which says nothing about the real political and economic domination, and in so far as we speak about our problems in a language of class struggle, we consider that the underdeveloped countries should:

- 1) rely primarily on themselves. This means that they should nationalise their principal national wealth, above all coal and oil;
- 2) work out and implement serious plans, i. e., those which are at once revolutionary and realistic, in order to secure the liberation and independent development of their economies and elimination of social structures that hamper progress;

3) waste no time in training national personnel to end dependence on specialists from the capitalist countries, who often act, willingly or otherwise, as agents of neo-colonialism and give preference to their economic and national interests before the interests of the "aided" countries.

In view of this, co-operation with the socialist countries on the basis of international solidarity is vital and indispensable.

Precisely this spirit pervades our Party's programme for the coming years, which is aimed at completing the national democratic revolution, achieving, as quickly as possible, the economic independence of the country, and accelerating the development of its productive forces. We implement this programme in everyday struggle. At the same time we contribute to the consolidation of Morocco's contacts with the socialist countries not only along commercial and cultural lines, but also in the field of economic co-operation. We note with gratification the successes attained in recent years and the new prospects now being opened up by the encouraging results of the recent official visit of Comrade Podgorny.

These new possibilities are presenting themselves in connection with the existence of the socialist world system. Failing to utilise them means impeding progress.

Nor can one overestimate such a highly positive factor as financial assistance extended without any pre-conditions and at a very low rate of interest. This assistance epitomises the relations prevailing in the anti-imperialist community and is devoid of any paternalism. It differs fundamentally from commercial relations founded on narrow gain-seeking interests.

It should also be kept in mind that the national liberation movement in the Third World is dealing fairly telling blows at imperialism, that the victories achieved by it benefit all peoples. In this connection one should always remember what Lenin said at the 2nd Congress of Communist Organisations of the East on November 22, 1919: "Hence, the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.... It is self-evident that final victory can be won only by the proletariat of all the advanced countries of the world, and we, the Russians, are beginning the work which the British, French or German proletariat will consolidate. But we see that they will not be victorious without the aid of the working people of all the oppressed colonial nations, first and foremost, of Eastern nations" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 159, 161-162).

In connection with the exceedingly important question of the national liberation movement we would like to touch upon some aspects of the political situation in the Middle East, characterised by an irreconcilable contradiction between the Arab liberation movement and imperialism, an ally of Zionism.

A deeper look into the matter reveals that the main problem stems from the main contradiction—that between the striving of imperialism to keep its hold on the oil of the region, retain its strategic positions spearheaded against the socialist countries with the Soviet Union at the head, and check if not destroy

the Arab progressive and revolutionary movement, on the one hand, and break the adamant will of the Arab peoples for complete liberation and socialism, on the other.

The creation, at the height of the cold war 21 years ago, of the State of Israel was in conformity with this strategic line of imperialism and also with the requirements of Zionism.

Let us see, first, what role is played by oil, this black gold as it is often called, which is an irreplaceable raw material for the petrochemical industry with all its technical possibilities not yet revealed by science.

In 1968 the stocks of oil in the Middle East were assessed at 34,000 million metric tons out of the world total of 55,000 million tons.

To the Arab nations, this oil is a wealth which could constitute the basis for extensive industrialisation and ensure their rapid and independent development and a definite level of prosperity. Utilising oil in the interests of these nations is indispensable for the transition from the backward, almost feudal society to the rank of developed countries.

At the present stage, the demand to return the oil to the peoples is intertwined with the fight for complete political and economic emancipation. This demand is being implemented at a snail's pace, through bargaining on the size of payments for the exploitation of oil deposits, and these deals, passing from one stage to another, do not transcend the imperialist bounds on the way from colonialism to neo-colonialism. In contrast to the interests of the imperialist tycoons, the genuine interests of the peoples demand complete return of Arab oil, which should not be an object of plunder.

Imperialism, naturally, resists this demand, resorting to powerful economic levers. The international cartel of eight world's biggest oil monopolies determines world prices and controls the tanker fleet. In 1962 control over Middle Eastern oil was distributed as follows: the United States 57 per cent, Great Britain 35 and France 5 per cent.

The oil industry occupies a leading place among US capital investments abroad. The income from these investments grew from \$94 million in 1940 to \$1,040 million in 1955, and in 1956-59 it totalled more than \$10,000 million. According to the UN Economic Commission's report, the profits obtained by the oil companies in the Middle East equal, on the average, 80 per cent of the selling price and sometimes reach 200 to 500 per cent of invested capital, as in the case of Kuwait Oil. Let us point out, by way of comparison, that whereas the profits obtained by the oil companies in the Middle East still in the extraction stage range between 61 and 114 per cent, in Venezuela they do not exceed 20 per cent and in Western Europe, 7.2 per cent.

Thus, the importance of the Middle East is tremendous, and imperialism's defeat in that region would be irreparable for it. That is why all conflicts, all actions there smack of oil.

What the imperialists fear most of all is nationalisation of Arab oil. They shudder at the very idea of alliance between the popular forces and the national bourgeoisie in the name of economic independence. Hence their constant uneasiness and striving to have a network of paid agents, hence the policy of preventive measures against democracy which the imperialists pursue in the

Middle East more actively than anywhere else, and hence their alliance with Zionism and the use of Israel as a Trojan horse.

Israel is closely linked with the United States economically and militarily. According to *Revolution Africaine* (Algeria, April 1967), "initially the US share in the private capitalist sector constituted 32 per cent of foreign investments. Towards 1956 it had grown to 56 per cent and in 1957 reached 73 per cent. Total US aid provided in 1956 was estimated at \$4,000 million".

These financial means are all the weightier in view of the fact that Israel is a small country with a poorly developed industry. The munitions industry, working for both domestic and external markets, is the only large branch there. The bulk of the financial means received by Israel goes into the military budget. Small wonder, since even former US Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, general chairman of United Jewish Appeal, whose express purpose is to collect Zionist funds, "made it an official policy that every dollar donated to Israel should serve the erecting of a bastion against communism" (France, *Economie et politique*, July 1967).

It is known also by what stratagems the World Zionist Organisation misappropriated the tremendous sum of \$1,875 million which the FRG paid to Israel in compensation for the war damage. It was an illegal act, for Israel was not in existence at the time when the Hitlerites committed their crimes, and the compensation should have been by rights paid to the victims or at least to their direct heirs, most of whom live in Europe.

Actually, this ruse enabled the Bonn republic to provide, on US instructions, the means needed by Israel for its development and also for tightening the bonds linking the Zionist state with the imperialist machine.

Israel's military association with the United States is very close.

In the first place, there is the agreement of July 23, 1952, under which Israel accepted those clauses of the US law of 1949 which concern military deliveries, armed intervention and the use of foreign territory. The agreement found practical application during the US aggression against Lebanon and Jordan in 1958, when Israel served as a transshipment point between NATO bases and the theatre of operations.

For all intents and purposes, Israel can be regarded as an unofficial member of NATO. The United States prefers military alliances of a bloc type to bilateral agreements—on the condition, of course, of its hegemony in these aggressive pacts. Israel is known to have received from the United States Sherman and Patton tanks, Dakota transport planes, Sikorski helicopters and is expecting Phantoms. From Britain it received Centurion tanks, Meteor fighters, radar installations and submarines. France provided it with Mirage and Super-Mystere fighters, Vautour light bombers, guided anti-tank missiles and recoilless guns. All these weapons are standard NATO equipment.

There is nothing surprising, therefore, about Israel's aggressiveness which led to the bloody events of 1948, the brazen attack of 1956 supported by Great Britain and France, and the foul aggression in June 1967.

More, the Israeli generals are making brutal repression and military provocations a component of their everyday policy.

The air commando attack on the Beirut airport at the beginning of this year



(we leave aside the earlier period) was approved by Knesset by 70 votes to one, that of Comrade Vilner who is present here, and whom we warmly and fraternally salute. "The right of pursuit" proclaimed by the colonialists is constantly used against Jordan. Shelling and napalm bombing are conducted along all borders. Es Salt, Nag Hammadi, El Hammeh, Messalun, Beisan, Aqaba, Ismailia, Suez, and El Qantara are scenes of the Zionist aggressors' atrocities. In the case of Jordan alone Israel violated the ceasefire agreement 73 times in two months.

All this shows that, contrary to the assurance of its lying propaganda, Israel does not want peace. That is explained by the militarist nature of this state, whose *raison d'être* is annexation and expansion in accordance with a plan flung in the world's face back in 1948—the plan for "Great Israel", extending from the Nile to the Euphrates. Already at that time Ben Gurion wanted to seize the Jordan's western bank but could not put through his plan because of the the situation that prevailed in the world.

In twenty-one years, aggression has helped Israel to treble its territory at the expense of the Arab peoples. It persists in its policy of settling territories from which the native population is evicted and where settlements are being set up of people who have never lived in the region.

In July 1967, right after the seizure of new territories, Eshkol addressed the congress of the US Zionist organisation with the invitation to come and settle in Israel. "Emigration is the principal condition for turning the military and political victory into solid reality," he declared (*Le Monde*, July 22, 1967). In September of the same year General Rabin said: "The chief aim of the modern Zionist movement should be a search for new ways of intensifying emigration to Israel." Following these appeals, 14,000 immigrants arrived in Israel in the first half of 1968, and their total number for that year reached 30,000, double the 1967 figure.

But that is still a long way from the fulfilment of the Zionist aspirations, which envisage the recruitment of at least two million emigrants. These are needed to contain the 2.5 million expatriated Palestinians and to evict another million Arabs living on occupied territory.

The Zionists are guided in their actions by the following instructions formulated by Ben Gurion in 1948: "*Turning Israel into a real nation calls for increasing its population, within the shortest possible period of time, to four million.*" This aim has not been attained yet, despite Ben Gurion's commandment that "*it is sinful for a Jew not to live in Israel*".

However, Zionism carries on colonisation even with the present numerical strength of the population, which it considers insufficient. Seizing new lands and towns, Israel entrenches itself on occupied territory. Jerusalem's Arab quarter has been vacated. Under the colonialist settlement plan, 200 Jewish families will be settling there monthly from September 1969 till May 1970. Three thousand Jewish families have already filed their applications. Dozens of *kibbutzim* have sprung up on the Syrian Golan plateau, in the Gaza strip and on the western bank of the Jordan.

Dayan was unequivocal in giving this political substantiation of the colonisation: "We should create a *fait accompli* situation on occupied territories" (*Le Monde*, March 7, 1969). Eban declared, for his part: "There can be no nego-

tiation on the fate of united Jerusalem. As regards the Golan Heights, a return to the status quo ante is absolutely ruled out. Israeli presence in Sharn al Sheikh is an immutable fact" (*Le Monde*, February 6, 1969). And Eshkol affirmed shortly before his death: "We will never return either Jerusalem or the Golan Heights" (*Le Monde*, February 11, 1969).

Such is the language of Israeli statesmen and ministers. Reminiscent of Hitler's harangues, it mirrors the conquerors' aspirations, which are followed up with deeds: colonisation through seizure and annexation without any compensation.

Israel's whole policy is subordinated to an inner logic stemming from its economic and financial structure, its characteristic mode of production, militarisation of civilians, ideological indoctrination of the youth, and denial of the right to existence and other inalienable national rights of the Palestine people. The Middle East crisis cannot be resolved without regard to this all-important circumstance.

Palestine has been Arab throughout the ages. It has remained Arab, despite two centuries of European Crusaders' and four centuries of Turkish occupation. After the break-up of the Ottoman empire it became a British trust territory and now it is under the Zionist heel. But all the trials notwithstanding, its people have not lost their national identity. They waged armed struggle against British occupation, and for several years now they have been fighting Zionist terror.

Today the resistance movement of the Palestine people has assumed open forms and gained in scope. Every day brings news about bold military operations against the invaders and mass actions in which tens of thousands of Palestinians take part. We see women and children rebuffing the Zionist soldiery, and this, as is always the case with a popular resistance movement, testifies to a considerable qualitative level of its fighting capacity, enthusiasm and mobilisation. The Palestine resistance movement has progressed not only quantitatively but also in respect to its structure and degree of unity. Proceeding from the experience of other resistance movements, specifically in our country, and considering the exceedingly difficult conditions existing in Palestine, we can draw the conclusion that the Palestine resistance movement has entered a decisive period of its history and that it is of vast importance for the future of Palestine and of the entire region.

Of course, the Palestine resistance movement is not free from weaknesses and from the influence of harmful trends of opportunist as well as Leftist, adventurist varieties. No resistance or liberation movement has ever been able to avoid such phenomena. But the main thing is that the advanced forces stand firm and carry out their mission in the movement and do not act like onlookers lecturing from the sidelines. In these circumstances the Arab Communists, who should be and are a component of the Arab liberation movement, must combat any tendency to bow to the enemy or make a compromise, cut short any extremist deviation and prevent any adventurist act which can only play into the Zionists' and imperialists' hands. An advantage which our scientific world outlook gives us is that it teaches us to take into account all aspects of the matter, to undertake this or that step with an eye to the actual correlation of forces, to employ both direct armed action and political and diplomatic moves.

It would be a fatal mistake for us Arab Communists, a mistake we will never commit, to keep aside from the resistance movement of the Palestine and other Arab peoples on the plea that it is tinged with Leftist trends. Being absolutely confident that the struggle of the Palestine people is a struggle for national liberation, an anti-imperialist and sacred revolutionary struggle which is certain to be crowned with victory, we support it in every way and, like the other Arab progressive forces, strive for still greater mobilisation of our people in their actions of solidarity with the Palestine people fighting for their legitimate rights, for their freedom, for their homeland and their dignity.

Concluding this exposition, which we found it our internationalist duty to make, we want to express, from this rostrum, our most sincere and profound gratitude to the communist and working-class movement, to the socialist countries for their support, past and present, of the Arab peoples in their struggle against aggression, for the right to a free life. We express particularly warm thanks to the Soviet Union, which has always been at our side and not for a moment stopped rendering us military and economic as well as diplomatic assistance.

Dear comrades, the question of unity of the international communist and working-class movement and of all the revolutionary forces of the world has been a question of principle since the very inception of our movement. We have been confronted with numerous problems, there have been divergences, but the opportunist or adventurist factions have been invariably rebuffed and their place has been taken by healthy, truly revolutionary forces. Throughout its history the communist movement has been posing and solving the problem of unity in conjunction with its concrete political activity. In recent years grave blows have been inflicted on our unity and the present state of things seriously disquiets us, because it prejudices the development of our revolutionary movement.

We fully realise that we are a component of the international workers' movement, with all ensuing rights and duties. We have suffered morally from the split and experienced its consequences. This, however, has not hampered our development, but difficulties still exist, we encounter them everywhere, particularly in the Third World, where they prevent internal unity and alliance with the international communist and working-class movement.

We are all fighting for unity, we are interested in it and we advocate it. This obliges us to approach this problem objectively, to exert the necessary efforts, to make sacrifices dictated by our ideals, our doctrine, our responsibility to the peoples and mankind.

As we see it, unity is needed for three basic reasons:

1. The Marxist teaching has been further elaborated and deepened by Lenin in the course of revolutionary practice. Lenin struck a devastating blow at all kinds of liquidationist, Leftist, opportunist, Trotskyist, anarchist and nationalistic trends which tried to distort Marx's teaching. Today we are equipped with a sharpened theory which is being constantly enriched and which provides answers to questions that arise before us.

2. Socialism has won. It has achieved practical successes in all spheres, that of international relations included, and scored political successes in the eyes of

the peoples. These remarkable achievements are concrete proof of the correctness of the theory and practice of socialism.

3. Imperialism has its mainstay in the United States of America, which brazenly declares its striving to crush socialism, resorts to arms and subversion against it, and organises most repugnant crimes against the peoples and especially against Communists in all parts of the world. Besides, it is bent on engineering a split, and the present absence of unity benefits it and harms the socialist countries, the oppressed nations and the international proletariat.

Thus, the arguments in favour of our unity are serious and allow no delay.

First and foremost, we must be on guard against remaining disunited and putting up with the absence of unity, and against the hardening and deepening of the split. And this is bound to happen and gravely injure our cause if we limit ourselves to putting on record the absence of unity, reconcile ourselves with the discomfiture of previous actions or rest content with the status quo.

Without doubt, only our joint actions can restore and strengthen unity.

We hold that our Parties should undertake efforts to conduct a patient search and analysis and elucidate the real causes of the divergences in understanding the uneven development of the socialist countries and Communist Parties, development which takes place in different economic and cultural conditions.

We must resolutely abide by the principle of comradely discussions and talks in order to remove the existing frictions and definitely give up mutual recriminations, not allowing ourselves to succumb to changes of mood and feelings of false pride.

As our Main Document points out, we should strive to ensure observance and consolidation of democratic principles in relations between fraternal Parties, which are responsible to the working class and people of their countries and which should not be subjected to interference in their affairs. There should be genuine equality of Parties, regardless of their strength and conditions of struggle or the geographical position of the countries represented by them, which does not rule out differences in the degree of their responsibility.

Our Parties should be fully aware of their responsibility internationally, which presupposes unqualified defence of both the proletariat as a whole and of the proletariat of each country and unconditional solidarity with the embattled peoples and all fighters against imperialism and reaction, for national emancipation, progress, democracy, socialism and peace. Solidarity should be extended even to those with whom there is no full agreement, and it should develop, so to say, naturally, without being asked for.

Our unity can be affirmed and consolidated only on the basis of proletarian internationalism, which is one of the principal traits of every Communist and Workers' Party. And internationalism can on no account co-exist with anti-Sovietism.

Indeed, one cannot proclaim one's service to socialism and at the same time wage a struggle against the country which has been the first to build it and which is the pivot of the socialist world system.

One cannot declare that one fights imperialism, while aiming blows at those who are shaking its foundations with their resolute actions.

One cannot claim one's allegiance to the cause of international socialism and at the same time vilify the Party which accomplished the first proletarian revolution—the Great October Socialist Revolution.

One cannot speak about one's solidarity with the oppressed peoples and at the same time slander and try to weaken their most devoted friend and their most reliable and consistent ally.

We, for our part, have been and will go on fighting against any anti-Sovietism, whatever its form and origin. And doing so we are convinced that we remain loyal to our principles and our traditions and serve the cause of the revolution.

Proceeding from the same positions, our Party regards it as a matter of honour to strengthen international links with all the fraternal Parties without exception, with all the revolutionary forces, and discharge its international duties. It opposes any manifestations of chauvinism and condemns narrow-minded nationalism, that should not be confused with the patriotism that inspires us and which is a source of our strength and pride.

In addition to these internal means, we believe that the efforts to help the revolutionary forces the world over and to eliminate distinctions in development levels where they are most pronounced, will also contribute to the solution of the problem of disagreements.

Lastly, the anti-imperialist struggle, which should unite the fraternal Parties in a single battle, will deprive imperialism of the possibility to engage in its divisive work.

In our view, certain efforts in the direction of mutual understanding and reconciliation have already been undertaken, and these should be accompanied by the consolidation of our fraternity through greater solidarity and joint struggle for the unity of our movement, an indispensable condition for final victory over the imperialist enemy.

Dear comrades, we support the idea of holding bilateral, multilateral, regional and other meetings as is stated in our Main Document, to enable fraternal Parties to exchange opinions on the major problems of our epoch.

It is self-evident that we will gain much if we make a deeper study of the various aspects of the national liberation movement, the problems of economic backwardness, and other problems confronting the Third World, such as the rapid growth of the population in our countries while it is slowing down in the industrially developed countries. It would be advisable to state our views on this problem on the political plane, for to this day every Party has its own opinion, and differences of opinion cause a great deal of misunderstanding, because the local or general criteria from which this or that Party proceeds are not known.

The attitude towards religion, too, is one of those theoretical problems that require solution, give rise to great debates and lead to new conclusions. These problems have arisen out of the real situation existing in different countries and reflect a more correct approach to national peculiarities and at the same time abandonment of certain positions connected with a mechanistic interpretation of materialism. Until now, as is noted in our Document as well, interest has been shown primarily in Christianity and especially Catholicism. We should

not ignore other religions, at least such important ones from the viewpoint of their influence as, for instance, the Moslem religion.

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about our Preparatory Committee's proposal regarding the holding of an anti-imperialist congress. We fully support this proposal.

Such a congress will give a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist struggle. A new field of activity will open before the Communist and Workers' Parties; the national liberation movements will have the benefit of manifestations of broader and more powerful proletarian solidarity; the peoples will see more clearly that they are not alone, they will find their true brothers in struggle and this will inspire them to new victories.

Such a congress, which will work out a common strategy of the world revolutionary forces and strengthen the alliance and co-operation of the working-class and the national liberation movements, will be an historical event of tremendous significance.

It goes without saying that the holding of such a congress presupposes solution of a great deal of complex problems. This is not an easy task, but it is quite feasible.

We consider that the preparation of this congress should be collective in all its stages, that we should avoid any unilateral decisions, treat our partners as equals and keep in mind that what is involved here is not some momentary measures, for before us lies a long road along which we should march, shoulder to shoulder, towards our common aims: complete liberation and socialism.

Our Party submits the following concrete proposals:

1. To appoint right now, before we depart, a group of several fraternal Parties and instruct them to establish contact with some of the anti-imperialist forces of the three continents.

2. This group and these forces could jointly address all the anti-imperialist forces with the proposal to organise a preliminary meeting to discuss the idea and the conditions for the convocation of the world anti-imperialist congress.

3. The preliminary meeting would issue an appeal to take part in the congress which will be open to all those wishing to attend, and appoint a preparatory committee.

It is in our interest to make our maximum contribution to the work of this first congress of its kind so as to ensure its success.

Dear comrades, next year we will celebrate the 100th birth anniversary of Lenin.

History has never known such a man, who could tackle such stupendous tasks that Lenin tackled, a man who accomplished so much that by his birth centenary his name has become known to all mankind and is reverently pronounced as the symbol of liberation.

Lenin opened a new chapter of history. He gave the peoples a possibility to attain liberation, he paved the way for the building of socialism.

Lenin was a brilliant continuator of the cause of Marx and Engels. He gave it practical embodiment in the tremendously difficult conditions of tsarism, creating an advanced Russian Communist Party. Under his bold and confident

leadership this Party of a new type not only powerfully stimulated the world revolutionary movement, but became the founder of the world's first socialist state.

Basing himself on the experience of revolutionary actions, socialist construction and anti-imperialist struggle, Lenin forged for the peoples a weapon of unparalleled power—the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The Soviet Union's gigantic development, the emergence of new socialist states, the rise of the national liberation movement, the disintegration of the colonial system, the intensification of the struggle of the working class all over the world—all this is an illustration of the victories of Lenin's cause, and all Communists, all revolutionaries can be proud of the positions they have won.

Lenin was the builder of the unity of the international communist and working-class movement. And new steps towards the restoration and consolidation of our unity will be the most fitting way to pay homage to his memory, while preservation of the cohesion of the communist movement to which he devoted all his energies, will be the most vivid manifestation of loyalty to his cause.

Dear comrades, it is our sincere wish that the celebration of the Lenin birth centenary should not be merely a solemn ceremony, but that it should also signify the rebirth and restoration of the unity of the communist movement, of its alliance with the entire world revolutionary movement.

## ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Mexican Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

The long and fruitful collective effort of Communist and Workers' Parties in preparing this Meeting is a most valuable contribution to unity of the international communist movement and united action of all the anti-imperialist forces.

Speaking for the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party and its members, I convey fraternal greetings to all delegates, and a message of gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, for their splendid organisation of the preparation and conduct of our Meeting.

To the extent that it strengthens united action of the world's Communists and creates optimal conditions for continued discussion of the numerous issues that are part of the realities of today, it will, our Party is convinced, prove an important landmark in the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace and socialism.

In this context, it has to be said that the Preparatory Sessions, and the Meeting itself, enabled all Parties fully to express their views and share in the discussion and framing of the documents.

Our Party has from the very outset maintained that if the Meeting is to attain the aims we have set for it, we should not condemn the policy of any Party, whether present here or not. We continue to abide by that opinion. We publicly criticized the position taken by other Parties when we believed them to be erroneous or damaging to the movement. But we feel that raising these questions at our Meeting will aggravate existing differences, without bringing us nearer to our goals. Only if it abides by its express purpose, namely, defining the urgent tasks of the joint struggle against imperialism, will the Meeting promote unity of the Communist Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces.

Thanks to the efforts of all the Parties on the Preparatory Committee, this Meeting has before it the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", "Appeal in Defence of Peace" and the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin". Our delegation approves all three documents. We share the justified pride of all Communists in marching under the banner



of the great Lenin, and we are preparing festivities to mark the centenary.

In the course of the preparatory discussions, our Party stated that the Main Document ought to contain only the general position of the Parties represented at this Meeting. Accordingly, we urged maximum effort to frame a Document that could be adopted unanimously. This, we believed, was possible inasmuch as there is a far larger area of agreement than disagreement. We further proceeded on the understanding that the principle of democratic centralism does not apply to the international movement. Consequently, it is not a matter of decisions being adopted by majority vote, but rather of finding ways and means of strengthening our unity. No Party can be made to accept views it does not share. Unanimity is, therefore, the only reasonable principle in adopting collective documents of the international communist movement.

Nonetheless, considering that, essentially, the Main Document is identical with the position of the Mexican Communist Party, our delegation approves it. But we continue to maintain that it should be, and can be, improved by incorporating some of the amendments made in the Preparatory Committee and at the Meeting itself. We shall discuss these amendments in the Drafting Committee.

Our Party shares the views expressed here by many comrades on the fundamental and decisive trends of world development over the past ten years. And the record of these years shows that, for all the complexity of the struggle between the forces of socialism and social progress, on the one hand, and those of imperialism and reaction, on the other, world development is determined by the forces ranged against imperialism and working for socialist reconstruction of society.

All the peoples suffering from imperialist oppression and local reaction can draw an optimistic perspective from the present balance of forces. For it provides ample evidence that imperialism is no longer omnipotent. True, it remains the chief barrier to social progress and uses every conceivable method to maintain itself in power. But there are forces in today's world that can effectively combat imperialism and vanquish it once and for all.

Imperialism's counter-attacks and partial victories in some areas have not, and cannot, alter the general progressive course of world development.

On the contrary, all the experience of the anti-imperialist struggle in recent years makes it perfectly obvious that the revolutionary forces have greater opportunities for fresh victories in different parts of the world. Wherever the peoples are united under a revolutionary leadership, supported by the socialist camp, and enjoy the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces, victory is assured. That follows from the record of the ten years since the victory of the Cuban revolution, which ushered in the stage of socialist revolution on the American continent. Invasion by mercenaries, economic and diplomatic boycott, intrigue and subversion—they have all been used in vain attempts to bring the heroic Cubans to their knees. And let it not be forgotten that the revolutionary island is but 90 miles from imperialism's biggest and most aggressive power.

And do we not have further proof in the immortal fortitude of the Vietnamese

people? Fighting under the leadership of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, they are victoriously repelling the onslaught of an arrogant power acting as the world gendarme.

The American aggressors have hurled their vast war machine against Vietnam. They are using biological and chemical weapons to lay waste to whole communities. Yet, they face inevitable and complete defeat. More, US imperialism's moral and political isolation is becoming more pronounced in every part of the world. New sections of the people, notably in the United States itself, are condemning the obsolete imperialist system, that millstone on human progress.

Unshakable determination to fight imperialism and its puppets, the heroism of the people, the correct combination of military struggle with political organisation of the masses, and the material, political, economic and military assistance of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries—these are the factors that spell defeat for the American intervention.

These resounding victories must be attributed to the new conditions created by the growth and strengthening of the socialist world system, the mounting influence of the workers' movement in the developed capitalist countries and of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement in countries still under the imperialist yoke. But they are also due to the dissemination of socialist ideas, and to the more articulate anti-imperialist sentiments of large sections of the world's population.

West German imperialism and its policy of revenge in Europe are a growing menace to peace. United popular action for collective security, as proposed by the European Communist Parties, and by the Budapest Consultative Meeting of the Warsaw Treaty nations, indicate the path to eliminating this seat of aggression.

The intrepid independence fight of the Arab peoples, which has the solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and of the peoples of the world, will foil imperialist plans to overthrow progressive Arab governments and will re-establish their position in the Middle East.

Imperialism is resorting to more diversified, and more aggressive, techniques in interfering in the internal affairs of other nations. Armed intervention, coups d'état, cloak-and-dagger operations and provocations are used singly or in combination. This means that Communists must advance the struggle for self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

Experience over the past few years has made it crystal clear that success in the anti-imperialist struggle largely depends on our movement's ability to unite and concentrate all its forces in areas where social crises make it possible to deal imperialism decisive blows.

The salient feature of the present stage is that, in a number of countries, revolution is becoming a practical problem. Ruling-class policy is being thrown into crisis; mass resentment is coming to the surface in stormy, often quite unexpected, actions. The central factor, therefore, is the ability of the revolutionary forces to present a realistic alternative to capitalist power and unite all trends that express popular discontent in the fight for a new power capable of leading the people to socialism.

This has a very special relevance for Latin America. The past ten years have seen major battles by the working class, peasantry, students, democratic-minded intellectuals and other sections of the population. In some countries things even reached the point of armed struggle. Here, too, we have evidence that revolutionary conditions are maturing faster than before.

New social groups are joining the revolutionary movement, thus extending its scope. The youth, and more especially the students, are vigorously combating the capitalist system and, characteristically, in the main imperialist countries. There is a change of heart among Catholics in several countries, notably Latin America and Spain. We can speak of the emergence of democratic, anti-dictatorial, even anti-capitalist, trends among the top clergy. Of no less importance are the changes now taking place in some armies, thus enlarging the patriotic, anti-imperialist element in the armed forces. The recent developments in Peru, and earlier in the Dominican Republic, bring that out fairly clearly.

True, the influx of these new elements into the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle brings with it erroneous views and methods which we Communists have to combat. But that is not the main consideration in assessing the role of these forces. The main consideration is that, objectively, they extend the revolutionary front and become allies of its principal force, which, as always, is the working class.

Another priority task is to pass from identity of views to agreed action together with democrats and opponents of imperialism of other persuasions than ours. And here we must display proper understanding of their limitations and, of course, avoid anything that smacks of a condescending attitude.

This should go hand in hand with irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, now the battle-standard of all divisive elements seeking to minimise the appeal of the achievements of communism, the economic, cultural, scientific and technical accomplishments of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the youth and the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

The Soviet Union, the country that initiated man's advance to communism and has placed its momentous gains at the service of human progress, is the bastion and chief bulwark of all peoples risen to fight imperialism, of all champions of democracy and socialism. No revolutionary movement can hope for victory without the USSR, let alone if it ranges itself against the USSR.

Comrades, the development of the revolutionary movement in different parts of the world, and in particular the growth of Communist Party authority and influence, should be seen in direct context with correct solutions of the problems which have persisted in our movement for several years now.

We believe that their emergence is not due to deviations from a set political line, not to revisionism, nor to nationalist retreat from class positions. The main cause has to be sought in a conjuncture of objective and subjective factors that require deep scientific analysis rather than superficial and spasmodic investigation.

One of the chief factors, we think, is the difficulties we experience in adapting our movement to the new conditions of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for the building of socialism.

Basically, these new conditions are due to cardinal changes that favour our movement.

The first of these is that socialism, once confined to one country which heroically repelled repeated reactionary offensives, is now a system of fourteen countries in three continents.

And the fact that these countries, previously in differing stages of economic development and with differing relations to imperialism, are, despite diverse conditions, now building socialism, confronts us with new, hitherto unknown problems, especially with regard to the ways and means of building the new society and relations between Parties and states belonging to one and the same system.

The second factor, and one that will continue to present difficulties, is the far-reaching changes within capitalism. In its traditional form, imperialism's colonial system was destroyed in a few years, and the new countries had to chart out their path into the future. Anti-capitalist movements are increasing in developed capitalist countries, with the result that broad masses of the youth and intellectuals are looking to socialism for salvation from monopoly oppression. The revolutionary movement is being extended by the influx of new forces, and this enlarges the social base of the struggle for socialism. All this makes it necessary for the Communist Parties—and this is inevitable—to find new solutions to new problems in leading the revolutionary process to victory. This, in turn, implies, above all, the ability of our Parties to bring together various trends of the revolutionary movement and overcome the prejudices of some social groups, resulting from enemy propaganda and our own mistakes.

The different conditions for building socialism, the different tasks each Party has to fulfil, and the fact that in some countries the Parties have become a major national force—all this makes it impossible, indeed unnecessary, to have a world or regional leading centre, in whatever form, of the communist movement.

In the present situation, differing viewpoints and solutions of some issues should not be considered unnatural, or harmful to our movement. On the contrary, this is the natural ground for developing relations between Communist Parties, the basis on which they can discuss their differences, work out common positions, unite, and act in concert.

However, differences are one thing, and splits quite another. Different conditions, no matter how wide, cannot justify severance of the contacts that unite Parties representing the international working class.

One of the chief reasons why differences have degenerated into an open split, we think, is violation of the norms that should guide relations of Communist and Workers' Parties. And these norms, founded on proletarian internationalism, presuppose respect of the independence of the Parties and of the socialist states, fraternal discussion of contentious questions, mutual assistance and solidarity in the face of a common foe.

Observance of these norms by all units of the communist movement is, beyond all doubt, an essential condition for restoring its unity.

There are differences which we cannot afford to hush up. And they concern questions on which the communist movement should be united. Our Party

joins with others in declaring that these questions should be subjected to open and frank discussion at appropriate conferences allowing for an exchange of views.

But united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties cannot wait until differences over one or another issue are resolved. Unity on agreed actions, joint defence of the supreme interests of socialism, and support of all peoples combating imperialism—such is the most effective way of securing the movement's unity.

We subscribe to the view put forth here by representatives of other Parties that our movement needs a deeper unity than united action. But the only road to this higher form of unity lies through united action.

Collective efforts to prevent political disputes between Parties from aggravating and causing a deepening of the split are no less important.

In our search for solutions to major problems, we must aspire to a higher type of unity, predicated on the manifold tasks and positions of the various Parties, on their high sense of duty and internationalist responsibility. Such unity would accord with the present state of the movement and, at the same time, become one of its main motive forces.

Comrades, our delegation wishes to avail itself of the presence here of representatives of most of the world's Communist Parties to draw attention to the difficult position in our country. Mexico's prisons are filled with political detainees, fighters for democracy, national sovereignty and socialism.

The main aspects of our national life reflect the reactionary policy of the ruling big bourgeoisie, which is using every means to safeguard big capitalist landownership. It has placed the public sector of the economy at the service of private monopolies; is pushing ahead to merge national capital with foreign, especially US, capital; has imposed a ruinous policy of foreign loans; retains an anti-democratic electoral system that denies the Communist Party and other democratic forces their rights.

The democratic tradition of Mexican foreign policy, the result of long years of mass pressure, is becoming a fiction.

The capitalist government stints neither effort nor money in embellishing this sombre reality. Its purpose is to mislead the people and isolate them, particularly the progressive element, from their natural allies, the socialist countries, the world working class and the liberation movement.

Capitalist development in the past thirty years has been considerable. The ruling bourgeoisie has taken advantage of this to cultivate the myth of a "Mexican miracle". The people are asked to believe that without having broken out of capitalist dependence, and developing along capitalist lines, with the big bourgeoisie in a dominant position, Mexico has overcome economic backwardness and has definitely launched on accelerated industrialisation.

That is far from the truth. For despite recent, and therefore impressive, progress, Mexico has still to contend, *basically*, with the same problems as other Latin American nations. The bonds of imperialist exploitation and dependence have not been broken—if anything, they have become tighter still. Industrial backwardness and low efficiency have not been overcome. Living standards are low and illiteracy standards appallingly high. The distance

separating Mexico from developed capitalist countries, and the benefits accruing to them from the technological revolution, has not been shortened.

In Mexico, as everywhere else in Latin America, capitalism has not eliminated any of the major underdevelopment factors. In economic, social and political structure, Mexico is an integral part of Latin America, a complex of very different countries, and shares in the struggle against imperialism and the backwardness for which it is responsible.

The popular struggle against this reactionary policy is gaining momentum. The student and mass movement that shook the country in the latter part of 1968 is the most salient expression of this growth of the democratic forces. Hundreds of thousands supported the general students' strike and the demand for release of all political prisoners, repeal of Article 145 of the Criminal Code, which classifies every manifestation of protest as "subversion", and respect of democratic freedoms. From the very outset, the Mexican Communist Party supported the students and together with other progressive groups gave resolute leadership to their fight. The overwhelming majority of student leaders supported our policy and tactics at every stage of the movement. United action produced a new solidarity between Communists and non-Party students.

Our Party was not taken in by the sprouting of ultra-Left groups in the early days of the struggle. We knew that their sectarian and utopian theories would be relegated to the background once the masses were drawn into the movement. Nor did we ever forget that differences between the Left forces, divergent appraisals of the situation, tactical differences, no matter how profound, should not be allowed to overshadow the fact that our common enemy, the government of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism, is on the Right. We continued to discuss our differences and repel attacks, but concentrated on uniting all trends involved in the struggle.

And that tactic paid off in the form of a democratic programme enabling the students to voice the demands of millions of Mexicans—workers, peasants and intellectuals—opposed to an increasingly repressive and anti-constitutional regime of the big bourgeoisie.

The Party, and more especially the Young Communist League, emerged from the struggle stronger than before. The Party gained in membership and unity; our newspaper's circulation doubled; Party influence spread to new strata.

The government resorted to outright violence in an attempt to suppress the movement: on October 2, it staged a veritable massacre in which more than a hundred were killed and several hundred wounded. Demonstrations were banned and the country was placed under what amounted to martial law.

Falling back on its insidious tactics, the government started a propaganda campaign meant to present the students' and popular democratic movement as a conspiracy of reaction and imperialism. It tried to neutralise the worldwide solidarity movement, denouncing it as an international campaign against Mexico. It failed: young people throughout the world expressed their deep solidarity with the students and people of Mexico.

We wish to express our gratitude to the fraternal Communist Parties for their effective and timely solidarity with our student and popular movement.

Acting on instructions from our Central Committee, we appeal to you, comrades, as representatives of fraternal Communist Parties, to voice your solidarity with the victims of Mexico's repressive regime. The General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union, Demetrio Vallejo, and a member of our Party's Central Committee Presidium, Valentin Campa, have been in jail for more than 10 years now. Their "crime" was leadership of the 1958 and 1959 railway strikes. The list of political prisoners includes Central Committee Presidium members Ramon Danzos Palomino and Gerardo Unzueta, Central Committee member Fernando G. Cortes, six executive members of the Young Communist League, the chairman, general secretary and many executive members of the National Democratic Student Association, and prominent personalities in the cultural field—Manuel Marcue Pardinas, Editor-in-Chief of *Politica*, Eli de Gortari, the well-known Marxist philosopher, the journalist Victor Rico Galan, the writer Jose Revueltas, and more than 100 leaders and activists of the student, workers' and peasant movements and university lecturers.

The campaign to release all political detainees, and manifestations of solidarity with Mexican democrats, is part of the world struggle against imperialism and reaction.

## KOSTAS KOLYANNIS

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Greece

Comrades,

The delegation of the Communist Party of Greece brings comradely greetings to delegates of the fraternal Parties attending this momentous international Meeting from our Central Committee and our Party, from those who continue to fight the fascist dictatorship and the military junta in prison, concentration camp and underground.

Our Party is in agreement with the propositions enunciated in the draft of the Main Document. We approve also the other documents and we are authorised by our Central Committee to append its signature. The Main Document is the result of collective analysis and creative work by nearly all the fraternal Parties represented here. It correctly assesses the changes in the international situation over the past years, generalises the rich experience of anti-imperialist struggle and unerringly indicates its orientation. The Main Document can become the basis for united action of all the anti-imperialist forces against imperialism, for peace, national independence and social progress.

In the view of our delegation, the principal propositions of the Main Document are corroborated by our practical work and by our people's irreconcilable struggle against the imperialist onslaught and imperialist intervention. Our Central Committee has approved the Main Document because it is conceptually correct, based on Marxism-Leninism and imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The drafting of the Main Document, our Party believes, is a major success for the international communist movement. And our Central Committee is confident that its approval will not mark the end of our persevering efforts for still closer unity, but merely successful completion of the first stage in the advance to that goal, a starting point and a firm basis for continued development of unity of the international communist movement and joint anti-imperialist struggle. And we feel sure that the movement will make much wider use of its vast potentialities for a broad offensive against imperialism and the forces of reaction, fascism and war, thereby accelerating the attainment of our goals.

The present complex international situation, the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism and its continued machinations in various parts of the world,



the use of more subtle methods against the communist movement—all this makes it imperative to cement our unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades, the Greek people and their revolutionary movement are going through a trying ordeal. The coup of more than two years ago was encouraged and supported by the most aggressive faction of American imperialism, and carried out in conformity with NATO plans providing for the use of NATO weapons. Since then Greece has been under a military-fascist dictatorship, led by a tight group of officers, agents of Greek and foreign monopolies and of the US secret services, whose interests they serve. Behind this Colonels' junta stand the aggressive forces of the United States which, together with the Bonn revenge-mongers, are a clear menace to peace in the centre of Europe. The United States started and is waging war against the heroic Vietnamese people, encouraging and supporting Israel's aggression against the Arab peoples, engineering provocations against Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, organising coups d'état in Africa, Latin America and other areas.

Greece has always, and particularly in recent years, been the object of imperialist pressure and aggressiveness. US imperialism's special interest in our country is part of a much broader plan to keep the crucial East Mediterranean area under its control by every and any means. For here US imperialism has vast economic and strategic interests and is anxious to use Greece as an operational base against Arab and socialist countries. The US imperialists assumed that, by snuffing out Greek freedom and installing a military junta, they could rely on Greece as a main link in their international strategy of aggression. And that the US imperialists have a special interest in the area is evidenced by the frequent NATO land and naval manoeuvres on Greek territory.

Fully aware of all these factors, our Party has always, both in its programme and conferences, singled out as a priority task organisation of an anti-imperialist democratic front to extricate the country from the imperialist stranglehold.

Our people, our progressive forces, of which the Communist Party is the vanguard, are fighting a grim and costly battle to rid the country of this regime of venal reactionary forces imposed on it by armed force and foreign imperialist interference against the will of the people. By dint of hard struggle, in 1963 our people were able to overthrow the reactionary Right forces and pave the way for democratic development. This was the pre-condition for more effective struggle to end imperialist dependence and move ahead to social progress.

The democratisation process, of which the country was in such dire need, was in the interests of the people and the nation. That is why it encountered such adamant resistance from Greek and foreign reaction. The process was cut short on April 21, 1967, when the military-fascist dictatorship came to power. The coup fully revealed the role of American imperialism as the world gendarme. The democratic forces failed to repel the plans of the plutocratic oligarchy by creating conditions that could considerably hamper the reactionary takeover, though the relation of political forces and public sentiment favoured such action. But the leaders of bourgeois-democratic parties, especially the Centre Union then in power, were blinded by their anti-communism and refused to co-operate with the Left to ward off the fascist danger. Instead, they rigged

up a compromise with the reactionary Right and the Court, virtually surrendering to them. And this despite the fact that the Centre Union's mass following was prepared and eager to co-operate and fight with the Left. The Communist Party, its leadership weakened by the emergence and activities of a Right-wing opportunist group in the Central Committee, did not act in the very best way. Our Party proved unprepared adequately to cope with the situation and organise decisive resistance to the reaction.

The Colonels' coup destroyed the very concept of freedom and instituted a reign of merciless terror against the democratic forces. The junta has murdered, tortured, jailed or banished to concentration camp thousands of patriots. Its main blow was, of course, directed against Party members and activists, the most consistent fighters against any tyranny.

Among the thousands of Communists and other patriots kept behind prison bars, on the death islands and in concentration camps, are many members of our Central Committee. A large number of women are in a special concentration camp.

This May alone, many anti-fascists were tried by military tribunals and sentenced to inhumanly long terms of imprisonment. The list includes Grigoris Farakos, a member of the Party Political Bureau. What is happening in Greece corroborates the Main Document's proposition—though imperialism as a world system has not grown stronger, its aggressiveness has, and it finds manifestation now in one, now in another part of the world. This means that we must strengthen the anti-imperialist unity of the socialist countries and of the world communist and workers' movement.

The present regime, a faithful servant of the most aggressive elements of US imperialism, the Pentagon and its secret services, has become a centre of provocation against neighbouring countries. This refers above all to the national interests of the Cypriot people. There is a constant menace to Cyprus, constant plots to impose on it decisions that would further US and NATO imperialist aims, with all the consequences this would have for Cypriot freedom, and for peace in this part of the world.

The fascist junta has no support among the people. Practically all political leaders have come out against it. Popular resistance has multiplied in these past two years, and differences within the junta have become more pronounced. The resistance movement is spreading to the army, from which more than 2,000 officers have been expelled. A short while ago there were fresh arrests of senior-rank active-duty and reserve officers. The junta knows that its position is anything but secure. Objective conditions are arising for the emergence of new popular Resistance organisations and for a broad nation-wide anti-dictatorship and anti-imperialist front.

Our Party exposes all plans which, in effect, do not envisage removal of the dictatorship, but merely its replacement by another form of power that would continue junta policy. We are concentrating on bringing together all the forces, all old and new anti-dictatorial organisations, all enemies of the regime, into a united front on a minimum programme for restoring the people's freedoms.

Our experience and an appraisal of the situation lead us to conclude that

our people will, very likely, have to resort also to armed struggle to topple the dictatorship and re-establish democratic rights.

Illegal Party organisations in the bigger cities are at the very heart of the fight against the regime, and similar organisations are being formed in the provinces. Though they have to face all the severities of a police regime, they are well to the fore in building resistance organisations and giving leadership to the people in their fight against the junta. The opportunist group of splitters now conducting an open campaign against the Party, has been condemned by Party members and activists and is being increasingly isolated.

Collective and Greek experience proves that if the Party is to discharge its mission and play its role in marshalling the forces opposed to the regime, it must uphold its ideological and organisational unity against all deviations and consistently apply the Marxist-Leninist principles of its policy, organisation and activity. We must firmly oppose opportunism, whether from Right or "Left", which at one time did so much damage to our Party and movement.

We agree with the Main Document on the question of combining national tasks with international duty. In common with all other Marxist-Leninist Parties, our Party is accountable to our working class and people, but also to the international working class. Fulfilment of our internationalist duty implies, above all, defence of proletarian internationalism, firm and unswerving solidarity with the socialist countries, with all fraternal Parties and peoples fighting imperialism. But the greatest internationalist duty of all, our Party holds, is defence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Their history, their sacrifices, their might and consistent revolutionary internationalism are a source of inspiration and strength for the Communists and peoples of the world in their battle for freedom and independence.

Acting from positions of nationalism, anti-Sovietism and chauvinism, the Mao Tse-tung group has jettisoned the principles to which we adhere and no longer has anything in common with proletarian internationalism. It is trying to undermine and split international communist unity. Its provocations and conflicts on the Soviet frontier objectively play into the hands of mankind's sworn enemy, US imperialism, and encourage its provocations and aggression. Mao Tse-tung's policy weakens the anti-imperialist struggle, hampers the heroic fight of the Vietnamese and other peoples and does damage to the Chinese people and their Republic.

Comrades, in this grim and difficult struggle, the Greek people have the support of the great Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the CPSU, which, in keeping with their long tradition, are rendering our embattled people limitless assistance.

Solidarity with and support for our people, so generously offered by the socialist countries and fraternal Parties, by the whole of progressive mankind, is of inestimable value. And we take this occasion to renew our expressions of gratitude for this support.

Our Party holds that unity must not be confined to appending our signatures to the Document; it must find expression in practice. Our Party believes that all methods should be employed to study common problems and exchange information and experience as a means of strengthening international com-

munist unity. We support the proposal of Comrade Brezhnev and other speakers for periodical conferences to discuss theoretical problems. In this respect, the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* could be of much help.

Comrades, now as always, the Communist Party of Greece is fighting with utter devotion, making many sacrifices, devoting all its energies to serving the people. It considers it a supreme internationalist duty to facilitate, to the best of its ability, unity of the international communist movement. For such unity is the best requisite of success in the anti-imperialist struggle and in our own struggle for freedom, national independence and social progress.

In conclusion, I wish to convey our gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for all that they have done to prepare this Meeting. We are also grateful to the CPSU for its warm hospitality and for its excellent arrangements for this Meeting.

**ROBERTO SANTOS**  
**Head of Delegation,**  
**Nicaraguan Socialist Party**

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the Party of Nicaraguan Communists, conveys on behalf of its Central Committee warm fraternal greetings to the Communist and Workers' Parties present here and to those Marxist-Leninist Parties which for reasons not connected with their tested loyalty to international proletarian unity and solidarity, are unable to take part in this Meeting, which is of historical importance not only for the communist movement but for all revolutionary, progressive and consistently anti-imperialist forces of our time.

The Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Nicaraguan proletariat is particularly grateful to the CPSU, the HSWP and other fraternal Parties which have performed tremendous, inestimable work to create the most favourable conditions for the preparation and successful culmination of the historical phase we are witnessing these days in the capital of the first socialist state.

We are also fraternally grateful to all the detachments of Marxists-Leninists which, working with enthusiasm and with a sense of genuine socialist internationalism, participated in the preparations and contributed invaluable to the drafting and further elaboration of the documents now submitted for final consideration to this great international forum of the communist and working-class movement.

Comrades, several days ago, taking into consideration the importance of the proposals submitted by the Preparatory Committee to the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' Parties, our Political Commission convened an extraordinary enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee to determine the Party's stand on the draft documents adopted by the Preparatory Committee: the Main Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces", the Appeal in Defence of Peace, the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" and the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin".

The plenum of the Nicaraguan Communists unanimously decided to approve the general propositions of the Main Document, which had been thoroughly

studied and to which some comments—very important, in our opinion—had been offered.

The drafts of the other three documents were also unanimously approved at that important assembly of Nicaraguan Communists.

The plenum authorised its delegates to the Meeting to sign the documents, indicating our Party's approval of their content. It also instructed its delegation to help secure the unanimous approval of the documents by the delegates of the Communist and Workers' Parties represented at this Meeting.

We want to make clear that in speaking about the remarks made by our enlarged extraordinary plenum regarding the draft Main Document we have in mind not divergences with regard to formulations and the content, but omissions which we think have been made.

To be more concrete, let us take the passage which develops the thesis about the character, content and main trends of our epoch and about the three main revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism. It contains a detailed analysis of the first part of the thesis, but the passage which expounds the idea of the "third force" or, to be more exact, refers to the national liberation movement and primarily the Latin American national liberation movement, appears to us to be rather superficial.

Possibly the blame for this rests largely with us, Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America, for we did not devote sufficient attention to the obvious need of formulating and thoroughly elaborating, through bilateral, regional and continental meetings, a general strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle and of joint action by our Parties and the other anti-imperialist forces of Latin America. This, however, cannot justify the inadequate treatment of the given theme in the draft.

On the other hand, it seems to us that the problems will not disappear or become less sensitive if we simply try to evade them. In our view, we cannot influence living reality in a positive way by keeping silent about it. One cannot shut out the sun with one's hand. We seem to forget sometimes that Marxism-Leninism has given us an excellent and effective weapon for surmounting difficulties. We Communists should never be afraid of using this weapon, we should never give it up. That weapon is *constructive criticism and self-criticism*.

For this reason, despite the objections to such procedure, our delegation wants to say a few words about what we think are issues of principle, issues which are treated too timidly or passed over in silence in the draft. We do so because we consider it our right and duty to act that way here, for we are in our own family and not in the field of battle against alien ideologies. If we Communists cannot speak here plainly out of fear of offending anyone, then we think we cannot do so anywhere.

To us Nicaraguan Communists the question of the attitude of the contingents of our movement towards the Party of Lenin, the CPSU, towards the first bastion of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union, is a question of principle. We cannot understand why at a time when we, moved by fraternal revolutionary gratitude, assign to socialist Cuba and its Party the merited place of vanguard in the Latin American revolutionary movement, the first detachment

laying the foundations of socialism in our continent, there are people who try, sometimes in an impudent form, to deny the vanguard role played by rights in the world communist and revolutionary movement by the great Party of Lenin, the Party which ushered in a new era in mankind's history by the glorious October Revolution, and built the first proletarian state, the first socialist fatherland, which has for more than 50 years steadfastly fulfilled the internationalist duty placed upon it by history.

That is more than enough for us Nicaraguan Communists to regard the country and Party of Lenin as the tried and tested vanguard of the world communist and revolutionary movement.

Exposure and condemnation of any splitting activity, whatever its origin, in our movement is a matter of principle for us.

Our international duty commands us to wage a resolute struggle against anti-Sovietism emanating from the imperialist enemy. Our repudiation of this despicable campaign should be all the greater if its source lies within our movement itself.

Also a matter of principle for us is defence, preservation and development of the successes of socialism by *all necessary means*. Only by doing so can we remain consistent, having proclaimed that "defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists".

And is condemnation of Rightist deviations in our movement less a matter of principle than condemnation of Leftist deviations, particularly at the present moment when, we hold, Rightist deviations are not less dangerous than Leftist ones?

These and other observations were made by our extraordinary enlarged plenum when discussing the Main Document, and we see it as our duty to mention them here.

However, taking into account the motives and considerations that served as the basis for the Preparatory Committee in drafting the Main Document, our Central Committee, as we have said earlier, unanimously approved the draft in the form in which the Committee had submitted it to us, regarding the Document as "a solid success, a step forward in the fight for the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers' movement, the best guarantee of consistent, powerful and effective action by all the anti-imperialist forces of our time".

But, comrades, facts are stubborn. That is why, contrary to our intentions, we, like others, felt compelled, to our deep regret, to raise some questions here, for they, in our opinion, concern principles.

In his speech the head of the CPSU delegation, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, exposed the new anti-communist and anti-Soviet manoeuvres of the Mao group. How can anyone call in question the restraint, firmness and Marxist-Leninist consistency of all the actions of the comrades from the CPSU and the Soviet government in the face of the provocations on the part of the present leadership of the CPC? We think that inconceivable. If so, should the communist movement content itself with the role of a mere onlooker? We consider that adventurist positions deserve principled criticism. Moreover, we ask, for how long can those who are daily betraying the movement in their

practical activity be regarded as members of this movement? What we mean here is the practical activity of the Mao Tse-tung clique and not the Chinese Communists or the Chinese people.

Comrades, we are convinced that it would be a grave error to identify the specific conditions in which our Party is working with the general conditions of the whole communist movement. It stands to reason that, while being members of the great communist family, we should reckon with the special conditions in which we are fulfilling our revolutionary duty, and should live up, to the necessary degree, to the demands of the actual situation in which our Party is working.

This situation is characterised, first and foremost, by the anti-democratic and anti-communist repressive activity of the dynastic dictatorial regime of Somoza. The repressions were intensified after the advent to power on May 1, 1967, of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle. An upsurge of popular discontent was a logical consequence of the openly anti-national, anti-popular policy in all areas of social life.

One of the natural reasons for the intensification of repressions was the growth of our Party's capacity for action and also the actions—premature, in our view—of groups of young patriots. They were impelled by good intentions, but their ultra-Left positions and absolutisation of armed struggle do not correspond to the present concrete reality of our country.

In recent years, regrettably, our Party has been unable to devote itself wholly to the Nicaraguan people's anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and anti-dictatorial struggle, being compelled to engage a part of its forces in a fight to eliminate Right-wing opportunism in our own ranks, which had for many years distorted the Marxist-Leninist character of our organisation and weakened its capacity for action, rousing distrust towards us among considerable political and social strata of our people. Admittedly, the actions of Right opportunism in our Party had helped pave the way for the shift of some comrades to Leftist positions, and we were compelled again to divert part of our forces to combat the ultra-Left elements who tried to split our ranks by subversive work in which they used our struggle against Right opportunism as a cover.

Fortunately, the historic plenum of April 23, 1967, which we called Leninist, routed Right opportunism, condemned the ultra-Left positions and laid the groundwork for the consistent revolutionary Marxist-Leninist activity of our Party.

We know that these trends will not disappear for good so long as their gnosiological and class roots continue to exist, but we can say that in our country, owing to the consistent work of our Party, the working people are offering these trends ever stronger resistance.

It is interesting to note also that in this struggle Right opportunism and the ultra-Left deviation use the same labels to vilify our Party and its leaders: "CIA agents", "modern revisionists", "Trotskyites", "pseudo-intellectuals", and the like, chanting them in unison.

For the past two years outstanding leaders and functionaries of our Party have been languishing in the prisons of the dictatorship. I alone have managed, observing the strictest security rules, to leave the country and come here,



whereas the other two comrades who were to have accompanied me, are now jailed in the infamous La Aviacion prison. Because of the scarcity of our contacts with the rest of the world we do not have the benefit of the support and solidarity of many fraternal Parties.

We will never rest content with our achievements. Indeed, something will always remain unfulfilled, or half-fulfilled. We have still to rid ourselves of the many ills inherited from the twenty-year period of influence of Social-Democratic liberalism. And we have to exert considerable efforts and observe discipline to become accustomed to new forms of work. We all know very well what force of habit can do.

The shortage of cadres has frequently hampered our work in specific areas. In emergencies we have often been compelled to extemporise in promoting new cadres, which sometimes resulted in poor work.

Consistently pursuing our policy of many-sided and multiform struggle, we have opened new fronts involving considerable additional efforts and expenditures and this, in turn, called for the effective militant solidarity of all our brothers.

Summing up the results of our activity, it can be said that the revolutionary trade union movement and the organised struggle of the rural working people, who doubtless constitute the main force of the movement for the social and economic demands of the masses in our country, are directed by our Party.

The country-wide protest against the high cost of living, the fight for the release of political prisoners, in defence of constitutional rights, and most of the local actions for better conditions and for progress—all these are aspects of the mass political movement guided by us. It seems, however, that we still have to find the necessary forms and master the methods of work which would make our efforts fruitful in respect to the women's movement and the organisation of permanent committees for large-scale actions over the issues of international solidarity and the fight for peace. We have partially made up for this deficiency by including these tasks in the general practical and political work of the Party.

Political work among the intelligentsia is a new aspect of our activity, but we have already attained a certain measure of success in it.

In the work among the youth and students we came up against certain difficulties, which emerged approximately four years ago when, as a result of the divisive and openly anti-communist actions of some ultra-Left youth groups, the democratic and revolutionary forces lost the student movement to the Social-Christian Right. However, we have gradually restored the lost positions, and in the coming academic year the correlation of forces is very likely to change in our favour. Our Party's understanding of the problems of the youth has proved decisive in this process of recovery of positions.

The perseverance of our Party in pursuing the tasks of uniting all progressive forces in the fight against the military dictatorship and imperialism is bearing fruit. At the present moment we have given support to an initiative aimed at securing joint action by the anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary forces active in the national political arena. Our stand and our good relations with some organisations, and politicians have contributed to progress towards this important goal.

We can assure you that there is not a single front of democratic and revolutionary struggle where our Party is not providing guidance or firm support.

These and other kinds of activity, which we shall not enumerate here, are part of our modest contribution to the national liberation struggle of our people and to the common struggle for socialism and communism all over the world. It is our contribution to the struggle for peace. In all its activities our Party takes into account the perspective of the violent confrontation which is bound to take place in the country between the forces of the dictatorship, oligarchy and imperialism, on the one hand, and the forces of democracy, national liberation and socialism, on the other.

A large segment of the population of our country is still ideologically and politically influenced by the liberal-conservative oligarchy. The masses are still struggling in the clutches of the traditional bipartisan system. Hence the prime importance which our Party attaches to painstaking work among the masses, an indispensable condition for the successful development of our tactics in anticipation of the changes bound to arise as we go over to higher forms of struggle.

We know that this is a titanic struggle. Conscious of the fact that at present there is no single political force in the country capable of shouldering the entire burden of the struggle and consistently waging it to the end, we take a positive view of the idea of unity of all the anti-dictatorial, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist forces of Nicaragua.

Furthermore, we think that this stupendous task can be carried out only on the condition that in our patriotic and revolutionary efforts we can count on the material and moral support and solidarity of the fraternal peoples on all continents and in the first place of their proletarian vanguards. We do not ignore but, on the contrary, see ever more clearly the possible eventuality of having to wage a direct struggle against hordes of imperialist invaders. That is why we Nicaraguan Communists value highly the striving for the unity and cohesion of the communist and working-class movement. We must cherish it as the apple of our eye.

Dear comrades, this Meeting, whose main task is to clear the way to the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement, has been convened on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader and teacher of the world proletariat, whose life and work are to all of us a source of inspiration in our struggle. We therefore consider that on this glorious anniversary the best way for all of us to pay homage to Lenin's memory and emphasise the immortality of his ideas is to uphold firmly the invincible ideological weapon bequeathed by Lenin—Marxism-Leninism—and to carry out the historic pledges we have assumed before our peoples and the peoples of the whole world. And if tomorrow an opportunity presents itself to meet again as we have met here, I am sure that we will be able to say that only Lenin's ideas, correctly and consistently applied in practice by each of our Parties, and by all our Parties together, have helped eliminate all the disagreements that arose on the road to the unity and cohesion of our great communist family, of our international Marxist-Leninist movement.

And in conclusion, comrades, it would not be out of place to stress that at

present the gaze of the peoples of all the world is riveted on Moscow, on this hall, on the problems posed here. The peoples of the world believe that their finest sons will be able to chart the best ways of struggle which will bring nearer victory over imperialism, the common enemy of all the peoples. We are positive that we will justify their confidence.

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the invincible ideological weapon of the proletariat!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live communism!

## KHALED BAGDASH

General Secretary, Central Committee,  
Syrian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of Syrian Communists we warmly greet you and express high appreciation of the sincere efforts which have been undertaken by many Parties to convene this historic International Meeting of seventy-five Parties. We would like to make special mention of the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The 3rd Congress of our Party, from which we came directly here, emphasised the importance of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, pointing out that its convocation is a major success on the road to the unity and cohesion of the communist movement and a significant contribution to the cause of unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. Not only Communists but all progressives in our country hope for the restoration of the unity of the ranks of the international communist movement, which is the main, dynamic and constantly growing nucleus of the world revolutionary movement. We consider that this is possible, for what unites us Communists is stronger and more important than that which disunites us. To pinpoint the factors that unite us, to demonstrate their significance, to use them as the basis, to discuss the arising disagreements in a calm, responsible and comradely way, with the resolve to intensify the offensive against the positions of imperialism—such is the road to the unity of our ranks.

The 3rd Congress of our Party stressed the importance of Party unity on the national scale and also of the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It pointed to the value of fraternal criticism and self-criticism for the development of the Party and the entire communist movement, and also to the need to expose revisionism, opportunism and dogmatism.

In the epoch of Marx, Engels and Lenin unity was invariably achieved in ideological and political struggle against revisionism, Right and "Left" opportunism. In our time, too, the purveyors of revisionist theories, both Right and "Left", must be combated to achieve genuine, principled Marxist-Leninist unity. Unity on the national and international scale means ensuring connection between the part and the whole, between theory and practice, between the

new and the old. Unity signifies the ability to see the new that is emerging and developing from the old, to see that which brings together the separate parts. This unity of the international communist movement facilitates unity with other progressive forces, with the revolutionary forces of the whole world.

In the opinion of our Party, as expressed at its recent 3rd Congress, proletarian internationalism signifies not only recognition of the rights of all nations and nationalities to freedom and independence, not only solidarity with every people fighting the imperialists, with every persecuted Communist; it means also the need to sacrifice national egoism, the ability to subordinate, when necessary, the interests of the struggle in one's own country to the interests of the common, world-wide struggle against imperialism, for socialism.

V. I. Lenin wrote:

"Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more... (It) preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148).

Such is Lenin's behest. And if we regretfully note manifestations of national egoism, of petty-bourgeois nationalist illusions which arise in some sections of our movement and sometimes assume such acuteness that they begin to threaten mankind with a universal calamity, as has happened with the Mao Tse-tung group, then our duty to history and to truth is to declare that the state founded by Lenin has been, and remains, loyal to this behest of Lenin, the behest of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people are making great sacrifices to support all the anti-capitalist revolutionary movements, all the peoples fighting imperialism, rendering them political, moral, economic and military aid. All the Arab peoples and especially those of Syria and Egypt, know from their own experience the tremendous magnitude of this Soviet aid which helps us defend our independence, freedom and the progressive national regime against imperialist and Zionist aggression.

Some nationalists, referring to the policy of the Mao Tse-tung group and some other phenomena in the socialist camp and the world communist movement, say to us: "Look, our age is the age of nationalism! The principles of proletarian internationalism have become worthless."

That is absolutely untrue!

Proletarian internationalism is developing, its concepts are in various degrees penetrating even into those circles which but yesterday were completely beyond its reach.

As regards certain difficulties, they arise because social development, as Lenin noted on more than one occasion, does not follow a straight line. The way to overcoming these difficulties lies in still greater loyalty to proletarian internationalism and not in its abandonment as our enemies assert. Proletarian

internationalism is today the most important slogan needed by the three principal revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist camp, the revolutionary working-class movement, and the national liberation movement—in order to rally forces in the struggle for the great historical goal, deliverance of mankind from imperialism, from the danger of war and the horrors of exploitation, for the sake of the victory of the cause of national independence, peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

Proletarian internationalism signifies that support and defence of the socialist gains in any place, in any country is a duty of all the socialist countries and of the entire international communist movement.

The principles of proletarian internationalism do not permit exaggeration of the peculiarities of every country which may make us forget or obscure what is common to all of them. The national peculiarities and objective conditions of every country should, of course, be taken into consideration by all Communists, but this cannot and should not make us forget what is the main thing, namely, common laws valid for all.

Each Communist Party is truly independent and shapes its internal and international policy independently, proceeding, on the one hand, from its concrete conditions and, on the other, from the international situation. But this independence does not imply separation from the international communist movement, it is not opposed to it. What is common, basic and powerful for the Communist Parties, what unites them is Marxism-Leninism. Hence, every Communist Party is independent and at the same time a part of the whole. It bears responsibility not only to its people and its country, but also to the international working class and the Communist Parties.

Each Communist Party is at once national and international. The successes or setbacks of one Party concern not only that Party, but influence, to one degree or another, the entire world communist movement. Therefore mutual assistance, exchange of opinions between Parties, consultations, analysis of new phenomena to prevent mistakes and, on the other hand, common rebuff to enemy attacks, to intrigues of imperialism and international reaction—all this is vitally necessary both for the entire international communist movement and for every Party.

The delegation of the Syrian Communist Party declares its full support of the analysis and assessment of the situation in the world, in the socialist camp and in the Soviet Union, contained in the speech of Comrade Brezhnev.

This brilliant analysis of the international situation clearly shows the alignment of class forces in the world arena, points to the profound and ever deepening internal contradictions of imperialism, and reveals the dynamics of the world revolutionary process which is constantly deepening and developing, opening up great prospects and giving confidence in victory to all the revolutionary forces of the world.

Without doubt, Comrade Brezhnev's words about the danger of war and the possibilities of averting it and preserving peace carry tremendous weight and authority, for they reflect the position of the biggest and most powerful socialist state which is aware of its role in world development and of its responsibility not only to its own people but to all progressive mankind.

We were greatly impressed by the comradely, unassuming and frank way in which Comrade Brezhnev spoke about the Soviet Union, the life of the Soviet people, their achievements and difficulties. This inspires us Communists with still greater confidence that the power and might of the great Soviet Union will grow constantly owing to its firm Marxist-Leninist policy and boundless devotion to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Therein lies the main and greatest guarantee of the victory of socialism all over the world.

The attitude towards the Soviet Union has become in our country, as in all the fraternal Arab countries, a criterion of patriotism. Throughout its history the Soviet Union has been rendering support and help to the Arab national liberation movement and especially during the tripartite aggression of 1956 in the Suez zone and the imperialist Israeli aggression of 1967. This Soviet support extended to all spheres—political, economic and military. That is why millions of workers and peasants, the popular masses as well as ever broader progressive national circles regard friendship with the Soviet Union as a yardstick of patriotism and condemn everything that harms Arab-Soviet friendship.

All this fills us with joy and pride, for history has proved the correctness of our invariable appeals. Today we are not alone in calling for Arab-Soviet friendship. But our friendship should be deeper and more comprehensive than that of non-proletarian elements. It should be constant and firm, and not dependent on any political considerations. It is a position stemming from the very nature of the Party as a Party of Communists.

Comrades, we have always held that the attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU is a central question for every Communist Party and the entire international communist movement. It is precisely on this fundamental issue of attitude towards the first victorious proletarian revolution in the world that the working-class movement split, after the First World War, into revolutionary and opportunist movements.

Throughout its history, the Syrian Communist Party has cherished and will continue to cherish this revolutionary tradition of ours as the apple of its eye. That is one of the fundamental conclusions of our 3rd Congress, which unanimously approved this line. Our Party considers boundless loyalty to and friendship with the Soviet Union, with the Party of Lenin, to be a fundamental criterion of the right to be called a Communist.

Some people tell us: that is dependence. We reply: no, it is complete independence, communist independence, independence from any imperialist and reactionary propaganda, from the petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology, from the ideology of Social Democracy.

Comrades, important changes have taken place since the last International Meeting of Communist Parties in 1960. They testify to a serious deepening and growth of the revolutionary movement. The communist movement has gained in strength and scope, socialism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has grown stronger, the working class in the developed capitalist countries and its Communist Parties have won major victories, the national liberation movement has made a considerable stride forward. In the past ten years the Arab national liberation movement has both gained important victories and suffered certain setbacks. But the essential thing is that in a number of Arab

countries this movement has been enriched with a new social content determined by deep-going progressive social and economic measures aimed at eliminating the vestiges of feudalism in these countries, striking a blow at big capital and creating a state sector, which is becoming the dominant and guiding sector of the national economy. Furthermore, the foreign policy of these countries rests on the sound basis of principles of irreconcilability towards colonialism and neo-colonialism and friendship and co-operation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The latest important development in this sphere is the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by three Arab states—Iraq, the Sudan and Syria.

The principal objective of the imperialist Israeli aggression in June 1967 was to strike a blow at this progressive foreign and domestic policy.

The temporary setback suffered by the Arab national liberation movement two years ago has thrown light on many things. For instance, today the world has begun to realise the correctness of what we Arab Communists have been repeating for more than twenty years, namely, that Zionism, international in character, is nothing but a reactionary racist movement, an ally of world imperialism with which it is organically linked. Ideologically it is chauvinist, racist and hostile to socialism and the national liberation movement the world over. As an organisation, Zionism is seeking to isolate the Jewish working people from the revolutionary and working-class movement in the countries where they live. As Lenin pointed out, "this Zionist idea is absolutely false and essentially reactionary" (Vol. 7, p. 99).

The history of the Zionist movement since its inception in the late 19th century has been a history of crimes, especially against the Arab peoples.

Zionism and world imperialism bear the blame for the hardships the Arab people of Palestine have been suffering for twenty-one years; they and their agents, the rulers of Israel, are fully responsible for the high tension that still remains in the Middle East because of Israel's aggressive policy and that constantly endangers world peace.

Economic, social and political discrimination for more than twenty years against Arabs and even Jews living in the eastern part of Israel, the employment of methods of colonial-fascist terror and repression against the masses on the Arab territories occupied since June 1967, the forced eviction of indigenes and the settlement, instead, of immigrants from different parts of the world, the expansionist, annexationist claims and forcible actions with regard to other countries' territories — this is what makes up the content and essence of the Israeli government's Zionist imperialist policy.

Posing before the world as innocent lambs preyed upon by "savage Arabs", acting behind the camouflage of false slogans of self-defence and the right to existence and supported by world imperialism, especially US, West German and British imperialism, they have committed innumerable acts of aggression against the Arab peoples, the last of which was the June war which they called "preventive". Their real aim is aggrandisement, annexation of ever new Arab territories and nothing short of creation of a "Greater Israel" from the Nile to the Euphrates, which they want to achieve by crushing the Arab national liberation movement.



Our people have a saying, "a friend in need is a friend indeed". Since the time when the June 9, 1967, Statement of Communist and Workers' Parties on solidarity with the Arab national liberation movement was published in Moscow and six socialist states—the USSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia—broke off diplomatic relations with Israel and rendered us all-round political and military assistance, the Arab peoples have felt even more strongly, from their own experience, the force of real and not sham international proletarian solidarity, the force of proletarian internationalism.

Comrades, the Arab peoples have not capitulated and will never capitulate before imperialist Zionist aggression. The Arab national progressive regimes have held out and continue to gain strength. Ever broader Arab masses are joining the resistance movement, which includes guerrilla action. Our Party vigorously supports this movement.

The June 1967 aggression raised to a higher level the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the right to their homeland, the right to self-determination in their land, and we Syrian Communists support this just and legitimate struggle.

The progressive democratic movement in Israel itself against Zionism and imperialism, against the aggressive expansionist aspirations of Israeli policy, a movement in which Communists and other progressives, Arabs and Jews alike, are taking an active part, is meeting with the understanding and growing appreciation of the patriotic and progressive forces and the broad masses in the Arab countries. The names of many participants in this movement, such as the poets Mahmud Dervish and Taufiq Ziyad and the revolutionary leader Meir Vilner are given prominence in the progressive Arab press.

Comrades, the primary and basic task now facing our country is to eliminate the aftermath of the Israeli aggression, i. e., to liberate the Golan Heights and all other Arab territories occupied by the Israeli invaders.

We regard it as our duty to express here, on behalf of the Syrian Communist Party, sincere gratitude and appreciation to all the fraternal Parties for the solidarity statement which our Meeting adopted on June 7 in connection with the second anniversary of the Israeli aggression, and also for the inclusion in the Main Document, to be adopted by the meeting, of the following passage:

"The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other."

The struggle of the Arabs is thus given a definite place in the general world revolutionary process and thereby inspires the Arab people with a deep and firm belief that their just cause is bound to triumph, regardless of further developments in the Middle East and the rest of the world.

Together with the other progressive forces of the Arab world our Party is working for the settlement of the Middle East problem by political methods, i.e., through the implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, with which Israel, abetted by US imperialism, refuses to comply.

At the same time our people are fighting for the enhancement of their defence and combat capacity in order to stand up to any new imperialist and Zionist aggression and be ready, should political methods fail, to compel the aggressor

to withdraw his troops from the occupied Arab territories as demanded by the Security Council.

Clearly, the struggle to remove the consequences of the Israeli aggression and the struggle to consolidate the progressive national regime in Syria are two aspects of one problem, two interconnected, mutually complementary tasks.

Wise from their own experience, our people realise the correctness of our Party's policy with regard to the elimination of the results of the aggression. We hold that at least three basic conditions are necessary for the liberation of our territories from Israeli occupation and for the preservation of our independence and sovereignty:

1. Enhancing the defence capacity of our country.
2. Co-operation and co-ordination of actions with the progressive Arab countries and especially the UAR.
3. Constant strengthening of the bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

The present regime in Syria pursues an anti-imperialist course manifested specifically in its support of the valiant people of Vietnam.

Of late this course has found expression in the full political recognition extended to the German Democratic Republic and also in the recognition, announced yesterday, of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

In its internal policy, our country strives for the establishment of a solid basis for economic independence through building large civic and industrial projects with the help of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp. These projects are to expand the state sector in the national economy, which plays an ever greater role in the entire economic development of Syria and is capable—given other political conditions, especially those pertaining to the nature of power—of turning into a socialist sector.

The 3rd Congress of our Party was highlighted by the following slogans:

- Struggle to wipe out the aftermath of the imperialist Israeli aggression.
- Struggle to consolidate the progressive national regime in Syria, for Arab unity, for socialism.

Our Congress assessed the present stage of Syria's development as that of completing the anti-colonial and anti-feudal national democratic revolution and at the same time as that of struggle for the consolidation of the economic and social transformations, for their extension and deepening as necessary prerequisites for advance towards socialism.

Thus, the stage of completing the national democratic revolution overlaps the stage of creating the conditions for advance towards socialism.

It is clear, however, that the implementation of these tasks calls for resisting the development of big capital and encouraging and supporting the development of elements of socialism in all spheres—development which cannot be spontaneous or automatic, governed only by economic laws. What is needed is a conscious, guiding influence and leadership with the following aims in view:

first, democratic freedoms for the workers, peasants and all working people, releasing their initiative; control over production and distribution; freedom of action for the forces and parties devoted to socialism;

second, a progressive national front as an all-embracing organisation which would include the Baath Left wing, Communists and other Left elements in all the progressive national movements, and not merely as a form of limited co-operation, as is the case at present, when there is one Communist minister in the government;

third, growing weight and influence of the working class in alliance with the peasant and other working masses, in charting the country's policy and the present regime's course on the basis of scientific socialism, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Our 3rd Congress examined thoroughly, and from new angles, the socio-political system in Syria, and posed the following question: can the existing regime, in the specific conditions of Arab Syria, transform into a power of the working class acting in alliance with the peasantry, providing that it represents—actually and not nominally—an alliance or bloc of the Communists, Left Baathists and Left elements from other genuinely progressive movements?

The Congress replied that that is possible, if everybody correctly understands the character of the present stage and its prospects and if, on the other hand, the subjective intentions of all conform to the demands of objective development.

In any case, the Congress reaffirmed the stand long proclaimed by the Syrian Communist Party, namely, that socialism cannot be built without working-class leadership and that it cannot be built on the basis of any other teaching than scientific socialism, i.e., Marxism-Leninism. And, of course, in the practical implementation of its fundamental principles valid for all countries consideration should be given to national traits and peculiarities.

Comrades, the events in Vietnam help the Syrian Communists and all true champions of progress, the masses of workers and peasants to understand world development and its features. The courageous and selfless struggle being waged by the people of South Vietnam under the wise and bold leadership of the National Liberation Front, the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the broad solidarity of the Communist movement, the progressive and democratic forces of the whole world, including those in the United States—such are the factors which have ensured the Vietnamese people's victory over US imperialism and which will eventually ensure their inevitable final victory!

These are factors which contribute to the ultimate and certain triumph of the forces of revolution over those of imperialism and international reaction in our epoch.

The example of Vietnam makes it particularly clear that the correlation of world forces now favours the forces of liberation and socialism which, given unity and co-ordination of their tremendous possibilities, can conduct a general offensive against the positions of imperialism, inflict defeats upon it and keep it at bay until the world is delivered from this plague. Knowledge of the real correlation of forces in the modern world, mobilisation of the principal revolutionary forces and their allies, correct guidance and utilisation of these forces can assure victory over imperialism.

Any ignoring of these factors, overestimation or underestimation of the

role of imperialism will lead either to loss of faith in the near victory or to adventurism. Both are a grave danger to the international communist and national liberation movement.

Comrades, we warmly salute once again the International Meeting and are happy to declare our agreement with the Main Document and also with the Appeal in Defence of Peace and the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin". We consider that the best way to celebrate this jubilee is to study Lenin. We are gratified to note that the work of our Meeting proceeds in a spirit of communist comradeship aimed at securing unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces.

Long live the unity of the international communist movement!

**PAUL VERGES**  
**General Secretary,**  
**Reunion Communist Party**

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of the Reunion Communist Party, like the rest of the brother Parties, would like to express once again its warm gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its hospitality and for the facilities it has made available to our Meeting. We thank once again the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which ensured the work of the first preparatory stage of our Meeting. Our delegation extends heartfelt greetings to all the brother Parties present here.

Our Party considers it as an event of the greatest importance that 75 Parties from every corner of the globe have gathered together to express their will for joint action and to achieve unity of action and unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

It sees as a most positive experience the preparatory work carried out in these past 15 months, which made it possible to hold a wide exchange of opinions and collectively draft important documents. Our Meeting is expressive of the growing will of our movement for unity.

Dear comrades, our delegation considers it advisable to inform you briefly of the conditions in which our Party is fighting.

Our country is one of the last colonies of French imperialism. Its territory, which a mere three centuries ago was still uninhabited, was gradually settled by people brought from Europe, Africa, Madagascar, India, China and elsewhere. For centuries our people lived in slavery. Most of them still live in humiliating conditions, suffering from exploitation, and colonial oppression.

Imperialism maintains in our country an underdeveloped monoculture economy—the cultivation of sugar cane—fully dependent on the markets of France and other countries of the European Common Market. The land, sugar refineries and other enterprises and wholesale trade are owned by several companies, the biggest of which are controlled by French capital.

The effects of this situation are typical of every country of the Third World: a deepening economic crisis, a foreign trade deficit due to the fact that exports make up for only one-third of imports, a continuous shortage of resources. In the

social sphere they are unemployment affecting one-fourth of the working-class, the ruin of small and middle peasants, and universal poverty alongside the growing wealth of the minority.

The high growth rate of the population, which has doubled as a result in 23 years, is aggravating the economic and social contradictions.

It was in this complicated and fast-changing situation that our Communist organisation took shape and grew.

Despite the erroneous analysis made in 1945 by some Communists, who advocated a policy of assimilation and integration with the colonialist mother country, our Party, which came into being later, was able, thanks to its successes and first of all to its analysis and correction of mistakes, to assume leadership of the popular struggle in our country.

Today it is the only organised political force among the masses. It rouses the masses to struggle, leads them and wields influence among a substantial majority of the people. Basing its policy on a profound knowledge of the real situation in the country, it fights for our people's right to self-determination. With due regard to the lessons of African experience in the sixties, it champions a radical economic and social programme to foil all neo-colonialist intrigues of imperialism, a programme calling for a deep-going agrarian reform, nationalisation of the sugar industry, strict control over investments, and complete freedom of foreign trade.

Thus our people are increasingly identifying their national liberation with social emancipation under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Colonialism, needless to say, is intensifying its policy of destroying the liberties, a policy of continuous and often bloody repression, but it cannot hold up the progress of the mass struggle.

In this difficult struggle we must take into account, in particular, an unfavourable geographical and political situation. Neo-colonialist regimes have been set up in Madagascar and the neighbouring island of Mauritius. In South Africa and Rhodesia power is in the hands of racist governments, and in Mozambique the Portuguese colonialists are waging a war against the patriots of that country.

Lastly, US imperialism has penetrated into the area. It influences the policies and economies of all the countries of the area, where it sets up its bases, trying to create a chain of them on Indian Ocean islands stretching from west to east.

Dear comrades, what I have said makes it clear why our people follow the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world with keen attention. They see in this struggle an action directly supporting and helping them in their own fight. That is why we subscribe to a number of propositions stated in our Main Document.

Our Party considers that the fundamental contradiction of our epoch is the contradiction between the forces of socialism and imperialism.

This world-wide struggle confirms, as the Document rightly points out, the superiority of the forces of socialism, even though US imperialism, the main bastion of imperialism, is becoming more and more aggressive. It is also true that the fight against the war menace remains the chief task today.

We also agree with the Document where it stresses that the three main forces of our epoch, which have united against imperialism, are the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

We will not go into the individual items of the Document nor into an analysis of the situation in various regions of the world. But we would like to offer a few remarks while voicing our agreement to the platform of united action.

Dear comrades, it is perfectly clear to us that the socialist world system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The speakers who preceded us at this Meeting dealt with that in detail showing the magnitude of the successes achieved by the socialist countries during the last decade.

It is just as obvious to us that as a result of the increased aggressiveness of US imperialism and its main ally in Europe—West German imperialism—the grave danger threatening the socialist countries persists. Furthermore, imperialism is intensifying its propaganda, its ideological infiltration and subversive activity. All this calls for greater vigilance and preparedness to put up proper resistance.

Can one affirm, however, that these activities are so effective they can undermine the socialist system in this or that socialist country?

Can one consider that the thesis of the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist Parties to the effect that “today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well” is no longer valid despite the achievements of the subsequent nine years?

To put this question does not at all mean underestimating the danger and increased aggressiveness of imperialism. On the other hand, will not overestimation of this danger in this particular case shake the faith of the masses all over the world in the stability of the socialist system which came into being a quarter of a century ago? The people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are demonstrating the unshakable stability of their young socialist regime by fighting against armed imperialist aggression.

Dear comrades, we, for our part, are doing our best to strengthen the faith of the masses in our country in the growing achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in every sphere.

The working people of the island of Reunion rejoice at every victory of the working people of these countries as they might rejoice at their own. They know that the achievements of the socialist countries have a direct, positive and deep impact on the development of the world revolution and hence on the progress of the struggle in our own country.

This also applies to the peoples of other countries who are fighting against imperialism.

Our people follow with enthusiasm the progress of the struggle of the working class and other forces against capitalism and imperialism in the economically developed countries, although Reunion is far away from them. We heard with interest and sometimes with emotion the speeches of the comrades from these countries, who analysed the new conditions of their struggle, the effects of the scientific and technological revolution and the contradictions engendered by it,

the changes in the composition of the working class, the contribution of the youth, intellectuals and students to the fight against monopoly capitalism. How could we fail to appreciate that since almost 60 per cent of the population of our country are below 20 years of age, since our young people look to socialism and since their heroes today are Nguyen Van Troi and Che Guevara!

All this opens up the prospect of even more widespread struggle and new notable gains in the battle against capitalist power. These are direct blows at imperialism in its own citadel. They rejoice those who, like us, are fighting in the hinterland of imperialism.

Here we would like to stress the following: nobody can deny the fact that it is in Europe that the greatest military forces of the two systems, an enormous economic potential and the most efficient political forces are concentrated.

The existence in the heart of Europe of West German imperialism, which seeks with support from US imperialism a revision of the results of the Second World War and of existing frontiers, makes the war danger particularly great. Any war unleashed in Europe would rapidly engulf the world. The Document rightly stresses that the military power of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their economic potential and policy of peace, the activity of the Communist Parties and strong labour and democratic organisations and the emergence of new anti-imperialist forces have a sobering effect on imperialism and can ensure through struggle the maintenance and promotion of peace.

All this means, in effect, that any attempt rapidly and decisively to alter the balance of political forces in capitalist Europe or in any European country would encounter serious difficulties. And this circumstance puts in still bolder relief the contribution of our comrades fighting in these countries.

Dear comrades, we would like to state here one of our serious reservations on the Document under consideration. We think the Document's analysis of the outlook for development in the near future considerably underrates the possibilities of rapid, and in some cases radical, changes in the sphere of the national liberation movement.

The Statement of the 81 Communist Parties may have overrated the immediate possibilities of the movement. It was adopted in 1960, during a powerful upsurge accompanied by the declaration of the independence of numerous African countries, at a time when the Algerian people were nearing victory, while the uprising in Cuba had triumphed two years earlier.

Nevertheless, imperialism in many countries succeeded in retaining its economic and political positions by setting up neo-colonialist regimes and organising military putsches and reactionary coups. On the other hand, there are countries which have upheld genuine political independence, are fighting for economic independence and firmly adhere to anti-imperialist positions. There are such countries in Africa and the Middle East, for example.

During the past nine years the peoples of the underdeveloped countries have learnt by bitter experience what neo-colonialism means. A social differentiation has come about among them and the positions of the political forces have crystallised.

The economy of these countries is still underdeveloped. Imperialism continues to exploit them and to hold up their economic development. The crisis



in agriculture and in agrarian relations, the migration into industry, rapid urbanisation, unemployment, a mounting deficit of the balance of trade resulting from unequal trade, a growing debt, the flight of capital and so on are all evidence of a deteriorating situation in these countries.

The population explosion aggravates the contradictions of the prevailing system and imperatively demands early and radical solutions. Neo-colonialism cannot get away from this problem. The lag of whole continents compared with the industrial countries is increasing. Imperialism and neo-colonialism cannot solve any of the serious problems of vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The growing contradictions in every sphere are creating a situation which is bound to have political repercussions however intricate the process paving the way for political solutions may be.

The acceleration of this crisis process insistently confronts the world with the problem of the further course of development. The majority of the world population cannot come out of the stage of economic, social and cultural backwardness if it follows the capitalist road. Only socialism makes it possible to solve this problem thanks to its high growth rate.

While in the past nationalism in these areas of the world was linked with capitalism, today national liberation is necessarily linked with socialism.

This is due, first of all, to the existence of the powerful system of socialist countries, which can render assistance and guarantee national independence.

Dear comrades, it is not a question of putting any one of the three main forces of the world anti-imperialist movement in a privileged position.

We believe the point is that the main force is the system of socialist countries, the chief motive factor and the bulwark of the world revolutionary process.

The working-class movement in the capitalist countries is faced with the strongest and most experienced forces of the state machinery and the capitalist system. Its struggle is undoubtedly the most complicated and possibly the most difficult.

And lastly, it is important to remember that Asia, Africa and Latin America are regions where the gravest contradictions are concentrating fast and that these continents today are the weakest link of the imperialist chain. This is why the struggle of the peoples there, thanks to the achievements of the socialist countries and the actions of the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, can change the balance of forces and break this or that link of the imperialist chain.

To be sure, every continent, region or country has its peculiarities which will tell. But neither these peculiarities nor various local and temporary setbacks can stop or divert the overall process. Imperialism has been unable to check this irresistible advance for all that during the last 25 years it has exacted an enormous toll from some peoples fighting for their independence, as in Vietnam or Algeria, a toll which may well be compared to the casualties of a number of European nations during the first and second world wars.

The last two decades have seen the disintegration of the colonial system of

imperialism and the piercing of the imperialist chain in North Korea, in China, Vietnam and Cuba. This process is not over yet. It is expanding and going deeper. It seems to us that in analysing the present situation and the outlook one can hardly afford to underestimate this perspective. This is all the truer because the political struggle of the masses and liberation wars contribute in important measure to world peace by striking at imperialism blows which threaten to pierce its chain at various links.

Dear comrades, this problem seems to us all the more important because the people of Vietnam have just entered a new phase of their struggle by constituting the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Our Document underlines the historical significance of this struggle and its world-wide impact in terms of mobilising the masses in the anti-imperialist struggle and of isolating US imperialism.

We consider that at a time when the peoples of vast regions of the world are faced with the problem of winning freedom or of resisting imperialist aggression, the general lessons of the Vietnamese people's struggle are of invaluable importance to them—barring the peculiarities valid for what is purely Vietnamese reality.

Vietnam has proved that even a small people can resist and ultimately defeat the world's most powerful imperialism—on condition, however, that it uses its own forces and fights uncompromisingly for its independence and for respect for its fundamental national rights, that, secondly, it enjoys the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and that, thirdly, it is supported by international solidarity.

But to accomplish that task, this people must have a Communist Party in close touch with the life of the country, and this is perhaps the most valuable lesson of the Vietnamese people's struggle. This Party, having its roots in the mass of the people, must express the interests of the country as both an ardent patriot and a staunch internationalist. It must be—not only by words but by deeds—the vanguard and inspirer of the struggle of the people, who should see in it a champion of both national and social liberation. The leaders of this Party must also be national heroes. It is the duty of our movement to help found such Communist Parties in the vast regions where they are still lacking.

And lastly, it must be noted that the Document, listing the Latin American and African countries where an armed liberation struggle is going on, does not mention, we are sorry to say, such Asian countries as Palestine, Laos, Thailand and others.

Dear comrades, in conclusion our delegation would like to offer a number of serious remarks on the Main Document.

1. Many comrades consider that the Main Document furnishes a scientific analysis of the international situation. We, however, consider that an analysis which says not a word of the very serious differences that have come out in our movement and whose effects make themselves felt all along the line cannot be regarded as comprehensive and full. Why is it that these very important problems have been so prominent in many speeches and yet have found no reflection in the Main Document?

The task, as we see it, is not to make an analysis of these problems but at least to point to their existence and their effect on the international situation and our Meeting. How is one to account for the absence from our Meeting of five socialist countries each of which, moreover, has its reasons for not attending? If this is not explained, how will the masses and, indeed, Party members assess and interpret the Document? It seems to us that Section Four of the Document should be less idyllic and more self-critical.

We consider—and we said so earlier, at both the Consultative Meeting and the Preparatory Committee sessions — that today's differences in our movement have an objective basis of long standing. A joint quest and collective discussion could help to reveal and analyse them. But that would take time. We support the proposals for calling international theoretical conferences which could prove useful in this respect.

The objective basis of the differences should be complemented with the subjective causes stemming from the very logic of polemics, the logic of the clash of opinions, from serious mistakes or dangerous deviations which may have the most diverse origins and may in many cases be due to nationalism and chauvinism. These mistakes and deviations should be disclosed and vigorously criticised. But attempts to conceal them, to analyse them in general terms or simply anathematise them cannot be regarded as serious methods to be used for revealing them, preventing them from going deeper, and overcoming them.

2. The Document lists very correct Marxist-Leninist principles determining the relations between socialist countries and between Communist Parties. The discussion has shown, however, that the various delegations interpret these principles variously. Can we in these circumstances expect unity to be achieved on all points? Such a unity would be rather nominal and would leave the door open for misunderstandings or new differences.

We think what we have here is an urgent, and perhaps the most complicated, problem. It must be solved if we are to find new forms of unity corresponding to the new stage of development of our movement and its national contingents.

There has been no Communist International, no leading and co-ordinating centre, for more than a quarter of a century.

Yet the Communist and Workers' Parties during the last 26 years have grown in number and quality. Some of them exert considerable influence in big countries.

What is the effective way of achieving the unity of all Parties and co-ordinating their struggle? Above all, how are we to achieve this now? To be sure, the Document indicates certain principles, but then we are arguing even here over how to interpret unanimity, majority, minority, and so on.

We are told that such is reality. That is true.

It would be ideal, of course, if we reached unanimity. But practice shows convincingly that our movement still lacks proper conditions for it.

The minority should not have the right of veto with regard to the majority. That is correct. Such a thing would be impermissible.

But, on the other hand, nobody has said that the minority is obliged to accept the majority point of view at the cost of going against the will or decisions

of the Central Committees of the respective Parties. No one has said so because that, too, is unthinkable.

We also consider that such concepts as majority and minority, inherited from the International or borrowed from the practice of our national Parties, are outdated. Consequently, we must find new forms and not fall back on old ones by force of habit.

This is a task for our entire movement.

It must be accomplished calmly and patiently.

3. It is clear that each Party is responsible for its activity to the working class of its country and of the world, to its people and the world communist movement. The prestige and influence of a Party, and hence its responsibility, increase when it has adopted a correct decision. This also helps to strengthen the ranks of the world communist movement. Conversely, a Party grows weaker if the decision it has adopted is wrong. In that case a heavy responsibility falls on the Party in question for weakening the whole communist movement, of which it is a contingent.

In either case the political responsibility must be borne by only that Party. The future and practice will show how it has coped with the responsibility put on it.

The Document speaks of the need to promote the unity of our Parties in the following terms: the Parties represented at the Meeting "consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and co-operation between all Communist Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present Meeting".

We think it would be absurd for two Parties one of which accepted while the other did not accept this Document to regard that alone as a fact complicating their relations. In that case violation of a rule would be the first instance of applying it. Besides, it would be like proclaiming the principle of infallibility, for which there is no room in our movement in which each Party contributes through its positive or negative experience a certain share of the truth and in which it bears a certain share of the responsibility for the given situation, no matter how small that Party may be.

Dear comrades, we think only the practice of proletarian internationalism can in the present situation prevent a deepening of divergences and provide conditions for discussing them, ascertaining their causes and origins and taking steps to overcome them. This implies rather than rules out the right and duty of every Party resolutely to uphold its ideological and organisational unity against every disruptive move.

In our view, proletarian internationalism means to each Party striving selflessly to steadily extend the scope of the revolutionary movement in its country and to give active moral and material support to the revolutionary movement in all other countries.

It means, first of all, fighting against anti-Sovietism always and everywhere, for the peoples should at all times remember what they owe to the October

Revolution, should remember the untold suffering and sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union during the Civil War, their sacrifices in the Great Patriotic War, when they fought for victory over fascism, and the sacrifices and privations that fell to their lot in building the foundations of socialist society. Proceeding from the attitude of its people to the Soviet Union, each Party can decide for itself whether it has acquitted itself honourably of its internationalist duty. It is not enough to declare solidarity—the important thing is to show it in practice.

Dear comrades, we have stated our opinion on the propositions of the Document we approve of. On the other hand, we have made *very serious reservations* on some propositions in the Document and on certain omissions. The fate of some of the proposed amendments and especially the character of their discussion, as well as the speeches at the Meeting often provide a much clearer picture than the text of the Document itself. They show how the Parties interpret the Document. All this will supply material for assessment to our Central Committee, the body which has to make the ultimate decision.

As regards the other documents—the “Appeal in Defence of Peace” and the address “Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin”—our Central Committee has approved of them just as it has approved of the document on Vietnam unanimously adopted by us here.

## REZA RADMANESH

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
People's Party of Iran

Dear Comrades,

The delegation of our Party extends warm greetings to the delegations of the fraternal Parties attending this international forum, which occupies a special place in the history of the international communist and working-class movement. We extend particularly heartfelt thanks to the CPSU for the excellent organisation of our work and for its warm and fraternal hospitality. The convocation of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is an important step towards securing the unity and solidarity of the communist and working-class movement, and an outstanding achievement in this direction. Our Party was always in favour of holding such a Meeting and has made every effort towards this aim.

Undoubtedly, this Meeting will go down in history as a signal success for the international working class, for all the revolutionary and progressive forces.

The anxiety and concern this Meeting has caused among imperialist and reactionary circles is the best proof that it is necessary and is evidence of the success of the communist and working-class movement.

The unity of the communist and working-class movement is the main element in the victorious struggle against imperialism and reaction in our era of transition from capitalism to socialism. Obstacles or impediments should not and cannot stand in the way of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, a task which history has set the Communists of the world. It has to be carried out and every effort must be made to ensure that this is done.

The Main Document of the Meeting, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces", the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", the "Appeal in Defence of Peace" and the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin"—all these documents were drawn up by representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, including our Party's representative, at numerous sittings of the Preparatory Committee in a comradely atmosphere and with complete observance of democratic norms and the principle of collectivity. Our Party fully endorses these documents.

At our Meeting we heard the speech of the head of the CPSU delegation,

Comrade Brezhnev, who comprehensively, profoundly and absolutely correctly analysed the present international situation and the state of affairs in the communist and working-class movement. In fact, this speech has concretely and vividly substantiated and deepened the basic propositions of the draft documents.

The draft Main Document expounds the principal demands of our movement in the present conditions of the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, independence, democracy, progress and socialism. By adopting these documents with their tremendous mobilising and unifying strength, the communist and working-class movement enters a new stage in its struggle.

The Document qualifies the struggle against imperialism as the central task. This is the main factor that can ensure the unity of action of the world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement, the principal components of the world revolutionary process.

The Document correctly states: "The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries."

The war in Vietnam, the economic blockade of Cuba, the ceaseless plots and provocations on the border and at the shores of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the revival of militarism and neo-nazism in West Germany, the non-recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the world's first workers' state on German soil, the establishment of military and atomic bases, the conclusion of military pacts and other provocations against the socialist countries vividly prove the correctness of this proposition.

The Document justifiably points out: "In its actions against the working-class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation."

The struggle of the working class and other strata of capitalist society experiencing increased exploitation has become more powerful, more organised and more purposeful, and in many cases in recent years it has overflowed into protests and mass political strikes; the ruling regimes in a number of countries were beset by an unprecedented social crisis.

The Main Document also states: "In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms of trade, the manipulation of prices,

exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid, and pressure by international financial organisations. The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries.”

This paragraph of the Main Document exactly reflects the various aspects of economic and social life in our country. The analysis it contains fully corresponds to the analysis of the situation in Iran made by the CC of our Party. Therefore the adoption of this Document will considerably strengthen our Party's position in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Iran provides a typical example of imperialism's resort to neo-colonialist methods in the developing countries. With these methods, it hampers our country's free and progressive development. Having recourse to all means, both overt and covert, it strives to hold on to its old economic positions, seize new ones and extend and strengthen them.

As a result of the profound economic and social crisis, which shook the pillars of the existing regime, the ruling upper crust of Iran in an effort to preserve its positions was forced in recent years to effect certain reforms in order to moderate the crisis and give such a form to the economic and social demands of the people as would not threaten its own interests. The principal content of these reforms boils down to the establishment of capitalist relations instead of feudal ones, which both objectively and historically is a step forward. But these changes are taking place in our country at a time when socialism is dominant on a large part of the globe, when the transition from capitalism to socialism has become the main content of our era and capitalism is going through a period of decline and is on its way out, when the ideas of socialism are penetrating ever deeper into the minds of the broad masses and becoming a universal stimulus of progress.

The development of capitalist relations in our country is taking place in conditions of socio-economic backwardness, economic, political and military dependence on imperialism, in conditions of the existence of an anti-popular, anti-democratic regime.

It is correctly stated in the Document: “Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the basic problems facing them.”

That is why it has proved impossible to overcome Iran's backwardness. Capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder gave rise to other social malaises. Combined with the old, these new contradictions more and more impede the development of our country in the era of the scientific and technological revolution, when the developed countries are advancing at a much faster rate and the gulf between the developed and the developing countries is becoming ever wider. Not a single Iranian who desires to see his country advance can reconcile himself with such an outlook. There is no doubt that our country will not follow this road.



Taking into account the changes occurring in the world, the capitalist road is not the logical road for our development and it should be viewed as a real disaster.

In an effort to alleviate the social crisis, the Iranian authorities began to improve relations with the socialist countries, first and foremost with the USSR, our great and mighty friend, with whom we have a 2,500-kilometre long common border and who has consistently defended our freedom and independence.

The Iranian authorities, just as the governments of other Middle East countries, would like to avail themselves of effective and disinterested Soviet assistance. The extensive assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries to Iran, particularly in creating heavy industry, in constructing a metallurgical works, several machine-building factories, grain elevators, etc., is furnished on the basis of long-term credits at a low rate and is greeted with enormous satisfaction by all our people. Our Party views this assistance also as support in the matter of implementing one of the basic propositions of its programme aimed at strengthening Iran's political independence and attaining economic independence.

Given a genuinely national and independent government and relying on the generous assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries granted without any political strings attached and with due respect for the national sovereignty and requirements of our economic development, our country could have made considerable headway in strengthening its independence. But in pursuance of their anti-popular policy, the Iranian ruling circles are creating favourable conditions for the imperialist powers to invest capital in various branches of our economy and are encouraging in every way the merger of imperialist capital with Iranian private capital, which is leading Iran's economy into greater dependence on imperialism. It is this policy which the Shah and the Iranian ruling circles call a "national independent policy". Praising it to the skies, the Shah says: "The more foreign capital there is in our country, the more its owners will be interested in the security and independence of our country."

The Shah's statement gives a "new" interpretation to the struggle for the security and national independence of Iran, because instead of cutting short imperialist intrigues, the government busies itself with granting the enemies of independence and security the broadest possible opportunities for strengthening their influence in all fields of economic and political life of Iran under the pretext of "concern" for the independence of our country.

If the "independent national policy" is one which leads to increasing interference by the imperialist countries in our economic life, then the colonial and neo-colonial policy should be regarded as a model of the policy of national independence, and colonial subjugation should be considered the height of independence, although it affords maximum possibilities for the penetration of imperialist capital into an enslaved country.

It is thanks to the "independent national policy" that US capital investments in Iranian industry in the past year increased six- or seven-fold compared with 15 post-war years. A third of the industrial projects built in recent years with the assistance of foreign capital are owned by US magnates. At present about 10,000 US officers and men as well as civil employees are working in various state and private institutions in Iran.

Iran is one of the main markets for West German goods. Last year West Germany, which occupies a strong first place in our imports, granted Iran a loan of DM40 million and also permitted the sale of Iran bonds to the sum of DM80 million at 7.25 per cent interest in West Germany.

As a result of recent talks between an economic delegation from Iran and West German authorities, the FRG decided to invest millions DM 300 in the chemical, power and other branches of industry. Kiesinger's and Strauss's visits to Iran were conducted not only out of political considerations but also for the purpose of expanding West Germany's economic positions in the country to the maximum.

Relying on the existing political and economic relations with West Germany, the Iranian government is spearheading its policy against such progressive Arab countries as Iraq, Sudan and Syria, which successively extended recognition to the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil.

These progressive Arab countries took an important step towards strengthening peace in Europe and tipping the balance of forces in favour of the socialist community. But our country not only has not followed this example. On the contrary, it is narrowing still further the already restricted economic relations with the GDR.

Far from developing its relations with progressive Arab countries—the UAR, Syria and Iraq—which are in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East, Iran under diverse pretexts is either curtailing or severing its ties with them.

It is not by chance that the latest events on the Shatt-al-Arab are taking place at a time when our neighbour Iraq is in a difficult position and is struggling against Zionism and imperialism. Here, on behalf of the Iranian people, we should like to reiterate our full support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggressors, who have occupied a part of the Arab territories. We are convinced that the Arab peoples, supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by all progressive mankind, will be victorious in the just struggle against Israel's aggressive Zionist circles.

Our country is one of the biggest oil reservoirs in the Middle East and the world. Last year the international oil consortium controlled by giant US, British, Dutch and French monopolies reaped \$1,000 million in profits. If under the law on the nationalisation of Iran's oil industry, which in fact has been nullified by the present ruling circles, we received all the income from the oil industry it would add up to \$2,000 million a year. This is a considerable sum for a country such as Iran with a population of not more than 26 million. But by devious ways even the money we get today flows back into the pockets of the imperialist monopolies either through direct plunder of the Iranian market, the repayment of credits and interest, or the purchase of large amounts of armament.

With the aim of carrying on such plunder imperialism has imposed the present anti-popular, anti-democratic regime on our country. This vicious imperialist policy is responsible for the fact that in Iran, a land of ancient culture, 50 per cent of the children die before they are one or two years old. And this in the latter half of the 20th century, in the era of scientific and technological

revolution. As a result of the fatal economic, political and military domination of the imperialists in our country over 70 per cent of its population are illiterate. Although our authorities talk a great deal about wiping out illiteracy, each year 50 per cent of our children are unable to attend schools.

Our regime has deprived political parties, trade unions and the progressive and opposition press of the possibility of conducting social and political activity. Hundreds of members of our Party and other national democratic groups have been imprisoned and are being kept in extremely hard conditions. There are members of our Party who have already spent 20 years in dungeons built in remote regions where the climate is killing. Under the pressure of public opinion both at home and abroad our comrades Parviz Hekmatju and Ali Khavari recently escaped execution and have been transferred from these dungeons to the Shiraz prison. But their health has been so impaired that one of them is in danger of being paralysed and the other of completely losing his eyesight. In terrible prison conditions these valiant freedom fighters are deprived of even elementary medical assistance. Many other comrades, whose number is steadily increasing, are languishing in Iranian prisons. This is only one example of the suffering imposed on the people of my country and that is why we find the following paragraph of the Main Document particularly convincing:

“The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedoms; demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens, *to democratise every aspect of social life.*”

It is to further the struggle against imperialism that our Party is advancing as the main task the slogan of struggle for democracy and democratic freedoms. Needless to say, the emphasis on this struggle does not signify a refusal to struggle for Iran's withdrawal from CENTO, abrogation of the bilateral agreement with the USA and the so-called “law of capitulation”, adherence to the policy of neutrality, implementation of the law on the nationalisation of the oil industry, abrogation of foreign concessions, abolition of inequitable trade with imperialist countries, or to struggle for the achievement of other pressing goals. But having designated the main task, we have to orient all our efforts, the entire political struggle on the attainment of democratic rights by the people. This is the principal element that facilitates the realisation of other anti-imperialist slogans and demands.

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Throughout the history of the communist and working-class movement its enemies have unceasingly attacked the unity of the working class either in one country or within the framework of the whole movement. The exploiters have always endeavoured to undermine the proletariat's united front, to split it and sow discord. The slogan “Workers of All Countries, Unite!” has had a deep meaning ever since its proclamation. It expresses the idea of national and international unity of the working class and is an earnest of its might and invincibility.

Ever since its inception the working-class movement has been confronted

with powerful enemies, sometimes even in its own ranks, who from their revisionist and opportunist positions have endeavoured to pervert Marxism and to adulterate revolutionary theory and practice with bourgeois ideology. One of their aims is to reconcile the irreconcilable, namely the interests of the working class with those of the bourgeoisie and thus take the edge off the class struggle. Another objective is to isolate the working-class movement from the broad masses by means of dogmatism and "Left" sectarianism, and thus deprive it of popular support, with the inevitable result that it either weakens and becomes passive or is defeated in unequal battles with powerful and dangerous class enemies.

Both in foreign and domestic policy, and also in regard to the international communist and working-class movement the Mao Tse-tung group has in recent years been engaged in petty-bourgeois adventurism and great-power chauvinism behind the screen of Leftist phraseology.

Headed by Mao, the present Chinese leadership has openly taken to the road of undermining the unity and solidarity of the socialist community, of splitting the world communist movement, of dividing the main forces of the world revolutionary process.

Little by little the line enforced by Mao's group in China has turned into an adventuristic and chauvinistic trend, which is completely incompatible with the most elementary principles and norms of revolutionary theory and practice. Following China's aggression on Soviet borders and the so-called 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, the matter has ceased to be the concern of only one Party or one country. There can be no justification for silence or passivity in face of such a monstrous phenomenon. It is such developments that the Main Document has in mind when it says: "Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class."

This is absolutely correct. On the basis of this proposition we consider it our duty to state the following:

Our Party has repeatedly expressed its basic disagreement with the line of the Mao Tse-tung group, and especially with its policy regarding the CPSU and the USSR, the mighty revolutionary bulwark, which has rightly won the deep respect of the working people of the world. We consider that never in the history of mankind has a single party or a single country played such a great and noble role in transforming the life of mankind as have the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

We stress once more that communism whose content is anti-Sovietism neither exists nor can exist.

There is no limit to the present Chinese leaders' expansionist aspirations, a product of great-power chauvinism. We all know about the ridiculous claims of the Mao group to more than 1,500,000 square kilometres of Soviet territory. But their aggressive appetites are not restricted to this. It is not by chance that for the past few years Genghis Khan has been increasingly extolled in China, and much is said about his so-called historic mission in bringing East and West closer together.

Our country, Iran, which had been ravaged by the hordes of Genghis Khan,

clearly perceives the man-hating essence of the policy of reviving the cult of Genghis Khan. It is indeed a tragedy that people laying claim to the leading role in the working-class movement in the latter half of the 20th century should laud the plunder and barbarity committed by a medieval khan and make them the foundation of their policy with regard to socialist countries and oppressed peoples.

In our view, only a principled and concrete approach to controversial issues on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism can avert the fatal consequences of a divisive policy, or at least reduce them to the minimum.

Bilateral and multilateral contacts between fraternal Parties and international or regional conferences are a very effective means for securing the lofty aim of furthering the unity of the communist and working-class movement. This is precisely what the Main Document says. The correctness and usefulness of this method has been confirmed during the preparations for the International Meeting. It has passed the test and should therefore be employed in the future. The Main Document very rightly notes that the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the chief factor of the unity of all anti-imperialist forces. That this Meeting has been convened is a great success of the international communist movement. This is borne out by the fact that it is attended by 75 Communist and Workers' Parties, which have thereby shown that they consider it essential to strengthen this unity.

The Main Document, whose purpose is to further the struggle against imperialism and achieve united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all other anti-imperialist forces, is in itself a programme and a firm basis for such unity. That is the reason why hundreds of millions of workers and patriotic intellectuals, who look forward to our Meeting ending in success, now have their eyes on Moscow.

We are sure that the Meeting will live up to the expectations of hundreds of millions of people who, in most difficult conditions, are fighting in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in factories and in the streets of the capitals of various countries, in the underground and in prisons, against imperialism and reaction, for a life free of exploitation and colonial slavery. No better present could be made to the peoples of the globe than the endorsement of the Main Document on the eve of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, the brilliant leader of the working people of the world. This Document fully conforms to the behests of Lenin, who always said that the international unity of the advanced revolutionary contingents of the working class was imperative in the struggle against the common enemy.

In conclusion our delegation expresses its profound gratitude to the fraternal Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the great Party of the Soviet Union who have done everything in their power to ensure the best possible conditions for preparing and holding the Meeting and by doing so have once again demonstrated a lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. We are convinced that their contribution will yield positive results and that unity of the world communist and working-class movement and all other anti-imperialist forces will become stronger than ever.

**MANUEL SANCHEZ**  
**Head of Delegation,**  
**Dominican Communist Party**

Comrades,

We asked to speak today because this is the tenth anniversary of the armed rising in our country that broke out on June 14, 1959, and we want to pay tribute publicly, here at this Meeting, to the memory of the 11 slain comrades of our Central Committee and nine other members of our Party. To this day, we have not been able to fill their places, at least in terms of quality. The rising, which some regard as a failure and which in fact was crushed by armed force in a matter of months, aroused the dormant energy of our people, depressed by terror, and left so profound an imprint on all our society that before two years were over Trujillo was assassinated by his closest associates under the protection of the US Embassy, with a view to replacing the hated dictator by a less obnoxious and more pliable lackey. This was an attempt to forestall the imminent social unrest, the symptoms of which were in evidence, with hundreds of political prisoners in the jails, daily assassinations in the streets and public unanimity in rejecting what was rightly described as America's bloodiest tyranny.

Together with the more than 100 Dominicans who died in this rising, the tenth anniversary of which we mark today, Venezuelan and Cuban Communists, too, who had brought the fresh breath of Sierra Maestra to our Central Cordilleras, gave their noble lives for another country before their own victory was assured. Among the dead were Argentinians and citizens of the United States and other American countries, men who had made the liberation of our people their life's cause.

This rising ten years ago had not been conceived as a spark lighting the flames of insurrection at the price of human lives. True, it bore features of a somewhat mechanical imitation of the victorious Cuban revolution. Breaking out as in Cuba, it was thought, the rising would end in victory. Yet it did not. But it was a product of the social and political reality of our own country, and its vitality breathed new life into the nation. It was sparked by the national realities and the new situation on the continent after the victors of Sierra Maestra came to power under the very noses of the imperialists.

Many battles were fought in Latin America in these ten years. The struggle

reached high tension, as illustrated by the crushing defeat inflicted on the mercenaries at Playa Giron. Fidel Castro took that opportunity to announce to the world that Cuba, having won independence, was beginning the transition to socialism and that Cubans were determined to defend their independence to the last drop of blood. What was amazing there was not the emergence of a country independent from imperialism, but that socialism had become a reality on American soil. Our own struggle reached the point of armed collisions with US imperialist troops. The heat of struggle throughout awakened America has never been as great since the wars for national independence against the Spanish crown. The struggle of today is more important than those wars, however, because defending that basic gain, now undone, it draws upon the great content of our epoch, merging with the greatest forces of our time—the world socialist system and world proletariat—as part of the grand battle of the peoples for socialism.

What happened in Santo Domingo in 1959 was no novelty either for our continent or for the rest of the world. In fighting against oppression the peoples know of no borders and the national distinctions of the freedom-loving fade away. In Latin America, this tradition dates to the wars of independence, though its most striking illustration came with Che Guevara's death in the heart of America. The world was staggered by his immortal exploit. It was not simply the death of a heroic group of fighters traceable to impromptu circumstances and signifying the end of a struggle. It was a stage, and the power of that instructive example will multiply a hundred-fold sooner or later, with the mass of the people taking their destiny into their own hands.

In the ten years since the victory of the Cuban revolution, which may be considered the beginning of the revolutionary upswing throughout the continent, the Latin American Communist Parties, in many cases, have not gone beyond the propaganda stage. And, save for a few well-known exceptions, there are even less grounds to say that they have begun to play "an ever more decisive role in the anti-imperialist movement." On the whole, they are still far from being at the *head* of this process. We were poorly equipped in terms of theory, and theory, Lenin taught, is the most essential weapon at times of crisis and confusion.

Less than a month before the outbreak of the April events in 1965, which compelled the imperialists to land troops in Santo Domingo, our Central Committee, attended by a deeply-convinced minority, discussed whether or not the revolutionary way was practicable or whether to come out for holding re-elections. The view was rife in other countries, and this on the eve of successful military coups, that peaceful transition to socialism was possible. The exponents of this view pinned their hopes solely on the goodwill of some benevolent ruler or some progressive ministers. In some cases, too, reluctance to collaborate with the new forces that line up alongside the Communists, becoming their allies in the world and continental revolutionary process, undermined the movement at a time when even the minimum of revolutionary unity could have turned the scales.

Besides, many new phenomena appeared in those ten years, phenomena of practical value from the standpoint of verifying the conclusions contained in

the 1960 Statement signed by all the Communist and Workers' Parties in existence at that time. The worth of a document or resolution should not be judged by the numbers and qualities of its signatories, the number of pages in it, or even the audacity of its ideas. Its test lies in whether or not its aims are achieved in the course of time. To extol the 1960 Document for having been a dream of unity is to deny that unity was not achieved by it and its compromise decisions. To repeat the old method on the illusory assumption that compromise will prevail despite the differences having become still more serious, is to expect differences to be put out of the way with the help of signatures rather than of convictions.

The polemics in the world communist movement over the past ten years could have borne fruit if the elements of national division, in many cases the prime cause of differences, had not been pushed to the fore. That was the overriding motive behind the conflicts that pitted the People's Republic of China and her Communist Party against the contingent of the world communist movement represented here.

Our Party regards the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as a vitally important element of the foreign policy of the socialist countries in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. And we acknowledge the fact that the draft of the Document shows accurately the connection between peaceful coexistence and the struggle of the oppressed peoples. However, we disagree with that proposition in the Document which concerns the methods of that struggle, where the word "including" is used in relation to the armed way, as though the peoples need special permission in choosing it. If it is recognised that imperialism is straining at the leash to start a thermonuclear war, it is no less true that it has sent troops to Vietnam and Santo Domingo without a minute's hesitation. In those cases the choice was no problem requiring anybody's "permission", although there may be more or less long periods when violence is not in evidence, or no more than sporadic. But at present, the world communist movement must not repeat the contentions of 1960 and present a particular unconfirmed possibility as a general rule, portray it as a "possibility" for *all* the revolutions of the world.

If the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a correct policy, then working out a policy governing relations between states of the same social nature should be doubly correct. Our Party takes a clear and firm stand in relation to the theses and policies of the Communist Party of China. At home, we contend with five pro-Chinese sects and have been compelled more than once to resort to arms to contain their barbarian instincts. Yet our Party cannot reconcile itself to the fact that rank war hysteria is whipped up in response to the ideological struggle against positions which, I repeat, we consider incorrect. I say this on the strength of Comrade Brezhnev's sober speech. War between socialist states can be nuclear, like war against imperialist aggressors. And if in the latter case the material destruction may be disastrous for all man's gains, a war between socialist states would, in addition, inflict moral damage on socialism, the hope of the peoples. We reject China's claims to Soviet territory just as firmly as we reject the West German drive to revise the frontiers resulting from the Second World War. But we



take the liberty to recommend that anger should not be allowed to become a factor of action.

A new situation has arisen in the world as a result of the split in the world communist movement and it will continue to develop unless something unforeseen happens. The balance of world forces, too, has changed and is no longer as favourable to peace and socialism as it was augured to become in the past decade.

This new correlation of world forces and the fact that imperialism's nature will not change, make an illusion of universal disarmament, a sweet dream, but certainly not an attainable goal. If we should really examine the new problems arising in the world over the past decade, that issue should be treated in the Main Document from the following angle: "The possibilities of the struggle for disarmament in the conditions of a world-wide socialist society". We did not come to a session of the World Peace Council and are not here to draft slogans exposing imperialism's aggressive nature. Our purpose here is to work out a platform of anti-imperialist struggle, and setting goals unattainable in the presence of the imperialist world system is to reduce that platform to a programme of the peace champions.

Despite the serious growing pains experienced by the world communist movement, particularly with regard to inter-Party contacts and relations between socialist states, the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin has spread to new sections of human society in the past decade, with the validity of its basic postulates reaffirmed at every step by the failures of imperialist aggression, the emergence of new forms of struggle, the inclusion in the struggle of new social strata especially due to capitalist scientific and technological development, the wholesale proletarianisation of intellectual groups and scientists and, at the same time, the rising cultural and technical level of the working class. What we see in the developed capitalist countries proves what the brilliant realities of Soviet growth have been proving since the early century—that now the destiny of mankind is determined by the proletariat.

The modern armies, which have more sophisticated weapons and in larger quantities than before, are breaking free from the control of the exploiters. No longer can the soldier be an ignorant fanatic, for then he would not learn the use of modern arms. He realises under the impact of the popular struggle that he should not be cannon fodder for the monopolies; in the struggle against war he acquires the anti-imperialist spirit. In Latin America, too, where the traditional armies were, in effect, bands of hired killers serving the tyrants, expansion of armies and technical equipment taught the more receptive elements among the servicemen to spot the enemy where he really is and in serious crises go over to the people's side with their arms.

The war in Vietnam which reflects the beastly visage of imperialism as in a mirror, has drawn new strata into the active struggle against aggression and the imperialist monopolies. In some countries the campaigns for peace in Vietnam at first bore the stamp of humanistic and Christian solidarity. Yet now solidarity with Vietnam is increasingly a factor spurring the growth of political consciousness and anti-imperialist orientation; it is now, in one form or another, the focal point of unity for all those forces the world over which, despite various disparities, are coming to grips with imperialism. That is why we see and

acknowledge a profound anti-imperialist orientation in the solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with Vietnam. It gives reason to think that achieving new forms of unity by still unknown and probably slow methods is a hope worth nourishing.

So far, this unity is only a wish, although serious efforts, like the convocation of this Meeting, are being made to attain it. However, the absence of the Parties of five socialist countries, and of other Parties that deemed it undesirable for them to participate in this Meeting, shows that relations between Communist Parties and between socialist countries leave much to be desired, and the definitions in the Main Document reflect relations as we would like to see them, or as they should be, but not quite as they are. Obviously, if our epoch is generally viewed as that of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, then the experience of the past ten years that we are trying to analyse in the Document, as well as the actual power of the socialist world system, presented as one of the integral parts of the united revolutionary stream of our time, give us no leave to indulge in wishful thinking. Elements of internal struggle have come into evidence quite openly in the socialist system, that immortal gain of mankind, a struggle we must not hush up and should mention in the introduction to the Document, indicating the distribution of our forces and the process of the debate at this Meeting.

The other phenomena of the past decade insufficiently analysed in the Main Document are the successes and setbacks of the national liberation revolution—a new element witnessed in many countries that does not quite fit in under the general head of the “non-capitalist way of development”. In 1960 that definition enabled us to pinpoint a new phenomenon, comparing it to what had occurred in Mongolia. Today, ten years later, after setbacks and victories that require study, we should not repeat that appraisal so lightly. It is not enough in the analysis to set Latin America apart from other countries where neo-colonialism is dominant; this may enable us to probe more closely a reality different from that of other countries, but it also sets Cuba apart from the other liberated countries.

In socialist Cuba, too, there are aspects worth studying, aspects consistent with the novelty of the present stage. These should be examined and compared with growth in other countries that shook off neo-colonialist domination and where important processes are under way, considerable setbacks occur from time to time and much experience has been accumulated.

The practice in Egypt, where financial enterprises and banks are being confiscated, though without a Communist Party heading that process, is not to be compared indiscriminately with the practice of other neo-colonial countries fighting for their economic independence. The latter, which have close ties with the socialist world system by virtue of their national interests, make use of some of its formulas and pursue primary accumulation of capital to develop large-scale industry with the help of international credits or the gratuitous aid of the socialist world. But they do so on a basis of pre-capitalist relations of production, and there is always the danger of a large-scale reversal.

At the Consultative Conference in Budapest our Party called for an open and detailed discussion of a number of important problems that have lately been the

object of international polemics. But our recommendation did not evoke the due attention. And today, here, the Meeting is trying to draw up a complete platform of anti-imperialist struggle on the strength of an analysis of the international situation which we consider incorrect and incomplete, an analysis which does not reflect the inner essence of the movement, the breadth of its action and the significance of its historical scope, thus impairing its ideology.

The Consultative Conference approved what is now called reducing the issue to a democratic platform and left on the agenda of this Meeting but one item, the one that now figures as the title of the Main Document. At the end of July 1968, one of the sub-committees completed the scheme and draft of the Document now submitted for our approval after essential deletions, additions, amendments and discussions. It is supported by the majority of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties represented here.

In our view, that draft violates the agreement reached in Budapest, because it contains as a limited democratic platform a number of contentions which should really be discussed in the restricted framework of the sittings of this Meeting, and only then, upon getting a majority vote, accepted as suitable for the whole movement. The theoretical points alternating with the slogans, are presented as a scientific analysis of the revolutionary reality on a world scale, substantiating the platform of the anti-imperialist struggle contained in Section Three. These views, which, we repeat, are regarded as scientific, were discussed in the narrow framework of the preparatory sessions and approved by means of alliances concluded on the strength of transient circumstances, with the final wording determined either through compromise or by vote.

It should be remembered, moreover, that last year's August events necessitated a reinterpretation of a number of problems. Old points of dispute reappeared and new problems were created by these events, which could not but reflect on the attitude of some Parties during the preparations for this Meeting. When this deepened the disparities, our Party concluded that it would be somewhat bold and inadvisable to go beyond the Budapest decisions.

On May 5, 1875, in a letter from London, Marx wrote: "The mere fact of unification is satisfying to the workers, but it is a mistake to believe that this momentary success is not bought at too high a price" (Letter to Wilhelm Bracke). This referred to the Gotha Programme, with Marx sharply critical of the concessions the German Socialists made as the price of unity.

Our attitude to these differences should be clear, for on many points we adhere to the same view as the majority that now approves the Document, because in the eyes of our people we are an integral part of the world communist movement, especially that section of it which has come to this Meeting, and we have, with the deepest sense of responsibility, participated in most of the meetings, from the Consultative Conference in Budapest on to the present day. However, authorship of this programme should not be attributed to us, for we considered it inadvisable from the first, being eclectic, leaving room for different interpretations and, largely, transcending the framework of the agenda. Our attitude also stems from the method of discussion adopted to produce the present definitions on ideological matters so highly important for our movement.

We have heard all the speeches made so far and see that even before the Meet-

ing is over different interpretations are appearing of propositions written into the Document. Among other things, it defines the forces now jointly fighting imperialism without the necessary elucidation. The document also says that the "main contradiction" is between imperialism and a member of these forces—the socialist world system. Some stood up vigorously for this definition, but we hold—and it is down in our papers—that although the contradiction between imperialism and one of the streams may be more acute at some specific period, the main contradiction is still the one that reflects the whole content of the socio-historical process, that governs this historical process and determines the epoch. To be sure, this does not alter the obvious fact, one that should be recognised, about the main forces that determine the main contradiction. The Document is confused over the main contending forces and the main contradiction of the epoch, and so we see the first different interpretations of a truth which, if taken to be scientific, should have no different interpretations.

The section of the Document described as the scientific substantiation of the platform of struggle, canonises the tactics of some Parties in its analysis of the forces. That is not scientific. Besides, it associates all the signatories of the Document with the policy of the Parties concerned, a policy that has nothing in common with the analysis of the international situation.

Section Three of the Document, which is professed to be a platform of struggle and which some delegations regard as the only section worth discussing, not only considerably transcends the framework of the common agenda and the fixed topic of the Meeting, but also abounds in shallow ideological contentions. In this section we find the biggest disparities with our own programme.

The section covers nine points: aid to Vietnam, struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence, against proliferation of nuclear weapons, against imperialist aggression in relation to some socialist countries, against colonialism (and solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America), against the revival of fascism, against racialism and its consequences, for the democratisation of social life. This section would be signed by any bourgeois democrat, any American Quaker and any peace champion, and yet is presented "to the peoples of the socialist world system, the workers and Communists of the world" as a "platform of united action".

A platform appeal for unity of action to all "Communists of the world, all opponents of imperialism, all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress", could actually be one of two things: either an action programme for Communists fighting against imperialism, which should not then coyly conceal the alternatives advanced by the world communist movement, or a programme of action the Communists offer other forces, possible allies in the struggle against imperialism, in which case there is no need to transcend the narrow democratic platform referred to in the original Budapest agreement.

Of the Gotha Programme Karl Marx said what is quite applicable to this platform: "Its political demands contain nothing beyond the old democratic litany familiar to all: universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular rights, a people's militia, etc. They are a mere echo of the bourgeois People's Party, of the League of Peace and Freedom. They are all demands which, in so far as

they are not exaggerated in fantastic presentation, have already been *realised*" (*Selected Works*, English edition, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 2, p. 33).

Let us see what is set down as the aim of communist unity. The first and foremost is peace. It is now 25 years since the Second World War. The peace referred to in the Document has been achieved to one extent or another, and may be safeguarded by sustained popular struggle and deterrent military superiority. Peace is a reality we must vigorously safeguard; yet it is but one of the means in the struggle against imperialism, not the supreme and cardinal aim of the forces fighting for communism. Freedom and progress are notions contained in any bourgeois programme, are attainable in any bourgeois society, unless we define clearly what freedom and what progress we Communists demand.

This topic is discussed directly in the draft Document, which reads: "The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace." One could not limit the Communists' aim any more than by saying that the fight for peace is the "main link". Yes, thermonuclear war can be averted. What is more, mankind must avert it. But as long as the source of all wars survives, peace will always be insecure, will be daily imperilled by aggressive groups and the insatiable appetite of the imperialists. In that case, the main direction of the joint actions of the anti-imperialist forces should be to destroy imperialism, to remove the exploiting regimes throughout the world.

In addition, there is the demand concerning fruitful economic, scientific, technical and other co-operation among countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress. The most one can achieve thereby is full development of the capitalist system in the whole unfree world, which will not accomplish the central task of the Communists of the world: to eliminate all forms of exploitation.

At the latest Preparatory Committee sitting our Central Committee presented a 17-point programme containing concrete demands. It was rejected out of hand after the majority of the Central Committees said that the structure of the Main Document should not be changed. We fell back on Marx's recommendation when, realising that the circumstances prevented us from going beyond the framework of the Budapest understanding, we proposed: "The right thing is simply to confine ourselves to an agreement on struggle against the common enemy".

The unity programme, restricted to general democratic slogans and submitted for the consideration of Communists, makes no mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas that is the alternative which the world communist movement should offer to the crisis-bound capitalist society. That is the alternative which retains its historical validity despite the difficulties experienced by the socialist world in carrying it out. It was reaffirmed by the successful practice of socialist construction and is doubly valuable today, what with the general crisis of capitalism and the concentration of production in the hands of the monopoly minority so obvious that all can see it without any theoretical exercises, and with the growth of the proletariat on a world scale clearly indicating the historical future of mankind.

For Parties in power, who make this concession in the name of unity, their own example is worth much more than definitions, their actual activity much more than this programme. But for us who are fighting today to win over the working class, who are fighting for the political power of the working class—for us this concession has a strong bearing on our political and revolutionary positions.

Before approving or rejecting this Document as a whole, it should be determined whether we are standing on the shining platform of unity wrought by the 1960 Statement or whether we have just the fragments of a painfully maintained unity embodied in an eclectic compromise document drafted at the price of concessions and which has not stood the test of time.

Once again compromise formulas and propositions have been worked out on political problems by combining different points of view, although the substance of the differences is still more distinct these days and the immense importance of the ideological and fundamental problems still more obvious.

Public discussion may, indeed, to some extent impede the achievement of united action. But that discussion is already under way without the approval and permission of conferences. More, it is not always conducted in the best manner, and not always by the best possible means. The Document will not end that discussion, not even if it is signed by all those present. At best it will counterpose us to those who are not present here, or at least to most of them. But matters will not end there: discussion, even public discussion, by the participants in the Meeting will continue and, among other things, on issues dealt with in the Document.

As recognised by our Budapest Conference, the movement needs new forms of relations and a more creative approach to formulating the basic propositions and analysing new phenomena. A document composed, as Engels said of the Gotha Programme, "in a limpid, colourless language", which expresses mere commonplaces or, for compromise reasons, repeats outworn formulas rejected by life—that is not the kind of document that helps unite the masses round the world communist movement in the struggle against imperialism.

Our Central Committee decided against signing a document of that sort and reaffirmed that decision on learning that only insignificant amendments had been made to the Main Document at the latest sitting of the Preparatory Committee.

We shall not put our signature under a Document which, despite its professions in the sphere of ideology and theory, does not, as we see it, produce appraisals of any of the numerous new phenomena in the world of today. It is based on a number of fundamental postulates which we do not share and which are at loggerheads with those that we publicly uphold. It obscures the actual state of relations in the socialist camp and world communist movement and goes to the length of saying that no crisis exists in the development of socialism. Furthermore, it canonises the national policy of a number of Communist Parties that we are in no way obliged to share.

While spelling out our stand, we have no intention of evading collective actions by the considerable part of the movement represented here, and do not call in question our participation with most of the Parties signing the Document

in the joint actions against imperialism, for building socialism. Simply, we do not agree with the ideological definitions contained in the Document and the method used in working them out.

We declare our opposition, because we assume that this should be done now and not when this limited programme will be weighed against our own programme and its definitions.

We do not call in question our participation in the anti-imperialist struggle together with the Parties signing the Document, and in the struggle for socialism together with those who wish to wage it, because we recognise the existence of differences, the existence of different tendencies in the movement, rich in its variety and bent on fulfilling the great task of our epoch by different forms and methods, some of which are effective and some are not.

We are ready to carry through any task arising from the needs of the anti-imperialist struggle on which agreement may be reached here or at meetings of some other kind.

By rejecting this Document, we contribute, though at some risk, to the future true, agreed and even organic unity of the movement, in which different points of view, the result of differences in development and dissimilar cultural traditions, will be dialectically settled and overcome in the process of discussion, from which, I daresay, we shall bar but the opportunists and renegades.

Our disagreement is no stumbling block. In expressing it, we merely wish to be loyal to our own principles and our own programme, and oppose the Parties signing the Document merely in the sense of practical competition with them in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the historical test of our present-day positions.

As we see it, weaknesses are not overcome by superficial compromises that create the peril of an explosion some time later. The only way to remedy the existing weaknesses is to denude the roots of the evil, improving methods that have to be improved, taking into account the variety of practical forms the movement can take, and acting in concert against imperialism despite secondary disparities.

We appreciate the endeavours of a large number of Parties to achieve unity. We appreciate the sincere efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the facilities it has placed at the service of this desire for unity. We appreciate the important role played by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. They were the main organisers of these endeavours to produce agreement on united action in the anti-imperialist struggle, and we therefore express our gratitude to them.

Though expressing disagreement, our Party does not seek isolation. Nor is its stand prompted by any nationalistic parochialism. We declare our readiness to maintain the closest of ties and relations with the Parties present here despite ideological disparities or differences over methods of achieving unity, in the name of joint action against imperialism and in the struggle for building socialism on a world scale.

Thank you.

## MARIO MORALES

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Honduras**

Comrades,

To begin with, on behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of Honduras, I must express our surprise and indignation over the intervention of the Dominican representative. It is hard to believe that it could come from a member of one of the Latin American Communist Parties, joined by common aims in the struggle against US imperialism and viewing the Document single-mindedly as a programme of anti-imperialist action at the present stage. More than 70 Communist Parties took part in discussing the Document. Does the Dominican representative really presume that his theoretical learning entitles him to make statements insulting to the Parties gathered here?

The Dominican delegate has not understood the situation and the conditions in which our Meeting was convened; he has not understood the aims and tasks of this communist forum. We can just imagine the rejoicing that reports of the Dominican intervention evoked in the camp of our enemies. The Voice of America is sure to broadcast it on all wave-lengths. What we ask is, does this intervention serve the interests of the Dominican Communists and those of the Dominican people? The answer to that is the core of the problem.

Comrades, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras instructed us to convey fraternal greetings to the Communist and Workers' Parties taking part in this Meeting. At the same time, we express our heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for their effort in making this Communist Meeting live up to the hopes of the peoples of the world.

The Honduras Communists are aware of the difficulties that have had to be overcome for this. Even in the remotest corners of the world, the class enemies of the proletariat mounted an intensive campaign against the convocation of this world conference of Communists. They want to sow scepticism among the masses towards this event and distrust of the possibility of uniting the world's progressive forces to invigorate the struggle against oppression and exploitation. Divisive elements are artificially magnifying and distorting the specific problems now facing the world communist movement. These distortions are the source of all kinds of pessimistic forecasts about the outcome of this grand communist assembly.



Information forwarded to us on various occasions by the comrades whom the world communist movement entrusted with organising this forum, spoke clearly of the difficulties at hand. Members of the international Secretariat elected by democratic procedure have had to work in earnest and display profound understanding to fulfil the tasks placed upon them. We Communists of Honduras thank them and approve their painstaking work without reservations.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is a political event of the greatest historical importance. Whatever the class enemies of the proletariat may say to the contrary, whatever they may do to foil it, the Meeting will go down in modern history as a glorious milestone in the peoples' fight for socialism.

This is a decisive epoch in man's history. Our previous Meeting, which exercised a tremendous influence on the modern world, described it as "the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale". Today, too, we agree with this definition without qualification. In this historical stage, against the setting of large-scale class battles, imperialism is trying stubbornly to retain its positions, using a variety of tactics ranging from reformist manoeuvres in some regions of the world to direct aggressions in others. However, the peoples of the world, increasingly conscious of the depressing reality around them and increasingly determined to fight for economic and political emancipation, are intensifying their resistance to this policy on all fronts. This means that our Meeting coincides with a period of high tide in the popular struggle, its historical impact hingeing on the aim of cementing the ranks of the world proletariat, the vanguard of socialist revolution, and orienting it on the new tasks in the fight against imperialism. Our unity is the essential foundation for other social forces already participating in the battle against man's bitterest enemy to concentrate their democratic and revolutionary energy on goals more closely associated with the great socialist cause.

Attaching tremendous importance to an international communist forum, our Party did not hesitate to support the idea of convening it, and made its modest contribution in that direction. With Vietnam a victim of aggression, with the succession of reactionary coups and with world peace in constant peril, our appreciation of our internationalist duty helped us realise from the beginning that the most important and most vital task transcending all differences is to rally the Communists round a fundamental action platform envisaging an intensification of the struggle against the main enemy of all peoples in this era.

Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was very clear on this point in his calm and profound speech at this Meeting: "Building up a world-wide anti-imperialist front, the task of tasks in our time, cannot be successful without struggle for the unity of the world communist movement".

Today, in the concluding phase of our Meeting, we note with satisfaction that our concerns and our basic views are shared by the vast majority of the fraternal Parties. Throughout the preparatory work we witnessed a common trend highlighted by broad democracy in organisational matters and in drafting

and discussing the documents. All representatives of the fraternal Parties had the opportunity to express their ideas on the matters under discussion in a comradely atmosphere. The specifics of the situation in which the various contingents of the international working class are fighting for their aims were taken into consideration at all times. The collective effort was concentrated not on evading these specifics, but on taking them into account as fully as possible in the single, fundamental anti-imperialist line effective for all. As we see it, therefore, no one can accuse either the Preparatory Committee or the Meeting of disregarding the conditions and concrete problems facing the Parties represented here.

We find this confirmed in the draft of the Main Document, adopted as the basis for the discussion here at the Meeting. Our Party approves this Document, and doubly so after the wording of some of its paragraphs has been improved in the final stage. In our view, the Document is a thoroughly thrashed out programme of unity, rallying us for concrete aims. All four of its sections complement each other both as regards the principles and the practical tasks in the common struggle against imperialism. We Marxists, who combine theory and practice, are not prone to narrow practicalism, for we adhere in our work to principles elaborated on the basis of practice. That is why we reaffirm today that our Party opposes the proposals to reduce the Document to a simple enumeration of the anti-imperialist tasks, devoid of an ideological groundwork and of propositions of principle.

Our principles have not grown old. They cannot grow old. True, ever new problems posed by the unprecedentedly rapid growth of society arise before us each day. However, no one need adopt postures inconsistent with the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to study these problems and work out a correct policy. The problems of the youth, the intelligentsia and other sections of society that join the struggle against imperialism, are analysed by each Party in accordance with the concrete conditions and on the basis of the general Marxist principles. These efforts are essentially creative, aimed at studying and understanding the new phenomena from the standpoint of our ever young scientific doctrine. We recall Comrade Manuilsky saying at one of the Comintern congresses that "the Bolsheviks are invincible, because they are eternally young". This means that Marxism-Leninism is a continuously developing teaching, always concrete in its appraisals.

Neither are we in agreement with the proposal to set apart the First, Second and Fourth Sections, so that they could be signed, as was said here, by those Parties which accept them. If we followed this line of reasoning, we should have two incomplete documents, neither of them measuring up to the purpose set for the Document as a whole. We should then have an outline platform devoid of scientific arguments, on the one hand, and an assortment of doctrinaire formulas devoid of the essential section indicating the practical tasks of intensifying the struggle against imperialism throughout the world, on the other. To do so, we hold, would be to nullify all the preparatory work and, thereby, the very purpose of this Meeting.

The 7th plenary meeting of our Party's Central Committee, called specially to examine the draft of the Document forwarded for study, wholeheartedly

approved its analysis of the relation of world forces. As we see it, that analysis cannot be considered one-sided, because it does not portray imperialism as an invincible colossus conducting an offensive against the peoples, while avoiding the error of underestimating its capability. The draft of the Document is entirely objective in warning the peoples that, despite *imperialism's not having grown stronger as a world system, it is still a serious and dangerous adversary*. This standpoint gives no grounds whatsoever for fighters for peace, democracy and socialism to succumb to defeatism and pessimism or for nourishing groundless optimism as regards an easy victory over imperialism.

In the view of the Communist Party of Honduras it is of especial significance that the Main Document places the socialist camp, and above all the Soviet Union, in the forefront of the forces fighting imperialism. We have no doubts at all that the existence and continuous consolidation of the socialist camp is the ultimate guarantee of successful revolution in the world and imperialism's defeat. Our Party holds, therefore, that if the socialist camp has an internationalist duty to perform to all the other fronts of the struggle, these fronts, too—the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement—shoulder the same responsibility in relation to the countries building socialism and communism. This, we hold, is all the more obvious because the imperialist circles are mounting aggressive actions all over the world and conducting an ideological struggle against the socialist camp in the hope of undermining its foundations and driving a wedge between the socialist countries.

We Communists cannot look on dispassionately while the enemy acts to subvert the prestige of the socialist camp and weaken the world forces supporting it. It could not be more obvious that the purpose of this activity is to obscure the historical perspectives emerging for our peoples. That is why broad solidarity with the socialist camp, solidarity with the Soviet Union, is a question of principle that lost none of its importance either at the time when only one socialist country existed or today, when the number of socialist countries has increased. At present, proletarian internationalism carries the broadest and deepest significance, because by defending the socialist camp against all attacks aimed at impairing its strength, each contingent of the working class defends its own rockbottom interests. We see a direct connection there, and point to it without hesitation: the opportunity to develop revolutionary movements in any part of the world depends largely on the consolidation and invigoration of the countries building socialism and communism.

By reason of the above, we Honduran Communists hold that the greatest harm a political leadership can inflict on its working class is to join the enemy in attacking the socialist camp. A genuinely Marxist-Leninist attitude consistent with the principles of proletarian internationalism, is incompatible with attacks on the socialist camp and its main bastion, the Soviet Union. Any other policy impinges on the basic interests of the international working class and, in effect, grinds the axe of the enemy.

That, in our view, is the kind of policy followed by the present leadership of the Chinese People's Republic. In our view, the policy and actions pursued by the Mao group against the world communist movement cannot be reduced

to merely ideological differences. It is absolutely clear to us that this attitude is entirely alien to Marxism-Leninism and must be exposed.

For a long time, the world communist movement kept silent on this score, while seeking to prevail on the Chinese leadership to reverse its dangerous course. However, while the world communist movement displayed restraint, while it called for unity time and again, the Peking leadership persisted in its aim: it destroyed the glorious Communist Party of China, trampled upon the basic principles of scientific socialism and in its international relations, particularly with the Soviet Union, ended up by committing a direct aggression. For this reason, we hold, it would be intolerable for us to keep silent any longer or treat these facts in a spirit of reconciliation. The interests of the world communist movement and, in particular, the interests of the great Chinese nation require Communists who are proletarian internationalists to expose with all energy and clarity the concepts of Maoism, turned into something close to a religion.

Comrades, it is extremely important for the Communist Party of Honduras that, as indicated in the Main Document, joint action against imperialism should hinge upon struggle against all ideological deviations and confusions occurring in our movement today. All of us know perfectly well that these deviations, be they Left or Right, are the product of the enemy's ideological penetration into the ranks of the proletariat and that in a way they act as a brake on the revolutionary process in each country. The intensification of the struggle against imperialism—the goal set by our Meeting—must be accompanied on all accounts by a deepening of the ideological struggle not only against conceptions formulated by the class enemy, but also against all revisionist trends surfacing in our ranks.

It is quite obvious that the frontiers of socialism are expanding as a result of the growth of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. This does not mean, however, that socialism can dissolve, as some modern theories contend, in the diversity of national conditions. There is only one socialism—the scientific socialism, the socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin—and it is the duty of Communists to apply the universal principles of proletarian socialism creatively to the concrete conditions of each country, to reality, drawing a strict line of distinction between socialism and the revisionist distortions of it.

On the other hand, the Communist Party of Honduras extends unqualified support to the thesis of the Main Document concerning the conditions of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. On that continent, as some paragraphs of the Document say, "US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention", and "suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence". However, this imperialist policy, as we see from the content of the Document, is nothing but a desperate attempt by Yankee imperialism to halt the popular struggle mounting in different forms, from parliamentary activity where this is possible to armed action where the objective and subjective preconditions make resort to arms acceptable as a form of struggle.

Against the general background of Latin American reality, the glorious Cuban revolution is an event of extraordinary importance for the irresistible

growth of the democratic process of liberation leading on as a historical necessity to socialism. The historical turn that resulted from the victory of the Cuban revolution implies broader tasks, to accomplish which representatives of the proletariat, peasants, students, progressive intellectuals and other Latin American social strata are fighting and making sacrifices. The Cuban exploit has caused deep-going changes on our continent. These changes and their influence will expand as Cuba's socialist construction makes headway and as Cuba solves her basic problems created by imperialist aggressiveness. The solidarity of the world communist movement, and primarily of the Soviet Union, is a firm and dependable guarantee for the creative work pursued in the revolutionary Cuba of our day.

Comrades, for the reasons enumerated above, the delegation of the Communist Party of Honduras declares its readiness to sign the Main Document submitted to this Meeting by the last session of the Preparatory Committee. Our Party will enthusiastically sign the documents "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin", "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" and the "Appeal in Defence of Peace". All these documents are vitally important for the anti-imperialist struggle in the world and we see no reason, either procedural or of principle, for not signing all these documents on behalf of our Party.

We Honduran Communists are convinced that all the materials of the Meeting, and above all the Main Document, will play an important part in promoting our own struggle against the military dictatorship oppressing our country. It is the policy of our Party today to accumulate and consolidate its forces in the process of the mass struggle for the democratisation of the political and social life of our country.

In conclusion, we wish all the comrades present here every success in fulfilling the big and urgent tasks that now confront us in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

**CHEDDI JAGAN**  
**Leader,**  
**People's Progressive Party of Guyana**

Comrades,

We wish to thank you for your kind invitation to attend and to participate in your deliberations. For us, this is like home-coming, like joining our ideological family.

Not only theory, but practice has taught us that this is where we belong. Repeated attacks against us by the conservative Churchill, Macmillan and Home governments and by the liberal Kennedy Administration, and betrayal by the Social-Democratic Attlee and Wilson governments have established that only the international communist movement in alliance with the democratic and progressive forces in the capitalist states, and the liberation movements in the colonial and neo-colonial countries and not conservative, liberal or Social-Democratic leadership can liberate the working people of Guyana and elsewhere from imperialist exploitation and oppression.

Our presence here will be the excuse for further attacks. But this does not frighten us. We have long been faced with imperialism's biggest weapon—anti-communism. We were attacked more than two decades ago, when inspired by the heroic deeds of the Soviet people under the magnificent leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we had formed in 1946 the Political Affairs Committee, and in 1950, the People's Progressive Party with a programme of national independence and scientific socialism as our banner.

We did not somersault as most Commonwealth Caribbean leaders did when the cold war was started in the late 1940s by US imperialism and backed by the British Labour Party's Social Democrats. Thus, we became one of its early victims.

In October 1953, at the height of the McCarthyite red witch-hunt in the USA, our Constitution was suspended, and the first Government formed by our Party was destroyed by force. Popularly elected with 18 out of 24 seats to govern for 4 years, it lasted only 4.5 months. British gunboats and bullets replaced ballots. Our people, armed with the right of adult suffrage for the first time and united under the banner of the People's Progressive Party, soon learnt that Anglo-American democracy meant that the people had the right to vote provided they voted in accordance with the wishes of the imperialists.

Guyana is the graveyard of imperialism's alleged good intentions. It is a case history of its hypocrisy and deceit, a laboratory for its tricks and stratagems practised at the international level.

During the past 20 years, our people have learnt that despite the loud claims of the imperialists about their beliefs in freedom and democracy, Western democracy means naked force, bribery, gerrymandering, fomenting racial strife, manipulation of Constitutions, rigging of elections, denial of constitutional guarantees, and militarisation of our politics. No doubt, these methods were adopted from time to time because our Party, though dubbed Communist, had been able to win 3 consecutive elections, and to defeat the imperialists at their own game under their own rules. And we would still have been in the government today had it not been for the crudest practice of electoral manipulation, subversion, force and fraud.

We support the Document. We agree with its structure and formulations. Its four parts give a true picture of the world situation, the forces supporting and opposing imperialism; and where, when and how action must be undertaken.

We do not agree with some comrades who said that only some parts of the Document, mainly Section Three, should be adopted. A call for action alone is not enough. Experience teaches that in the face of demagoguery, racial and religious emotionalism, it is not enough to state what we stand for, what our programme of action is. Nor is it enough to tell the people that they are oppressed, exploited and hungry. That they know. What they don't know is precisely how and by whom they are exploited, and the role played by the frauds and hangers-on.

The Document provides clarity. It speaks of the growing monopolisation and concentration of capital, the merging of the state and the capitalist monopolies, and the new forms of economic organisation and integration for the exploitation and subjugation of whole nations and peoples.

In Guyana, the imperialists own and control the most profitable sectors of production, sugar and bauxite—sugar in the hands of two British monopolies; bauxite in the hands of one US monopoly and one Canadian company, itself tied to US capital. The least profitable and risky spheres of production have been relegated to the Guyanese people.

Foreign-owned and controlled sugar and bauxite earn about 75 per cent of the export income of the country. The imperialists also dominate the services sector—foreign and wholesale trade, banking, insurance, shipping. Through low wages, high interest rates, high prices and state tax and other concessions, they make profits of about G\$60 million annually, most of which is drained abroad. Through shady transactions and price manipulations between local subsidiaries and parent companies abroad, they hide their profits, underpay the workers and filch the national treasury. They drain our natural wasting assets, without adequate recompence, and maintain our country as a primary producer. A recent study of the University of the West Indies revealed that the Caribbean territories—Guyana, Surinam, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic—supply 86 per cent of the raw material, bauxite, for North American aluminium production, but earn only 4 per cent of the net income of the integrated bauxite-aluminium industry.

The foreign monopolists thus play a decisive role in the economic, political

and cultural life of our country. US-dictated foreign and domestic policies and the imposed bankrupt Puerto-Rican model of economic development have led to grave social problems. Standard of living has fallen; unemployment is sharply increasing, amounting to 22 per cent of the labour force, and to 35 per cent among youths in the urban areas; crime rate is alarmingly high; emigration is record-breaking.

In 1969, only an inadequate 40 per cent of the current budget was devoted to the welfare of the people; the rest, 60 per cent, was consumed by the growing bureaucracy, waste, corruption and the payment of debt charges.

The position of the working people will soon rapidly deteriorate because of the militarisation of our economy and the sharp increase in debt charges. Debt payments increased from 12 per cent of the budget in 1960 to 19 per cent in 1968 and will be about 30 per cent in the early 1970s. Thus, a vicious circle will be created—more taxation; declining living standards; sharpening class struggle; bigger police and army; denial of civil rights and liberties; bigger loans and bigger debt payments; more taxation; more class clashes; more repression leading to a police state.

This is the kind of perspective which the Document as a whole has presented in general. It needs to be said. It is an established fact that poverty alone does not lead to revolution. It is poverty, coupled with understanding and organisation, which leads to action.

Hence, our call in Guyana for a new strategy of economic development in place of the US-imposed Puerto-Rican model and a revolutionary programme calling for the nationalisation of foreign and comprador capitalist-owned and -controlled mines, plantations, factories, insurance, banking and foreign trade; land reform; exchange, price and rent controls; foreign policy of trade with, and aid from, East and West; planned proportional development with emphasis simultaneously on industry and agriculture mainly in the public and co-operative sectors; free education at all levels; free medical care; full employment; security in old age; full democracy and workers' participation at all levels. Around such a radical and revolutionary programme, we base our call for united and militant action.

Perhaps, some of our comrades here have proposed deletions of certain sections out of deference to the views of those either present or absent who do not agree with the ideological line taken in the Document, hoping that this is the best possible way to create unity of action. This in our view is a mistake.

Today, more than ever, a clear-cut ideological line of the international communist and working-class movement is vitally needed. The imperialists have created a world-wide propaganda apparatus to mount a campaign of half-baked ideas, half-truths and plain lies embellished as everlasting truths.

Besides, increasing contingents, particularly students, intellectuals and professionals, radicalised and revolutionised by their own proletarianisation through the technological revolution and the deepening crisis of imperialism, are confused because of lack of ideological clarity and unfortunately spend a great deal of time, energy and militancy fighting one another instead of concentrating their forces unitedly against the class enemy.

We must face these realities and take the bull by the horns. Trying to pre-



tend that differences do not exist will not cause them to disappear. What is needed is more and more debate in depth.

The Document, in our view, presents a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and has proposed a correct line of action. We see nothing wrong in warning against both Right and Left deviationism. Did not Lenin spend a great deal of his time combating these very harmful tendencies?

We came here with an open mind and regret that all the Communist and Workers' Parties are not represented. We would have liked the Chinese leadership to be present here to convince us of the correctness of their ideological and political line. Unfortunately, they prefer to stay away, hurl invectives and precipitate border clashes with the Soviet Union, which with the other socialist states is the main bastion against world imperialism.

Incidentally, we are amused by the Chinese charges against the USSR of revisionism when simultaneously the CPSU leadership is charged with orthodoxy and rigidity by the imperialists and their agents and dupes. We are reminded that Lenin himself was charged with revisionism for the New Economic Policy. But the economic and military might of the Soviet Union today in spite of the many obstacles and difficulties is a testimony to his genius. The correctness of theory is tested not by words but on the anvil of practice.

While we respect the right of the Chinese Communist Party leadership to determine the course of their own internal policies, we cannot condone their dogmatic approach for all of us. Nor do we respect their behaviour in giving support to those who attack our Party, the main bastion against neo-colonialism, and thus give aid and comfort to our enemy—the imperialists and their puppets. Fortunately, their numbers do not amount to more than a few dozens.

The Chinese leadership by their non-Marxist methods of criticism and unprincipled attacks against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states have precipitated disunity in the world revolutionary camp. Disunity in the face of the enemy, as the great leader of the Cuban people and revolution, Comrade Fidel Castro, once said, is not only dangerous but also suicidal.

Who can deny that this disunity was largely responsible for the heightened aggressiveness of the USA in the past six years in Vietnam and the setbacks in other parts of the developing world? One has only to compare this period with the mid- and late-1950s. In the 1953 Korean war, US imperialism was forced to retreat and General MacArthur was sacked by President Truman, the cold-warrior. In Indochina, French colonialism was humiliatingly defeated in 1954. In the 1956 Middle East crisis, the united voice of 62 nations at the United Nations and the Soviet declaration of possible military action on the side of Egypt caused the Anglo-French-Israeli imperialists to stop their aggression and the United States of America to renege on promises of help to Britain, France and Israel. In 1958, Batista was crushed in Cuba with no US intervention. The Algerians forced France to grant their country independence. The united, revolutionary tide brought many African, Asian and Caribbean colonies their independence.

We raise these criticisms about Chinese leadership not in the spirit of an attack, but in the hope that they will see their way soon to rejoin the world communist movement and restore it to its united strength of the 1950s.

And while we warn about "Left" dogmatism, sectarianism and infantilism which can provide the excuse for unnecessary attacks and casualties and the denial of democratic rights, we wish also at the same time to warn about lapsing into passivity and inaction. Arm-chair generalship, conferences, meetings, releases and communiques must not be the substitute for action. We need to affirm more resoluteness of purpose and more firmness of action.

Equally, as the draft Document warns, we must guard against Right opportunism. At the national level we know what this means. In 1953, when we were united, we crushed the forces of colonialist reaction and racism. Today US imperialism, local reaction and racism once again hold sway principally because of the betrayal of L.F.S. Burnham and his small clique who split our Party in 1955, joined with the reactionary and racist elements in 1958 and made a deal with US imperialism in 1962. His puppet government now pursues an anti-communist, pro-imperialist and racist policy.

The danger of Right opportunism is equally present at the international level. We cannot say that we share some of the Right deviationist sentiments expressed here.

A few comrades would have us believe that there is no immediate danger from imperialist aggression, that the whole trouble in the world revolutionary movement started with the August 1968 entry of the troops of the Warsaw Pact countries into Czechoslovakia, that this was a violation of sovereignty and denial of democratic development which "harmed our cause". It seems that these comrades are putting the cart before the horse.

No, comrades. This is no time to equivocate. We must face the real world and not be led into illusory paths. Imperialism has not given up its aggressive intentions. It has changed its methods, not its aims. It has become more cunning. Comrade Brezhnev has warned us of its many disguises. It practises new tricks, and pursues different tactics for different regions, indeed, sometimes, different tactics for the same region at the same time as its "iron hand" and "kid glove" reformist approaches in Latin America. It is necessary not only to know that the enemy of the working class is ruthless but also to recognise him in his true form and disguises.

Have we forgotten that the Truman doctrine of 1947 enunciated the principle of "containment of communism" and the "liberation" of the "captive states", the designation given to the East European socialist states? Have we forgotten that US state-monopoly capitalism once toyed with the idea of a massive first strike against the Soviet Union? Have we forgotten that under the Johnson doctrine, the US government has assumed the right to intervene with all its military might in any Latin American state which it considers to be "threatened by communism"? Have we not recognised that the Pentagon, having failed in its "limited" war in Vietnam is now with its ABM-programme going back to the "massive retaliation" strategy?

And what about imperialism's vast subversive apparatus, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)? Two Americans in their book, *The Invisible Government*, told of the meticulous, secret preparations made by the Central Intelligence Agency to launch the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba. In 1967, in the exposé of the CIA, it was shown how with hundreds of millions of dollars spent each

year both in the United States and abroad, numerous organisations embracing a wide spectrum from Right to Left—trade union, political, cultural, religious, journalist, press, radio, youth, student—were infiltrated, bribed and corrupted.

True, the CIA did not succeed in Cuba, thanks to the heroism of the Cuban people. But did it not succeed in Iran in 1953, in Guatemala in 1954, in Guyana, in Greece and elsewhere? Must the international communist movement wait until imperialism works from within and without, and wins, and Communists and other progressives are slaughtered in hundreds and thousands before it acts? Observe what happened in Guyana. In a story, "How the CIA Got Rid of Jagan" in the London *Sunday Times* of April 16, 1967, the Insight Team wrote:

"As coups go, it was not expensive: over five years the CIA paid out something over £250,000. For the colony, British Guiana, the result was about 170 dead, untold hundreds wounded, roughly £10 million-worth of damage to the economy, and a legacy of racial bitterness".

Referring to the August events, our Australian comrades say that "the intervention harmed our cause, the struggle for a socialist world", that "internationalism cannot be separated from a regard for the rights of all nations, great and small".

Since when do we argue only legalistically, and not also dialectically? Do we make no distinction between imperialist wars and interventions on the one hand, and people's wars and international solidarity on the other? Have we forgotten that the US imperialists have proclaimed and put into practice that the concept of national sovereignty and self-determination are obsolete, that "ideological frontiers" must replace "geographical frontiers"?

Comrade Husák rightly drew our attention to the concept of the "class content of sovereignty". This is important. US intervention with 65,000 troops in the Dominican Republic was a violation not only of territorial integrity but also of real sovereignty. It was done to maintain the neo-colonialist status quo and to prevent a social revolution. If the entry of troops of the Warsaw Pact countries was similarly a violation of Czechoslovakia's borders, its objective was different. It was done to prevent a socialist state from reverting to capitalism, and to preserve the fundamental sovereign right of the Czechoslovakian people, the right to be free from capitalist exploitation and all the other ills of capitalist society. Therefore, far from being a violation of internationalism, it was a duty. As Comrade Husák correctly put it, the rights, obligations and duties of the socialist states are inextricably interlinked.

What do our Australian comrades mean when they say in connection with the August events that "internationalism cannot be identified with the national interests of any socialist country"? If this is a veiled reference to the Soviet Union, we cannot conceive that there is or can be any interest of the Soviet state which is in contradiction with the interests of the various contingents of the world revolutionary movement. Since when do genuine national interests and proletarian internationalism conflict? Does not the Soviet people, who suffered loss of millions of lives and billions of roubles of property at the hands of German fascism, have a right to protect their national interests and at the same time to maintain their strength to discharge their international duty?

Have we forgotten that when certain events occurred in the late 1930s and early 1940s, what a tremendous howl went out about Soviet intervention and the denial of freedom and democracy? Let us remember that had the Soviet Union not acted in the way she did then it is quite possible that we would not have been sitting here, and the whole world would have been hailing Hitler, or saluting Il Duce!

No comrades, this is no time to act like the proverbial dog which not content with the bone in its mouth grasped at the shadow and lost the bone.

We must not give grist to the imperialist mill as our Australian comrades did when they used such phraseology as "an expansion of democracy in the socialist countries would have a significant impact on the development of the democratic and revolutionary movement in the Western countries".

Surely, we must be more careful in the use of words. Are we talking about form or substance? We in one of the most aggravated areas of struggle, Latin America, are not afraid to say that at any stage of its transition from socialism to communism, socialist democracy is far more free in the broader humanistic sense than liberal-bourgeois democracy.

We must not use language helpful to our enemies, who never tire in charging that there is no democracy in socialist states. Instead, our language must be unambiguous and our answer forthright and resolute. That was how Comrade Fidel Castro replied to the charges of past president L. B. Johnson that there was no democracy and freedom in Cuba. He invited Johnson to give a gun to every Negro and every worker in the USA as he had done in Cuba, and then the world would have been able to see which country was more democratic and free!

It is one thing to criticise as Comrade Fidel Castro did by posing the question of why the August events after 20 years of socialist power, and by pointing out to what he regarded as aberrations and deformations of Marxism-Leninism and as violations of the norms of socialist behaviour. It is quite another thing to condemn and to talk about harming "our cause". Socialist Cuba, which is also our cause, is on the firing line; Comrade Fidel knows perhaps more than many of us here what struggling for "our cause and a socialist world" means, yet he has said that the entry of the Warsaw pact troops was politically justifiable.

Rather than attacking the socialist states and slandering the present Czechoslovakian leadership, as some have done inside the communist movement, we should sympathise with them in their difficulties and congratulate them for their firmness.

On our part, we are satisfied with the explanation given by Comrade Husák. We know from our own experience how the imperialists and their paid lackeys bribed and corrupted even from within our own ranks; how through their owned or supported press, radio, pulpit and platform they deluded and incited sections of the working class and lumpen proletariat to demonstrate, strike and riot against their own interests.

We can understand the 1956 events in Hungary and the necessity for the serious warnings by Comrade Kádár about the role of reaction in the history of the Hungarian people's struggle for socialism.

Comrades, we must guard against seeing the world mainly from the limited horizon of the developed capitalist states. And in the quest for unity to achieve power through the ballot box, we must also guard against arguing from the premises and positions of the liberals and Social Democrats. Comrades must take a world view and not be lulled into a false sense of security because they are working in an atmosphere of bourgeois-liberal freedoms. Reaction has demonstrated that it can and will strike as in Greece, the cradle of Western democracy.

In this respect, the People's Progressive Party has a rich experience. During the course of its 19-year attempt to gain power through the ballot box, it has learnt the ways of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Red witch-hunting, force, bribery, terror, victimisation and gerrymandering were resorted to by imperialism. Yet the Party won consecutively in 1953, 1957, 1961. On the eve of independence, US pressure and CIA-financed and fomented riots and strife, forced the British government to change the electoral system, which resulted in the removal of the PPP from the government in 1964. Had the system not been changed, we would have won the same 20 out of 35 seats which we had won in 1961. At the December 1968 election, even the changed electoral system could not have helped to maintain the puppets in office. Because the PPP could have increased its votes from 46 per cent in the previous election to an over-all majority, fraud was extensively practised through ballot-box tampering, massive proxy voting and fabricated local and foreign voters' lists with names of dead and non-existent persons reminiscent of Gogol's "Dead Souls".

We have also learnt that by and large the liberals and Social Democrats will betray the working class in times of crisis.

Take the late liberal, John F. Kennedy. As President of the United States, he said in an interview to *Izvestia* in early 1962 that even though I was a Marxist, his administration recognised the PPP government because we had come to office by a democratic election. But at the same time, the CIA was working under US consular and trade union cover to subvert our government. And soon after, Kennedy himself applied pressure on the Macmillan Government to change our electoral system and to block independence. The London *Sunday Times* of April 23, 1967, in a story headlined, "Macmillan, Sandys Backed CIA's Anti-Jagan Plot" exposed the treachery of the British government in the Anglo-American plot to overthrow our government.

The Social Democrat Harold Wilson was a Leftist who did not join in the attacks on our movement and government by the Attlee-led Labour Party in 1953. In 1963, as leader of the party, he described the Macmillan government's manipulation of our electoral system as a "fiddled constitutional arrangement". He shattered some illusions when he betrayed us after taking office in October 1964.

The betrayal by the Social Democrat, L. F. S. Burnham, is the seat of most of the present-day troubles of the Guyanese people. By his opportunism, he precipitated the racial divisions and the disunity of the working class. Had we not hastened to bring him into our movement in 1950, we would have made perhaps more slow, but certainly more durable and lasting progress.

It must not be understood that we are against united fronts or coalitions. We

merely wish to warn of the dangers of reaching for governmental office or serving nationalistic ends by compromise, by sacrifice of principles and by action which might lead to the undermining of the socialist base. Office can have a corrupting influence in many ways. Above all, it can help to create an atmosphere of unreality and an attitude of over-confidence. Superficial unity without principled struggle and deep ideological commitment will prove illusory and empty.

Yes, comrades, we must take not a narrow nationalistic, but a world view. We must stop hair-splitting and fence-straddling. The US imperialists have made the middle position untenable; they have fought against and subverted the concept of non-alignment, while pretending to uphold it. We exposed their hypocrisy when in answer to their charge that our PPP government would have made an independent Guyana into "a gateway for international communism to penetrate Latin America", we offered to make Guyana into a completely non-aligned state with a treaty like Austria. That did not stop the hypocrites from attacking us.

So far as we are concerned, the defence of the Cuban Revolution is a matter of principle. Our Party hailed it from the beginning. The PPP government established friendly and trade relations with Revolutionary Cuba, but was obstructed by Anglo-American imperialism from establishing diplomatic representation at the consular level. We will continue to defend this beacon of light in the Western Hemisphere.

Vietnam is also for us a matter of principle. The people of the whole world owe a debt of gratitude to the heroic Vietnamese people for stalling the imperialist juggernaut. By dealing crushing blows, Vietnam has transformed the US political scene, and forced even hawks like McGeorge Bundy to become doves. Today, it is sounding imperialism's deathknell. Tomorrow, more battles in other areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the most aggravated front of imperialism, will create its graveyard. It is these battles which will accelerate the crisis of imperialism in the capitalist states and revolutionise their masses for separate and joint action in the developed and undeveloped countries of the world.

In this context of accentuated imperialist aggression, the unity and strength of the socialist states are a prime necessity. Hence, the defence of the socialist states is also for us a matter of principle. Their economic and military might must not be undermined. These states, more particularly the Soviet Union, stand guard over the fate of mankind in all distant frontiers of the world. Those who doubt this must ask the Cubans, the Vietnamese and the liberation fighters in Africa and elsewhere. Did not the Cuban delegation admit, the heroism of the Cuban people apart, that aid from the Soviet Union was vital in the preservation of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere? The heroism of the Vietnamese people apart, did not the rockets, tanks, and other weapons, etc., from the socialist states help in the Tet offensive in 1968, which humiliated the US aggressors and forced them to the conference table? Imperialism did not hesitate to use atomic weapons against Japan in 1945. Only the military might of the socialist states has stopped them from using these weapons in Vietnam, and perhaps against Cuba. Let us not forget this.

In Guyana, the situation will get worse before it turns finally for the better. With growing displacement of British economic, political and cultural domination, our country is rapidly moving into the US sphere of influence and into the mainstream of the Latin American revolution. US imperialism has yoked Guyana with the other Commonwealth Caribbean states and colonies in the Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA), the better to strangle their real development and to strengthen US neo-colonial domination. Through the Organisation of American States, the US "ministry of colonies", the United States of America is increasing its influence. Unfortunately, many Caribbean leaders who during the period of the last war fought against colonialism and imperialism have now somersaulted.

However, there is a general upsurge in the area. The Caribbean peoples, like their Latin American brothers, are fighting back to free themselves like the Cuban people.

In Guyana during the past four years, there has been increasing militancy as evidenced by a record-breaking number of strikes—146 in 1965; 172 in 1966; 170 in 1967 and 149 to the end of November 1968. The puppet regime's answer is intimidation, harassment and repression.

Incidentally, the late President Kennedy justified his attacks against the PPP government on the ground of fear that we would not have respected constitutional guarantees and parliamentary democracy. But since the US imperialists and their puppets seized power by force and fraud in 1964, they have not only slashed living standards, but also deliberately set upon a course to divide our people and deny them their basic human rights. In 1966, a National Security Act, far more vicious than the US National Security Act of 1950, gave the puppet regime the right to detain and restrict without trial. The right to peaceful demonstration has been denied. Powers have been assumed by the government to restrict movement in and out of the country. The right to strike is threatened by a bill now before the National Assembly. Neutral army and police officers have been dismissed. Border claims and incursions by the imperialist-backed puppets in Surinam and Venezuela provide the Burnham regime with the excuse to militarise our economy and politics, and to recognise and welcome the Brazilian dictatorship as a friend and protector.

That the puppet regime is increasingly resorting to brute force is an indication of its own weakness. The use of police dogs, the armed police riot squad and soldiers is a common occurrence against workers in the capital, the government stronghold. Last November, troops and armoured vehicles were sent in the sugar belt against sugar workers fighting unitedly. Four years before, through CIA intervention and subversion, these same workers were involved in serious racial clashes. This is an indication of the growing consciousness and unity of the working class.

On the political front, too, the balance of forces has changed, and will continue to change for the better. The notorious governmental coalition of the past four years, representing the two pro-imperialist, anti-communist parties—the People's National Congress (PNC) and the United Force, has been ruptured.

A contradiction is also developing between the elitist leadership and the rank-and-file of the ruling PNC. It will deepen as living conditions continue to

deteriorate from taxation which has been increasing by geometric progression during the past four years.

In this context, the PPP is in the process of transforming itself from a loose mass party to a disciplined Marxist-Leninist type of party. It is accelerating its work on the ideological front to combat racial emotionalism, religious obscurantism, "economism", and other false ideas. It is increasing its effectiveness on the mass fronts, particularly in the labour movement and among youths and students. At the same time, it is combating Rightist reformist illusions and Leftist anarchist impatience.

In Guyana, it is we Marxists who are demonstrating who really stands for unity, freedom and democracy.

In conclusion, we wish to declare our support for the appeal on peace, the address on the Lenin centenary, and the appeal for independence, freedom and peace in Vietnam. These are all inter-related and inter-connected in a dialectical unity. The struggle for peace is the means of creating ever-increasing unity in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The ideas of the great Lenin are today more than ever necessary to shed light because of the confusion and divisions in the international arena caused by differences in the socialist camp and by distortions spread by the camp of imperialism. We can say in retrospect, in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, that many of the recent setbacks in the developing countries including Guyana were due not only to imperialist machinations but also to the failure to master Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

Vietnam has demonstrated that a people guided by a Party rooted in Marxism-Leninism and united for the broadest possible action is an indestructible force. Vietnam has proved that with the correct application of Marxism-Leninism and international proletarian solidarity, that with internal unity, international solidarity and the closest links with the socialist states, imperialism can be defeated. The heroic Vietnamese people are fighting not only their battles, but also our battles; they are also providing the necessary encouragement and stimulus to those in our ranks who are in the front lines of fire, who sometimes tend to despair and succumb to imperialist psychological warfare that they and their puppets are invincible and cannot be defeated.

Comrades, like the valiant Vietnamese people, let us stand up unitedly and confront imperialism. Let us sink our minor differences. It is our hope that all comrades present here will sign the Document. Humanity demands it. We must not shirk our international duty. We must leave this historic conference with unity in ideology and action.



## **YAKUB DEMIR**

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Turkey**

Dear Comrades,

In the first place, allow me, in the name of all Turkish Communists, warmly to greet the representatives of the fraternal Parties taking part in our Meeting.

It was with tremendous interest that we listened to the historic speech of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev. This speech contains a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation that has necessitated the convening of the Meeting, and elucidates ways of strengthening our unity in the anti-imperialist struggle. We fully and wholly support the views stated in this speech, which is of exceptional importance for our movement.

The world events since the meetings of 1957 and 1960 have fully borne out the propositions of the Moscow Declaration and Statement. Our Party will continue to guide itself by the fundamental principles of these documents.

These events have proved beyond doubt that as long as imperialism exists there remains the danger of a world war. But they have shown also that in our epoch the imperialist war plans can be foiled and war averted. On more than one occasion have we witnessed the imperialists' attempts to plunge mankind into the abyss of a world war, but each time they have been stalled on the brink.

Imperialism is doomed by history, but it is exerting every effort to prolong its existence. Its aggressiveness increases as the anti-imperialist forces develop. But there are factors that prevent the unleashing of a world war by imperialism—growth of the forces opposing it; the increasing economic, political and military might of the socialist world system and in the first place the Soviet Union; the mounting struggle of the international working class; the spread of the national liberation movements and, last but not least, the unshakable adherence of the socialist states to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Compelled to abandon the idea of unleashing a world war, the imperialists continue, however, to threaten world peace by kindling local wars, pursuing a policy of aggression, armaments race and systematic war preparations. Realising that unity of the forces opposing it is its invincible enemy, it employs all means to weaken this unity, to exploit and deepen the disagreements existing in various contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

Constantly inciting anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the imperialists are trying hard to isolate Turkey and its people from their great neighbour, the Soviet Union, and the other socialist states, and set our country in opposition to them. But facts expose the mendacity of this policy. The brutal war started by the US imperialists in Vietnam has revealed their real aims, it has demonstrated the imperialists' aggressive predatory intentions in respect to our country as well. All this, and also assistance from the socialist camp and above all the Soviet Union to the peoples fighting for national liberation, and especially the tremendous help to the Vietnamese people in their valiant fight have intensified the movement of Turkish patriots against imperialism, US imperialism in the first place.

Our people know that the imperialists headed by US imperialism stand behind the Israeli aggression against our Arab neighbours, and that it was US imperialism that started the fire of war that is still smouldering in the Middle East. But again, they also know that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries stand by the Arab peoples defending their land and their national independence. Today the imperialists cannot conceal from our people any longer the aggressive plans of NATO and the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Turkey belongs to those countries which are at once victims and instruments of imperialist policy. In the last ten years our people have stepped up the fight against imperialism and its local partners in order to end this state of things. The international events of recent years have greatly stimulated the development of this struggle.

Turkey's more than 20-year close collaboration with aggressive imperialist powers and particularly the United States, its participation in NATO has deeply affected the economic, social and political life of the country and negatively influenced all the classes and strata of the people with the exception of a handful of big capitalists and landowners. That is the main cause of the protracted economic, social and political crises in the country. The coup of 1960 was one of the consequences of these crises, but it failed to justify the cherished hopes of the people.

As a result of agreements with the imperialists and so-called aid our country is subjected to exploitation, becoming ruined and losing its economic and political independence. Imperialist monopolies have seized or established control over key positions in the national economy. They restrict the development of the national industry. Our industry and agriculture have no chance against foreign competition. The constantly increasing military expenditures swallow up the lion's share of the national income. The burden of continuously growing state indebtedness, especially foreign debts, has become so onerous that not only the present but even the coming generation will be unable to get rid of it. Taxes have risen to a level where the people cannot pay them in full. Misery has reached unbelievable proportions. The impoverished working people of town and countryside are leaving their homeland for other countries. Unemployment has become a real calamity. Already 750,000 people have applied to the Employment Bureau in the hope of finding jobs in West European countries.

The brunt of the disastrous situation into which our country has been driven

by the policy of armament and war preparation is shouldered by the toiling masses, especially the working class. The cost of living has skyrocketed and continues to rise. The real wages are diminishing.

All that has furthered growth of the class consciousness of the workers. The few democratic rights won after the 1960 coup enabled them to voice their discontent. The Turkish workers went over to an organised, open and active struggle for greater economic and political rights. The growing scope and intensity of workers' actions compelled the bourgeoisie, which formerly even denied the existence of a working class, to grant it the right to strike, though limited, and the right to collective bargaining. A legal Workers' Party was founded. Despite all kinds of pressure and provocation from the reactionary circles, it sent 15 deputies to parliament after the 1965 general election. The working class has come to play an important role in the political and social life of the country. Its struggle has assumed an acute character:

1. The strike movement is directed today primarily against the imperialist monopolies, their local collaborators and the US and NATO military establishments in the country. Despite the brutality of the US and Turkish police, the recent strikes of workers employed at NATO installations lasted 47 days and ended victoriously several days ago.

2. Workers' actions against imperialism and reaction are organised in most cases jointly with youth and student organisations and supported by other progressive organisations and the people generally.

3. While pressing for their demands during strikes, manifestations and meetings, the workers also often defend the interests of the peasantry, their natural ally. The posters with which they come to meetings and manifestations read: "Land to Peasants!", "Factories to Workers!", "Long Live Independent Turkey!", "Down with Imperialist America!", "Workers, Peasants, Youth, Keep Together!"

Aided by US monopolies, the bourgeoisie uses most refined methods to arrest the growth of the workers' movement. It infiltrates working-class organisations with people with an alien ideology who are given special training in the United States and in Turkey itself and who find a favourable field of activity among the less conscientious strata flowing into the ranks of the working class.

Besides, taking advantage of disagreements in the world communist movement, there have again appeared police agents, provocateurs and liquidationists—both those who in their time penetrated into the working-class movement but were later exposed and driven out of public and political organisations, and those who have never been able to find their way into them. Seizing on the old fable of the Turkish police that the Communist Party's illegal activity is "high treason", they have stepped up their activities of late, directing them not only against the Communist Party but against other public and political organisations playing a leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle, and especially against the legal Workers' Party. But all these elements alien to the working class cannot prevent the growth of the working-class movement and the consolidation of the revolutionary trade unions.

In recent years the class struggle has been mounting on a mass scale also in

the countryside. In some villages landless peasants and farm labourers organise joint marches to cities to demand a land reform. There are cases of peasants jointly tilling land taken from big landowners by force. This has been the cause of frequent clashes between the peasants, on the one hand, and big landowners' mercenaries and government troops, on the other.

The energetic actions of the working class have roused the toilers of town and countryside, the petty bourgeoisie, the middle strata, the progressive-minded intelligentsia and the patriotic youth in a struggle for the independence of our country, against imperialism and its local agents, against the foreign military bases in Turkey and the aggressive Atlantic pact organisation. They are playing now the principal role in uniting all these forces in the fight against imperialism and reaction. The intensification of the working-class struggles has imparted a particularly great vigour to the youth movement and enhanced the political activity of students. The most important thing is that the university youth, who are among the front-rank fighters against imperialism, for national independence, democracy and social progress, have realised that they can achieve genuine victory only in close alliance and co-operation with the working-class movement, and have begun to prove this by deeds.

Our students are also fighting resolutely against the present backward educational system which conforms with the colonialist designs of the US and West German imperialists. These days police and gendarme units have been conducting bloody reprisals against the students who, backing up their demand for an educational reform, occupied the buildings of all the universities and other higher schools of the country.

Present-day conditions in Turkey impart a specific character to the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, expressed in the fact that, on the one hand, a part of the national bourgeoisie in some respects sides with the anti-imperialist struggle of the people and on the other, contradictions are growing sharper between the various strata of the bourgeoisie itself: between the petty bourgeoisie which wants to break out of the control of the imperialist monopolies, and the big bourgeoisie which collaborates with them and facilitates the spread of their influence in the country and which has turned Turkey into an instrument of the aggressive policy of the imperialist states.

This state of things brings the proletariat and the advanced section of the national bourgeoisie together in the fight against the imperialist monopolies and their local partners and stimulates their co-operation in the attainment of certain goals—a factor which our Party has taken into consideration in its slogan for the establishment of a National Democratic Front against imperialism and reaction. The first steps towards implementing this slogan have been made. Trade unions representing 350,000 people and various public organisations joined forces in the Union of Struggle Against Imperialism set up last year to fight the foreign monopolies, the big capitalists and landowners collaborating with them, and reaction.

The anti-imperialist movement in our country is assuming increasingly sharper forms. The visit paid to Istanbul last February by the US 6th Fleet triggered off the anger and hatred which our people harboured for US imperialism. The Turkish people, forced to pay dearly for the various US-imposed

agreements and military pacts, rose in protest against the visit of this fleet, a symbol of the people's suffering. The mass demonstrations of workers and young people, held for several days in all big cities, developed into bloody clashes with fascist detachments and police units. At present mass anti-US manifestations are taking place in Ankara, in the face of police brutalities.

Seeking to suppress the anti-imperialist movement directed chiefly against US imperialism, circles associated with the United States and NATO are mobilising the most outspoken nationalists and reactionaries and training, in special camps, fascist-type storm troops and commando units which they employ against workers' and youth organisations. But nothing can stop the struggle of the working class, the progressive youth and other peace-loving forces for the just cause of our people. The advanced section of our people is aware of the grave danger to which Turkey is exposed by being tied to the United States and NATO, by the military bases and depots of atomic warheads on its territory. The imperialist powers' encroachments on the national independence of Turkey are directly connected with the rule of the big bourgeoisie and landlords in our country.

On the initiative of the CIA and with direct help from foreign monopolies and big capitalists and landowners, "societies for anti-communist struggle" have been set up almost everywhere in the country. The field of anti-communist activity has expanded, because all anti-imperialist, progressive and peace actions are qualified by the reactionaries as communist. The actions of the anti-communists have assumed an aggressive and ruthless character. Fascist detachments have gone into action.

But the more conscious masses already see that the imperialists and their local satellites, using the smokescreen of mythical "Soviet menace" and "communist danger", are encroaching upon the independence of Turkey.

Comrades, we think that those who do not realise the revolutionary character of the peace policy and the principle of peaceful coexistence consistently adhered to by the Soviet Union and other socialist states, would do well to make a thorough study of the present developments in Turkey. This policy has rendered ineffective the propaganda of the aggressive imperialist circles and their Turkish accomplices and considerably reduced the sphere of their influence. It has helped our people to realise the actual state of things in the country, accelerated the development of the working-class, anti-imperialist and democratic movements and intensified their activity. Such is the truth.

The Turkish Communists know that the prime condition for victory in the struggle against imperialism and reaction launched by our people is unity of all the anti-imperialist forces under the leadership of the working class, and they are doing their utmost, in conditions of clandestinity, to fulfil their historic mission.

Comrades, one of the main reasons why we vigorously supported, five years ago, the proposal for convening a Meeting and actively joined in its preparation is that the development of the struggle in our country is intrinsically bound up with world developments, and we feel an urgent need for a new common programme of action and for guidance of this action. The Main Document of our Meeting, resulting from a generalisation of the experience of the inter-

**national anti-imperialist struggle and giving a Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the new social and political phenomena, constitutes such a guide to action and is of exceptional importance to us. We fully approve this Document, all sections of which are organically interconnected, and are ready to sign it.**

**We are nearing the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the brilliant leader and teacher of the proletariat of the whole world. The Communist Party of Turkey, loyal to his lofty ideas and principles, regards it as its duty of honour to mark this great date and is preparing for it jointly with all the fraternal Parties.**

**Comrades, at a time when the imperialist circles, bent on weakening their chief adversary, the socialist system, are taking recourse to all kinds of subversion, trying to suppress the international communist and working-class movement, stepping up activities against the independence of the peoples and intensifying the arms race and war preparations, Mao and his clique have redoubled their efforts to split the socialist system, the communist movement and the movements for national liberation—all that in pursuance of what are essentially the same aims as those of the imperialists. They have intensified the campaign of lies and slander against the Party of Lenin, the fraternal Parties that share the Leninist principles, and the world communist movement. More, they have committed an armed attack on the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union. There is no need to look for more glaring examples of service to imperialism.**

**Those who now hold the destiny of China in their hands have turned the GPC into an instrument of military dictatorship against Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, an instrument of pressure on the working class. The present CPC leaders' unbridled striving for hegemony is leading them to a policy of great-power chauvinism. Abandoning the construction of socialism in China, for which the Chinese people have fought for many years, they have adopted the slogan of the German nazis, "guns instead of butter", rewording it in a Chinese manner: "to thoroughly prepare for war and hunger".**

**Maoism is synonymous with anti-Sovietism, factionalism in the communist movement, and militarism.**

**However, despite all the provocations of the Maoists, we trust in the common sense of the great Chinese people. We believe that the Chinese Communists will sooner or later find a possibility to return to the correct road indicated by Marx and Lenin, and will occupy a worthy place in the world communist movement.**

**Long live the unity of the world communist movement!**

## **ERMENEGILDO GASPERONI**

**General Secretary,  
San Marino Communist Party**

Comrades,

I convey, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, comradely greetings to the representatives of fraternal Parties assembled here to take part in the third International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. We thank the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which has played an important part in the work of the Preparatory Committee by its active co-operation in the organisational and political preparation of this Meeting. We fraternally salute and sincerely and warmly thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the generous hospitality which, as always, it has extended to its comrades-in-arms.

The important complicated work which the Preparatory Committee has performed in drafting the documents we are now discussing in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternity, deserves a high appraisal by virtue of the democratic spirit which characterised this work due to the contribution of the delegations of all the fraternal Parties present here.

Comrades, the San Marino Communist Party is on the threshold of crucial pre-election struggle. In September we shall appear before the electorate from whom we await an appraisal of the work done by us, an expression of confidence, and approval of the programme which we will submit to our fellow-citizens.

It will be a strenuous struggle, for the Communists, Socialists and all the democrats of San Marino are faced with an impudent enemy who will employ every trick to escape defeat.

Our Party has confidence in the voters, for it has been waging hard struggles for the economic, social and professional demands of the working class and all working people and organising large-scale unitary actions on issues affecting all social strata of our people, and invariably combating and exposing the harm being done to the country and to the entire society by the policy of the present government.

Our Party has been resolutely opposing the conformist policy of the present ruling group, which subordinates our state to the intentions of the Rome government, sacrifices our rights as a sovereign state and collaborates in the

strangling of our economy by big Italian monopolies which perniciously influence the entire economic life of San Marino. Our Party is combating the San Marino government's Atlantism which is plainly ridiculous, considering the position of our country. All these years our Party has been fighting against corruption, blackmail and discrimination—methods on which the present Demochristian and Social-Democratic government rests.

For these reasons our Party, in keeping with its political line, will wage a struggle on the basis of a democratic renovation programme aimed at securing the unity of the Left democratic and Socialist forces so as to eventually build a new majority capable of solving San Marino's problems in conformity with the aspirations of the vast majority of the citizens of our republic.

Our Party is concentrating on the following principal problems:

- improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the working people—the immediate aim of the actions and unceasing, rapidly multiplying strikes;
- a modern and democratic Constitution;
- equality of women before law;
- the right to work and protection of the rights of the working people;
- democratic economic programming;
- a new convention with the Italian government to guarantee our republic's prerogatives as a sovereign and independent state.

The repeal of the fraudulent electoral law, which undeservedly gave the Demochristians four seats on the Grand Council, facilitates the advance of the San Marino Left.

In addition, it is very important for us that both working-class parties, Communist and Socialist, have agreed on a unitary platform. The Socialist Party declared at its last congress that there can be no Left unity without Communists.

Comrades, the third International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is taking place in the year of the 50th anniversary of the Communist International. Since then, giant forward strides have been made and the ideals of socialism and communism have gained tremendous popularity. History has confirmed that the victory of the October Revolution ushered in the era of socialism.

The present international situation is complicated and fraught with dangers. This calls for serious efforts and unity of the communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

\*On the one hand, we are witnessing aggressive and adventuristic moves by the big imperialist powers, especially the United States; on the other, we see substantial indications of hesitancy and contradictions in the international policy of a number of capitalist countries tied to the chariot of Atlantism, indecision and vacillation which are deepening parallel with the growth of the struggle of the broad masses to avert a world conflict that would endanger the very existence of the human race.

Hence the need for ever greater mobilisation of the peace-loving and anti-imperialist forces to guarantee the peoples a new course in international relations.

In our modest opinion, it is necessary that, in keeping with the conditions



of its country and its own possibilities, every Party should wage a flexible and differentiated fight for the unity of all the peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces active in all countries, the United States included, for peaceful coexistence that would ensure peace on earth and at the same time success of the struggle for national liberation and genuine economic and political independence.

Comrades, at this moment a new situation is shaping up, and the approach to this situation cannot be static, for the fight against the policy of Atlantic submissiveness is being joined by new social strata, including broad Catholic masses, augmenting the ranks of the peace forces. The youth, the intelligentsia, the students are in ferment and, expressing their protest in most diverse forms, are fighting for freedom, democracy and socialism.

Thus, the problem confronting our movement is one of establishing with these forces—in separate regions and countries—relations of co-operation in the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

This necessitates elaboration of a policy of links and contacts to organise joint action with all movements striving for the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Consequently, Communists should guide and head the masses in actions which, making proper use of the centrifugal processes within imperialism, would foil the imperialists' designs.

We thereby return to the need to orientate the fight for peace on precise and concrete political aims.

It is precisely on this basis that effective unity of action on an international scale can be restored and broadened, despite the divergences in our movement and the ideological disparities among the steadily growing peace-loving and progressive forces of the whole world.

It follows from this that each Communist Party, proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and taking into account the concrete national conditions, should independently determine its policy and the forms and methods of its struggle and freely chart its own road of transition to socialism, peaceful or non-peaceful, depending on the situation, as well as forms and methods of building socialism in its country.

In view of all this, our Party considers that the obstacles that are arising on the way to complete and effective unity cannot be surmounted without a patient investigation of the causes of the existing divergences, without elucidating the underlying economic, political and national factors.

In our opinion, we should, without reservations and fears, apply ourselves to this investigation, because the sharp conflicts and ineradicable contradictions inherent in the capitalist camp can, under certain circumstances and despite their being an indication of its weakness, gravely jeopardise universal peace, for they do not cancel out imperialism's aggressive nature.

As regards the divergences in our movement, they are certainly less significant than that which unites and can unite us. But there should be no place for an ostrich-like course. The most alarming fact is that the disagreements between the two biggest socialist countries are deepening rather than diminishing, because the leading group in the CPC persists in its divisive work in the

Communist Parties and in its anti-Soviet campaign which is extremely harmful, pernicious to the cause of peace, freedom and socialism.

This behaviour only encourages imperialism in its aggressive and provocative actions.

We declare that there should be no place for anti-Sovietism in our great family of revolutionaries.

Our Party resolutely condemned and rejected the absurd positions of the CPC leading group, which are doing grave harm to the entire communist and working-class movement, to the struggle of the oppressed peoples and to the entire international democratic and anti-imperialist front.

It is obvious to us all that the USSR is the main force of the entire communist and anti-imperialist front. The Soviet Union plays a key role in international contacts and relations owing to the high prestige and influence that its correct policy of peace has won it in the world; owing to the attraction exerted on the masses the world over by its stupendous economic and social, technical and scientific achievements; owing to its economic potential and colossal military might which, together with that of other socialist countries, defends the borders of the socialist camp and helps the peoples waging an armed struggle against imperialism.

The Soviet Union has rendered and continues to render important assistance to the struggle of the Vietnamese people, who, thanks to it, will drive the American invaders out of their country. Soviet assistance enables Cuba to continue the building of socialism and the Arab peoples to continue the fight against the perfidious Israeli aggression, for the return of their lands seized by Israel.

Taking into consideration this reality, we affirm that the behaviour of the Chinese comrades not only causes confusion, disorientation and bitterness among the working class and all fighters against imperialism, but seriously damages the interests of the People's Republic of China. This policy leads to the isolation of the Chinese people from those who are and should be their truest and most reliable ally in the building of socialism in China.

Our criticism of these erroneous actions is constructive and aimed at helping the Communist Party and people of China to return to the positions of Marxism-Leninism, to the great revolutionary family.

In connection with everything that has been said, I repudiate anti-Sovietism and declare, on behalf of the San Marino Communist Party, full solidarity with the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its government and the Soviet peoples who by rendering selfless material assistance to the oppressed peoples deprive themselves of part of their resources, which is a great example of solidarity and internationalism.

As concerns the events currently taking place in our movement, the San Marino Communist Party, cognisant of the responsibility to its people, is steadfastly combating opportunist and nationalist trends as well as all manifestations of Leftism, schematicism and revisionism in any form.

Comrades, while taking into consideration the leading role of the USSR and the socialist countries, we should emphasise the role of the working class in the capitalist countries, which shows by its struggle that it is far from having been integrated into the capitalist system; we should also stress the importance

of the strenuous anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the Third World. Comrades, we are living through the period of a great historical confrontation of two opposing systems—socialist and capitalist.

We think that in this decisive confrontation the struggle against imperialism and its policy should be given an impetus for further development. This calls for new effective unity of action by the socialist countries, the communist movement and all forces striving for a democratic future, peace and prosperity.

This struggle should be waged for the following objectives:

- abolition of military blocs;
- complete observance of the UN Charter;
- an end to the aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam;
- withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories seized during the six-day war against the Arab countries;
- peaceful settlement of disputed international issues through negotiation, against the use of force or threats;
- triumph of the policy of détente and of the principles of peaceful co-existence, which rule out interference in the internal affairs of other states;
- elimination of misery zones and provision of considerable aid to the underdeveloped countries to promote their economic and social advancement in conditions of freedom and national independence;
- greater activity in deciding the questions of European security raised by the Karlovy Vary Conference and the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, to turn Europe into a zone of peace and ensure that it should belong to Europeans;
- respect for the borders established as a result of the Second World War, and recognition of both German states;
- reinstatement of People's China in its rights of a great power in the UNO;
- recognition of the GDR, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;
- dismantling of all military bases on foreign territory.

In this struggle our entire movement should find a basis for unity in which the position of every Party and every socialist state would be reflected.

Comrades, I want to say in conclusion that our Party as represented by its Central Committee has thoroughly studied the Main Document of our Meeting. In our humble opinion, this Document ought to have been made more understandable to the working classes. As we see it, some points of it ought to have been formulated more profoundly.

It asserts some general correct principles which, however, have not always been implemented in practice, and there remain some unclear points which should be elucidated in the nearest future.

We fully agree with Section Three of the Document, which contains a platform for unity of action. But I want to declare also that, although criticisms and objections have been made, it should be frankly admitted that the Document drafted by the Preparatory Committee contains new propositions and looks better than previous documents.

It should be made clear that our attitude stems from a desire to go on making our modest contribution to the search for new unity, invariably retaining

confidence, admiration and affection for the great socialist country, the homeland of the great Lenin, for all socialist countries, to which we extend wishes of new successes, for all the fraternal Parties present and absent, so that at the nearest bilateral and multilateral meetings it would be possible to restore that spirit of unity which distinguishes the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism which inspire us.

Comrades, our Party accepts the other documents without any reservations, with the pledge that we shall celebrate the great Lenin's birth anniversary with the solemnity worthy of the memory and ideas of Lenin, the great fighter for the cause of the oppressed and the great revolutionary leader.

## **Head of Delegation, Communist Party of Lesotho**

Dear Comrades,

May I, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lesotho, the working class and all progressive people in our country, extend warm greetings to all participants in this great forum of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our Party works in a small country that is an enclave entirely surrounded by the territory of the Republic of South Africa. Throughout its history our country has fought fiercely for its independence and in particular against all the attempts of South Africa to incorporate Lesotho. In October 1966 Lesotho achieved its independence from Britain and began a new life as a sovereign state.

Unfortunately, British imperialism succeeded to hand over power to a government representing a minority of the people. The governing Lesotho National Party is a Catholic Party completely dominated by the hierarchy of the church, which is the biggest and most powerful single force in the country. The government of Prime Minister Chief Jonathan Leabua does not take a single major decision without the advice of the hierarchy, which in turn carries out the will of the Vatican.

The result is that the independence of Lesotho has not fulfilled the hopes and aspirations of the people. The government has established close and humiliating relations with the racist and fascist regime in South Africa. The predominance of South African imperialism has increased. South African white officials, economists and financiers are flooding into the country. The resources of the country are being exploited by foreign interests.

The bulk of the Lesotho working class are migrant workers employed in the mines, industries and farms of the Republic of South Africa. It is estimated that about 50 per cent of the adult males in our country at any one time are away working in South Africa. In particular the gold mining industry in South Africa depends to a large extent on labour from Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique.

The effects of this migratory labour on the economy and development of Lesotho are disastrous. Because of its neo-colonial dependence on South Africa

the present government will naturally not do anything to alter the position. To develop Lesotho either agriculturally or industrially will deprive South Africa of labour from Lesotho. Therefore it is in the interests of South Africa that there should be no economic development in the country, which must remain a reservoir of cheap labour. Hence the most prominent examples of development in Lesotho since independence are the new palace for the Prime Minister and a tarred road linking his home in the country with the capital—Maseru.

The working class of Lesotho with the experience of the harsh conditions of South African wage slavery since the discovery of diamonds in 1867 was able in 1962 to create its own Communist Party. There have always been very close links between our country's liberation movement and the Communist Party of South Africa from the early twenties. But the fact is that most Basotho workers were employed in South Africa and therefore fought the class battles as part of the South African working class. Many of the members of the South African Communist Party and liberation movement are Basotho and vice versa. The enemies of Lesotho progress are the same as those of the oppressed people of South Africa who are our brothers and sisters.

Under the conditions that face our country it can be stated quite definitely that Lesotho cannot really be free and independent in the true sense unless and until the racist regime in South Africa is overthrown. This does not, however, mean that there are no possibilities for progress in our country or that the conditions of the people in Lesotho are identical with those in South Africa.

The Communist Party of Lesotho considers that a united front of the progressive organisations including the Communists can replace the present neo-colonialist regime, establish a national democracy and construct an independent economy step by step. This prospect is only possible if our country has the support of progressive governments in Africa and the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. Despite the economic and military power of South Africa this is a very real prospect because we are confident that with the support of all progressive mankind Lesotho would be well able to withstand the pressures of the South African regime. A progressive government in our country would establish diplomatic and economic relations with states that would be able to give genuine help to our beleaguered country. The present reactionary regime is unable to take advantage of the possibilities of independent statehood and the country's membership of the United Nations and other international organisations.

Comrades, our Party participated in the Preparatory Committee and has considered the documents before our Meeting.

Our Party considers that the Main Document should be fully supported as a profound basis for our major task of rallying all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against imperialism. We consider that the Document constitutes a harmonious whole and cannot agree to suggestions that various sections should be eliminated from it. We frankly find it difficult to understand the arguments against an over-all analysis being given as a basis for our tasks. This is always done within Parties and seems absolutely essential in an international programme of tasks. The policy of every Party is based on an assessment of internal and

international developments. Whilst there can be a great variety of national policies because we come from different countries, there is only *one* planet whose affairs constitute the material for an international assessment. Each Party guided by Marxism-Leninism can arrive at correct generalisations on international developments. But undoubtedly such an assessment would be enriched and many-sided if collectively worked out by Parties drawn from all parts of the world. Such a collective document elaborated by Marxists-Leninists from all over the world is more likely to be a reflection of the developments in the whole world. We who come from outside Europe are accustomed to people thinking that the world consists of Europe and America. In the international communist movement we must be careful to avoid even the slightest suggestion that this influences some of our approaches. No single document drawn up by any Party or even by the entire international communist movement can ever reflect the whole of international reality. Therefore the criticism that the Main Document is inadequate, and that even what is there should be abandoned, is strange. I believe that if some comrades were present when the Communist Manifesto was drafted in 1848 they would probably have described it as "too optimistic" and as not reflecting the whole situation at the time. They might have asked that the manifesto be restricted to the immediate measures outlined there. We should not adopt any such approach to our Main Document.

We are trying to lay the basis for rallying anti-imperialist forces. The international communist movement, which is the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement, must be able to show the ideological basis for the unity of the three components of the revolutionary process. We must be able to convince our potential allies, many of whom are not Marxists-Leninists, that a scientific basis is there not only for unity but for victory over the imperialist and reactionary forces. The one component, the international communist movement that shares a common world outlook, cannot even approach other anti-imperialist forces with a series of discordant voices. This will not facilitate unity but will produce division. If we hope to organise a united anti-imperialist front for an offensive against imperialism, our ranks must be in possession of a comprehensive analysis and programme based on Marxism-Leninism. That is what the Main Document is—a weapon and a guide to action. This Document will be a powerful weapon in the hands of activists and freedom fighters in Africa and elsewhere.

As I have already said, Lesotho is a small country with limited resources. Our country has prospects of achieving socialism and communism only as part of and with the support of the Soviet Union, the socialist states and the entire international working class. It is only in this way that Lesotho can enjoy genuine independence and sovereignty. We therefore, in accordance with our Marxist-Leninist theory, lay great store and stress on internationalism in our work. We believe that the emphasis on "independence" and "national peculiarities" is beginning to be a serious danger in the international communist movement.

The founders of our movement Karl Marx and Frederick Engels already over 120 years ago pointed out that Communists are distinguished from other working-class parties in that: in the national struggles of the proletarians of

different countries they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality; and in the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

Since this was written the world has become a small place in which nothing happens anywhere without it becoming an issue all over the world. The conversations of the Italian Communist Party with Christians had vital effects in our Catholic-dominated country. And so it is with everything. With the fantastic developments brought about by the scientific and technological revolution, is this one-sided stress on independence and national features not too conservative?

It is an illusion that emphasis on independence reduces the influence of big Parties and countries in relation to small Parties and countries. On the contrary it is precisely the absence of constant international forums, taking common decisions, which will result in total loss of real independence for smaller and less powerful Parties. It is only within an international movement in which Parties have equal rights to formulate policy and decisions that smaller Parties are able to exert an influence out of all proportion to their real possibilities. Big Parties can survive and flourish in the jungle of international class political warfare between the working class and the bourgeoisie. But for smaller Parties, influence, prestige and progress can only come from more international forums, more international activities and more international working-class responsibility and discipline.

The "independent" activities of China have affected the independence and freedom of many smaller Parties in that part of the world. Within the international communist movement they would regain it. As a small Party we do not have any inferiority complex in relation to big Parties, and no Party has interfered with our internal affairs, except China which has become a rogue elephant charging wildly across the international scene. In the face of the offensive of imperialism the attitude of some Parties is rather one-sided.

The international communist movement is fortunate to have at its head the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reared by Lenin whose centenary we are due to observe in the coming months. We are aware that leadership does not lie in its being proclaimed. It is found in the guidance and sacrifices for the common cause. History has already given its verdict on this score as far as the CPSU and the Soviet State are concerned. Our imperialist enemies recognise this and have all their most fearsome weapons trained almost exclusively on the Soviet Union. The attitude of each Party to the Soviet Union is an acid test of internationalism. This does not mean that every single decision ever taken in the Soviet Union is correct. On the other hand, it is very dangerous to behave as if all initiatives of our vanguard need to be scrutinised. The historical and class approach is that under conditions of class war in which emergencies and crises arise without warning, the duty of the working class and all progressive forces is to rally to the Soviet Union.

Our Party approved the document on the struggle of the outstanding Vietnamese nation which has inflicted such defeats on imperialism and acted as an example to all fighters for freedom. We entirely approve the fine document



on the centenary of V. I. Lenin. In our country this anniversary will be the occasion for a massive ideological campaign and dissemination of the immortal ideas of the great Lenin.

In conclusion may we express our thanks to the CPSU and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for their contribution to the preparations of this historic Meeting.

## BERNARDO ALVARADO MONZON (MARTINEZ)

Head of Delegation,  
Guatemalan Party of Labour

Comrades,

Before proceeding to the items on the agenda, we wish to convey heartfelt greetings from our Central Committee and all Guatemalan Communists to the delegations of all the brother Parties represented here. We also wish to thank the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for their effort in preparing and holding this Meeting, as well as for their cordial, fraternal hospitality.

We would like, first of all, to set out our estimation of the course of preparations and the Meeting itself. We think that it has fully confirmed the need and possibility of holding it. This is particularly important if account is taken of the following factors: the differences existing in the world communist movement, the serious split in the socialist camp, the diversity of opinions about the nature of the Meeting, and the events of international significance that have taken place during the preparations for it.

It seems to us that one of the most important merits of the Meeting is the wide discussion and confrontation of different points of view without concealing divergences or special views. The discussion itself has enabled each of us the better to know the various positions, specify on what we disagree, and create—as has already been pointed out—conditions for a comradely discussion of the differences and for overcoming them in future.

The Main Document contains the principal theses, on which there is a consensus. It contains points which could become the basis for our unity or should become the object of a wide and profound discussion to bring about closer ideological unity on the basis of a fuller and more concrete knowledge of reality, which Marxism-Leninism alone can sum up.

As it is impossible to examine and analyse some important matters claiming the attention of the whole international communist movement, the Central Committee of our Party has expressed the opinion that the Meeting agenda should be restricted to elaborating a platform for unity of action against imperialism and to an analysis of the balance of international forces. Nevertheless, we must now admit that other sections of the Main Document likewise give correct

formulations of considerable importance for the progress of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle on a world scale. The position of our Central Committee did not imply that we were against an open and frank discussion of these problems. We would like such a discussion to take place.

On the other hand, the fact that during the preparations for the Meeting representatives of individual Parties avoided direct criticism has led to the restoration of mutual trust and to a greater number of Parties attending the Meeting, which constitutes its other merit. However, despite the use of this correct method, we must not forget about the differences existing between us. On the contrary, we think it is necessary to acknowledge their existence for the sake of the prestige of our Parties, for still more important is the fact that despite the differences we Communists reaffirm our desire for unity in joint action against imperialism and for joining efforts even more to achieve the common goal. We therefore support the Spanish comrades' proposal for incorporating this statement in the Main Document.

The various preparatory meetings avoided discussing the most controversial issues either for political reasons or because the conditions for a deep study of them had not matured. In this connection we must admit that the analysis of the international situation is incomplete, for important events have occurred that are not even mentioned. On the other hand, we would like it to be stated in estimating the relations between the socialist countries, in addition to what the Document says about the possibility of the emergence of differences, that there are contradictions which Marxism-Leninism is capable of disclosing and resolving. This is not to say that we disagree in any way with the paragraphs about the achievements of the socialist countries and about their immense potentialities in every sphere of human endeavour.

The unanimity and enthusiasm shown in approving the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" is yet another great merit of the Meeting. It shows beyond doubt that firm support for the heroic and inspiring struggle of the Vietnamese people is the most important matter on which all the participants in the Meeting are at one. More, we think the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the US aggressors is now a factor in promoting the unity of action of all Communist Parties, both those represented at this Meeting and those that are not, in the struggle against imperialism, a factor in rallying all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world. We think this enhances the historic significance of the successes of the Vietnamese people.

On the other hand, Vietnam's liberation war against the American imperialists confronts us with a peculiar contradiction. Being a result of the main weakness of the world communist movement, that is, of its division, it is at the same time the pivot of the united action of our movement against imperialism. It is evidently a fact that the direct aggression against a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was made easier by the division in our ranks, by the split between the Communist Party of China and a big part of the world communist movement.

We think this is a key aspect of the problem of division facing the Communists of the world as they fight against imperialism, for socialism and world peace. We believe that until this rift has been closed, so long as there is division

and until the relations between all socialist countries have been normalised imperialism will have greater opportunities for aggression against the peoples and for war and will retain the initiative in carrying out its plans of aggression. As for us, we will have greater difficulty in paralysing its activity and in ensuring mankind's advance along the road of progress and socialism. That is why we considered it very important for this Meeting not to cut off the avenues of a rapprochement likely to furnish afterwards a basis for the unity of the entire world communist movement.

We would like to state clearly here our attitude to the conflict with the Communist Party of China, which a substantial majority of the participants in the Meeting have spoken of. To begin with, we consider that all Communist Parties and each of them in particular have a perfect right to react to attacks, disruptive propaganda and eventual misinformation on our policy, irrespective of whom they come from—whether from the Communist Party of China or from some other Party. Besides, we think that in this case it is a duty of solidarity towards the Soviet Union vigorously to resist the absolutely impermissible attempts to equate imperialism and the Soviet Union, attempts which have formally been declared to be a component of CPC policy. This position of our Party is in keeping with the point of view stated by us long ago, one diametrically opposed to the ideological conceptions and the fundamental foreign policy line of the CPC.

Nevertheless, we still consider it necessary from the standpoint of the ultimate objectives of our Meeting (which consists, we think, in searching for ways and forms of achieving greater cohesion and unity of the world communist movement in its entirety) to refrain from attacking or criticising any Party, whether represented at our forum or not. Our delegation declared this more than once in Budapest.

In line with what has just been said here, we consider that the Soviet Union plays a role of the first importance as the main force in the struggle against imperialism. We fully agree with the Document when it says that "the world socialist system is the decisive force" in this struggle. We also support the proposition that the world socialist system not only reduces imperialism's possibilities of exporting counter-revolution but, "in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence". In accordance with our own experience, we openly express here our gratitude for the effective help we have been given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by other fraternal Parties.

We wish to state some considerations about the fight for peace and its close connection with the policy of peaceful coexistence, as well as about the relationship between peaceful coexistence and the struggle of the enslaved peoples and countries against imperialism. Needless to say we fully realise the importance of the struggle for peace to all mankind and to the Communists, the imperative necessity for warding off a thermonuclear world war which continues to threaten the peoples with wholesale extermination, as the Document points out. But for all the importance of this matter, we Communists and the anti-imperialist forces of the oppressed peoples must not be misled to the point of imagining that the fight for peace has become the *principal orientation*

and overshadows the chief historical objective of our struggle, which is to defeat imperialism and advance to socialism.

It is desirable to find more precise formulations in order to express the dialectical relationship between peaceful coexistence and the revolutionary process. This is necessary both from the theoretical point of view and for practical considerations. These formulations should be easy to understand for both Party members and the whole people. On the other hand, we do not think it would be right to confuse peaceful coexistence as a historical situation in which the class struggle is developing on a world scale with either the concrete policy of peaceful coexistence pursued with good reason by the Parties in power in the socialist countries or the struggle for peace being carried on by all Communist Parties, democratic organisations and other peace-loving social forces, including the non-revolutionary ones.

Only on this condition will it be seen why in countries like ours, due to the very circumstances of the struggle, the greatest contribution to peaceful coexistence is to strike at the positions of imperialism, at its militarist policy and its strategy of preventive war. On the other hand, it is more difficult for us to carry out measures like a wide campaign for signatures to the demand for an end to the war in Vietnam or mass demonstrations demanding a ban on nuclear arms (I will confine myself to these two examples).

I would also like to say why we insist on changing the formulation in the Document, which affirms that "peaceful coexistence does not restrict the right of the oppressed peoples to use in the liberation struggle any method, including armed struggle".\* Let me explain, in speaking of ways, that we do not have in mind the ways of achieving socialism in the developed capitalist countries nor the ways of development of the newly-free countries, which likewise use these terms. To be specific, we are still of the opinion that depending on the resistance of the ruling classes, who will cling to power, the victory of the revolution can be brought about in only two ways: by force and by peaceful means.

This formulation may cause confusion in two cases. First, it may create the impression that there are many ways; secondly, it invites the conclusion that preference is given to the peaceful way, while armed struggle is regarded as something exceptional or accidental. The former mistake is made manifest by the documents of the international communist movement relating to this matter. To dispel the latter misunderstanding, we turn to the 1960 Statement which regards the peaceful way only as a possibility for some countries in certain conditions. Thus it would be preferable to speak of armed struggle first, since this would not contradict the idea of peaceful co-existence, so as not to make this method appear as something exceptional or accidental and out of keeping with its importance.

Our Central Committee has very carefully examined the paragraphs bearing on Latin America.

We consider it perfectly right to distinguish between the countries of Asia and Africa, on the one hand, and the Latin American countries, on the other.

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\* This was accepted.

The Latin American countries at this stage of economic development belong to the so-called Third World or the "world of underdeveloped countries". They are still far from achieving the level of the developed capitalist countries. However, their average economic level is higher than that of Asian and African countries. In other words, the Latin American countries are generally the most developed countries of the Third World and this is their main distinguishing feature, although there are certain other features of great importance—political, historical, cultural and other traditions. A peculiarity of the Latin American countries is also the degree of direct subordination to US imperialism, the most powerful and aggressive imperialism, which continues to regard Latin America as its domain and strategic hinterland.

A correct reference to the distinguishing features of Latin America, which was lacking in the 1960 Statement, would make it possible to show the difference between ways of development. In the case of Latin American countries, we believe one can hardly speak of a "non-capitalist" road of development since these countries have long been following the capitalist road. This is, in fact, what the Document under discussion says: "They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development." The reference to the peculiarities of Latin America would also help us the better to specify the respective anti-imperialist tasks and revolutionary goals. Nevertheless, these tasks have a common denominator which we consider valid and which is contained in the category of national liberation movement as one of the three great revolutionary forces of our time.

We must add that the new definition gives a better idea of the main characteristics of Latin America and the factors determining the situation there today: the Cuban revolution, which led to the victory of socialism in an American country, the failure of the Alliance for Progress, set up as a counterpoise to this revolution, and the struggle which our peoples have been carrying on in various spheres and forms and which has shaken the whole continent.

We think the significance of the historic turn marked by the emergence of socialist Cuba may also be attributed to the following facts: the failure of the geopolitical myth of the impossibility of defeating imperialism in its traditional sphere of influence, in the immediate vicinity of its citadel; the resulting increase in the revolutionary potentialities of our countries and their realisation; socialist Cuba's resistance to fierce imperialist attacks and the first defeat inflicted on imperialism in the Bay of Pigs; a genuine cultural revolution which has fully eliminated illiteracy, and lastly, the important experience gained in building socialism, which is and will be invaluable to our peoples with all its successes and failures. For all these reasons Cuba is the vanguard of revolution and socialism in America.

The failure of the Alliance for Progress, set up as an alternative to the continental revolution, is now admitted by its own advocates. The oligarchic groups themselves, who fear that even minimal reforms of the traditional structures would open the floodgates of the revolution, accepted that plan with reservations. The peoples exposed the plan and began at once to combat it, rightly regarding it as a skilful manoeuvre by imperialism to bar the way of the revolution and retain its domination over our peoples.

This should not, however, put us in an unduly optimistic mood or make us underrate the forces of imperialism and the national oligarchy or their possibilities of manoeuvre. We know from experience that to stem the revolutionary process, imperialism is capable of not only committing the worst brutalities but of skilfully combining to its own advantage open military dictatorship with so-called "representative democracy".

It would not be truthful of us to say that we are fully satisfied with this part of the Document. We are glad to note, however, that many of our proposals were accepted in the course of the collective discussion, including the reference to the existence of survivals of feudalism, large numbers of landless peasants, the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry and the armed struggle which various anti-imperialist forces are waging.

A more complete analysis of Latin American realities would give a more accurate picture of such developments as the influx of new forces with all their merits and demerits into the social struggle, the important events which have left a trace in the history of the revolutionary movement through their positive or negative effects—the mass demonstrations and armed actions in the mountainous regions and in the towns, which are the most vivid manifestations of the struggle of our peoples as well as a stimulus for them. Outstanding revolutionaries and many Communists have fallen in this struggle. Prominent among them is a hero who inspires us by his absolute devotion to the cause of the revolution—Major Ernesto Che Guevara.

In discussing the characteristics of the socio-political process in Latin America, we unfortunately did not succeed in amending the much too general and categorical wording of the Document saying that the Communist and Workers' Parties are in the van of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle. We cannot accept this wording. However, we will explain what we mean so as to avoid misunderstandings. We have no intention of questioning the fundamental principle of our doctrine, that is, the leading role of the working class and its advanced Party. We know well the recommendation of Lenin, that brilliant strategist of the revolution, who said that this role must be performed in revolutionary practice, under the fire of class battles. That is what our Parties should strive for above all else. But in studying and reflecting reality, we must not substitute general principles for facts. And while it is true, in our view, that in some countries the brother Parties are already at the head of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle because they wield an indisputable influence among the working people and the masses generally, we are sorry to say that in other cases, including ours at least, this aspiration has yet to become reality.

Our Party is trying to play this role in practice and to make it more effective. This is the fundamental principle of our policy. The resolution "The Situation and Perspectives of the Guatemalan Revolution", adopted by our Central Committee in March 1968, took a stand against Leftist trends denying the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. It stated, in part: "We consider the peasantry one of the main forces: but the working class, the most advanced of the exploited classes, is the bearer of the seeds of socialism, the exponent of the scientific theory of the revolution, the leading force of the revolution. Only the advanced Party of the working class can ensure the

leading role of this class. We therefore reject every tendency minimising the leading role of the Communist Party on any plea."

In view of the diversity and complexity of the situations existing in Latin America and since it is impossible to analyse the totality of our problems more deeply at this juncture—and it is primarily we, the Communists of Latin America, who must make this analysis—we will now have to content ourselves with the Document formulations concerning our region.

In declaring for the approval of the Main Document, we express the desire that it be improved by the Drafting Committee and that we bring our different points of view closer together so as to provide more solid foundations for uniting the world communist movement.

And now, comrades, allow me to touch briefly on the situation in Guatemala.

Its main feature is the preparation of an electoral farce in an atmosphere of violence and terror which has resulted in the death of thousands of Guatemalans while the Left forces and other democratic strata of society have been denied the opportunity to take part in the elections.

Recent years have been marked by grim battles. Our people have come to realise the necessity for the use of revolutionary force. Our Party is doing all it can to prove as conclusively as possible the necessity for the Guatemalan revolution resorting to force and to promote the revolution, using every possible form of struggle within this framework. Other revolutionary forces have likewise joined in the armed struggle according to their own principles and methods. One of the most negative circumstances from which the enemy benefits considerably today is the division of the revolutionary movement. We have been delivered telling blows and are passing through a difficult period of reorganising and mustering our forces, but we are not stopping our struggle.

The experience of our Party in this period has been most varied and fruitful. We have yet to draw definitive conclusions from it. This task has been assigned to our 4th Congress, which will critically examine both our achievements and our mistakes, which were not few. During this time we have had to resist the terroristic offensive of the enemy and to carry on a sharp internal struggle.

Speaking of this struggle, characterised by the rise of both Right-wing and Leftist trends, we would like to point out the following features. Typical of the Right-wing, conservative trend is that it does not realise the revolutionary turn in all its magnitude and clings to the traditional forms of organisation and struggle, ignoring the new elements of the situation. If this trend gained the upper hand it would turn our organisation into a sect of revolutionaries isolated from the decisive battles of the working people and the masses.

As for the Leftist trend, it one-sidedly exploited the conception of armed struggle, scorning every form of organisation except the military form, trying to skip stages and underestimating the role of the working class and its Party as well as the importance of unity with other forces. It was a liquidationist trend which, being based on the other extreme, was likewise leading to the isolation and liquidation of the Party.

At first our differences were of internal origin and had undoubtedly class roots. It was not long, however, before they were influenced by the differences in the world communist movement and by other external factors. It is fair to



say that the conservatives underestimated the conditions and possibilities of launching a revolutionary struggle while the Leftist trend, on the contrary, tended to overestimate these possibilities. Either trend was expressive of a subjective approach to reality. The Party as a whole likewise made a number of serious mistakes.

In different periods and different countries, from the visionary Babeuf, who was put in prison, the Cologne trial of Communists in the middle of the last century to our day, Communists, like the revolutionaries of earlier days, have been persecuted, tortured and put to death. The terroristic offensive of the counter-revolution in Guatemala is of the same nature: kidnappings and the mysterious disappearance of revolutionaries or members of their families, the appearance of mutilated corpses with the marks of sadistic tortures, the shooting of patriots in broad daylight in the main streets of the towns were all ordinary occurrences of the recent past. They not only surprised the people but aroused their anger, which they kept in check for a time. The wave of terror surged so high that even the bourgeois press, the Church authorities and the North American press began to comment on it and to express resentment. The people and the revolutionary forces sustained heavy casualties but stood their ground against attack. And we can say that many a hangman and their helpers got what was coming to them. But prominent Communists from the Party cadre and the Central Committee fell in this struggle, and with a sad heart we pay homage to their memory.

We wish to stress that this terror, which mows down everyone regardless of age or sex, is being carried on under the aegis of a civil "democratic and constitutional" government which combines terror as in other countries—on the advice of its imperialist masters—with reforms and social demagoguery.

The Guatemalan Party of Labour and our valiant youth organisation, which enjoy undisputed prestige among the workers, students, intellectuals and the population of important rural areas, not only solved the problems of the internal struggle but survived the bloody terror, reorganising and strengthening their ranks.

The present political situation, conditioned by an election campaign which may be accompanied by some relaxation of repression and terror, is, in our view, transitory and changes nothing in the objective conditions that have determined our fundamental line. That is why we will not abandon our revolutionary road—armed struggle—even though we will take advantage of this situation to strengthen our links with the masses.

Allow me to avail myself of the presence here of prominent representatives of numerous brother Parties to express once again our deep gratitude for the valuable and effective solidarity which they have shown us and which has become stronger still in these past days in connection with the arrest of Huberto Alvarado, our dear comrade and outstanding leader. His life has been saved.

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Comrades, we express full agreement with the Appeal in Defence of Peace. This document will help the better to mobilise all the forces which realise what a thermonuclear war would mean and the dangers inherent in the adventurist and aggressive policy of imperialism, especially US imperialism. To quote from the Appeal, "today lasting peace is no longer a utopia — it is a fully feasible aim". We believe that a world war will not be fatally inevitable, provided all peace forces try hard to prevent it and provided we fight against imperialism, for vital and universal interests.

Comrades, now that we are in Lenin's great homeland, in the country where the great dreams of Marx and Engels first came true and where communism is no longer a spectre haunting Europe and has become a concrete, more humane and better society, we promise to mark with enthusiasm the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the brilliant leader of the October Socialist Revolution. We approve of the Address of the Meeting concerning the celebration of this date so dear to the Communists of the world. In commemorating the centenary of Lenin's birth, we will recall with admiration his ideas and deeds embodied in the international communist movement, in the victories of the heroic Red Army and later of the Soviet Armed Forces, in the Soviet people's progress in building socialism, in the great decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including the decisions of its 20th Congress. The echo of those decisions still reminds us of the fact that the method of critical, creative thinking which Lenin used so brilliantly is the main weapon of the human mind. The application by Communists of the scientific principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism is the surest guarantee of their victory.

Thank you.

## HUGH MURPHY

Member of Executive,  
Communist Party of Northern Ireland

Comrade Chairman and Comrades,

The General Secretary of our Party was to have addressed this conference, but due to illness, he is unable to attend our sessions, and as a result of this our contribution will be very brief. But we felt we could not let so great, and historic an occasion pass without making our contribution, however brief it may be.

On behalf of the Executive Committee and the delegation of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, I bring warm fraternal greetings to this Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and to the representatives of all the Parties taking part.

Our Party believes that this world Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is both timely and necessary.

Though imperialism may be losing its power in the world today, it is still dangerous and aggressive. This is to be seen in the bloody and aggressive war being waged against the heroic people of Vietnam in spite of the world outcry against the imperialist aggressors. It is seen in the Middle East war and in the rise of neo-nazism in West Germany and the right-wing military coup in Greece.

It is seen in the huge arms bill of the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, and in the penetration of the big monopolies in other countries, for bigger and better profits.

In Northern Ireland this monopoly penetration has now engulfed banking, insurance, property, industry and distribution of goods. But it has not solved a single problem for the thousands of our people who are unemployed, or have to emigrate. Our workers and peasants are still the biggest export of our country.

Just recently the Northern Ireland government, which hands out millions of pounds to the monopolies in the form of free grants for the building of factories and for machinery, etc., had to admit that their planned target for economic development would have to be changed due to the capitalist financial crisis. The effect of this is to reduce the number of homes, schools and hospitals to be built, and cut plans for more jobs and other development.

Since October of last year, as a result of a vicious attack by the police on a peaceful demonstration for civil rights in one of our cities, our people have increased one-hundred-fold their struggle for democratic rights and civil liberties.

Though the government has promised reforms, it rushes repressive legislation through parliament, in an attempt to curb the demonstrators at the same time.

In the period since October of last year, the civil rights struggle has split the ruling Unionist Party, has brought about a general election, caused ministerial resignations, and ensured that the actions of the government will be viewed with severity by the working class of Britain and the world.

In this we wish to acknowledge the active help our Party and people receive from the Communist Party of Britain, the Australian Communist Party, also from working-class organisations in the United States and from the publication of our problems in journals such as *New Times* and various other publications of the USSR.

The struggle of our people for civil rights has brought to the notice of the peoples of the world the reactionary nature of our ruling party, who by repressive legislation, known as the "Special Powers Act", can imprison our people without trial. But it has done more than this, it has united the political parties who are opposed to the ruling party on a greater scale than we have seen for many years, and our Party figures prominently among them.

This is in line with the programme of our Party, which calls for unity of all the opposition forces as the only real alternative to the ruling Unionist Party which uses sectarianism and politico-religious means to divide the working class of our country.

It is this call of our programme that is the main guide to our approach to the Main Document of the conference.

In the conditions that exist in our country, our Executive Committee would have prepared a shorter document, since in Ireland, both North and South, the tempo of the struggle against imperialism and imperialist ideology is rising.

Nevertheless our Executive agrees that there is much that is good in the Document, since its main emphasis is on the struggle against imperialism. Our Executive is prepared to stand by its conclusions and apply them to our conditions where possible.

We will also give our full support to the other documents before the conference. We have listened, with great admiration, to the achievements and economic advances of the socialist countries, and particularly to the impressive outline, given by Comrade Brezhnev of the labours and achievements of the Soviet Union. This is the answer to the wage freezers, credit squeezers and the monopolists who are intervening more and more in the role of the capitalist state.

Socialism, not capitalism, is the main driving force of society today.

On behalf of our Executive Committee and our delegation we wish to thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people for their hospitality and for the excellent facilities they have provided for this conference, also we would like to thank once again our Hungarian comrades for their work in the arrangements for the Preparatory Committee meeting in Budapest; and last, but not least, all the Parties and delegations who helped to make this world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties a great success.

## **JORGE KOLLE**

**First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Bolivia**

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Party of Bolivia declared for convening this International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and participated in preparing it, because it realised that there is no better way to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and assess and generalise the rich and varied revolutionary experience of recent years than collective analysis, exchange of opinions and frank comradesly discussion. In our view, this has been, and remains, the attitude of Communists striving to interpret reality from a position of principle and steer social developments in the direction of revolutionary change.

Having analysed the preparatory work for the Meeting, our Party notes with satisfaction that maximum effort has been exerted to secure the attendance of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. It considers, furthermore, that this preparatory work proceeded in conditions which were truly favourable to a free and democratic discussion of the problems confronting our movement.

The CPB Central Committee considers that the draft Main Document contains Marxist-Leninist propositions elucidating the character, content and main trends of our epoch; it defines aims which will help extend the activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces, and formulates, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the essential principles which will be instrumental in overcoming some difficulties that now confront us. Being aware that the Meeting could not set itself the aim of elaborating a completed Document, the highest body of our Party holds, nevertheless, that the draft before us embodies a striving for unity which doubtlessly has infinitely greater prospects than the divisive or centrifugal trends which world imperialism is so insistently injecting into our midst.

We also think it useful to note that the realistic character of the Document has made it possible to give an optimistic view of the revolutionary future, a view characteristic of the working class, of the militant and creative nature of our ideology. This mobilising feature accords both with the demands of the building and development of a new life in the socialist countries—an honourable task shouldered by the Communist Parties in power—and with the requirements

of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and imperialism, the unrenounceable historic mission performed by all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Comrades, since the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba, US imperialism has been taking recourse to ever greater violence and increasingly brutal methods of police persecution of the workers' movement in general and Communists in particular. This imperialist policy, dictated by the desperation of the monopoly circles, assumes the most savage and disgraceful forms in Latin America. Communists and patriots are being ruthlessly killed in Haiti, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Paraguay and other countries.

The Bolivian working class is also a victim of these imperialist atrocities. In the last five years, repressions have virtually decimated the working-class vanguard. To contain the popular anti-imperialist movement, US imperialism stage-managed a military coup d'état and followed it up with a campaign of persecution and massacre against the miners and factory workers, the principal force of the Bolivian working class. Mining centres were bombed and machine-gunned, and miners' camps were overrun by troops equipped with the latest weapons. Thousands of workers were dismissed, more than 100 of them fell in battle and as many were exiled, jailed or put behind barbed wire.

The counter-revolutionary development that followed the coup was facilitated by the action of the Chinese splitters and other anti-Party trends of petty-bourgeois origin. Playing objectively into the reactionaries' hands as everywhere else, these trends impaired the unity of the working-class and popular movement and embarked on undisguised collaboration with the Right political forces which had supported the military coup. This experience makes it plain what role the anti-Party groups really play and where their "Leftist" policies can lead.

Despite these difficulties and the fierce repressions of recent years, the powerful Bolivian proletariat waged very important struggles, often taking up arms, in defence of its demands and rights and of the liberties of the whole people. It always held high the banner of struggle against the military dictatorship, for democratic objectives, for national sovereignty, and for socialism.

As world public opinion knows, this period witnessed an event of particular significance for the revolutionary movement in our country. A guerilla war under the leadership of Major Ernesto Che Guevara broke out. Our Party soberly and objectively analyses this experience as a form of fulfilling internationalist duties which, on the other hand, calls for a critical and self-critical examination from positions of principle. Such is the opinion of our Central Committee.

In the struggle against imperialism the Communist Party of Bolivia attaches decisive importance to the trade union, political and military forms of organising the working-class and popular movement. This attitude does not stem from an "attachment to patterns", nor from a blind rejection of the participation of new social forces. The leading role of the working class is neither a myth nor a catchword. It is a socio-historical reality, living and throbbing. It follows from the real role of the Bolivian working class in social production, its militancy

and its exemplary revolutionary tradition. We have every reason to say that the popular anti-imperialist revolution in Bolivia cannot be tackled—not even in theory, let alone in practice—without or against the leading participation of the working class and its effective alliance with the peasantry. This struggle has in the main been waged, and continues now, in a violent form.

The new social forces being talked about now are fighting in Bolivia as well. In fact, these forces have always been active in our country, though to a much lesser degree and in different socio-historical conditions. Our Party does not ignore this modern phenomenon, it does not shut its eyes to it. It does not underestimate the prospects this fact opens up, nor does it overestimate them. In the past four decades, especially during the process that led up to the establishment of the Party of the working class, the intelligentsia and the university youth, inspired by renovating ideas, contributed effectively to the anti-imperialist struggle whenever they rose to defend the interests of the people. Today this task is much broader and, indeed, involves other trends which, as a matter of fact, do not share our ideology. The Communist youth of Bolivia are operating within the anti-imperialist youth movement. They participate as its component in its stubborn struggles, are prompted by the powerful idea which inspires these struggles and constantly show the way to unity with the working class, which alone can prevent the misuse or destruction of this important source of energy.

Thus, flowing together in the current battle for independence and socialism in Bolivia are the revolutionary struggles of the working class, of the peasantry, which is getting rid of bourgeois influence, of the advanced sections of the students and intellectuals and other exploited middle strata. Generally speaking, our Party strives for unity of action with all the forces prominent in the anti-imperialist, popular and democratic movement, irrespective of their ideology. We endeavour to channel their efforts and at the same time to show them the risk and futility of some of their actions.

Comrades, we all know that the policy of US imperialism in Latin America and specifically in Bolivia is not confined to repression. Wherever possible, it supports bourgeois and reformist regimes. This policy, designed to ensure the survival of the capitalist system, is assuming a new guise under the impact of the Cuban revolution on the continent. As we know, the same aims of bourgeois stabilisation were pursued by the bankrupt Alliance for Progress. On the other hand, the dependent Latin American bourgeoisie is seeking to preserve and extend, as far as the given type of imperialist policy allows, its privileges on an international scale through the Latin American Free Trade Association, the so-called Regional Development Areas and the Latin American Common Market. These bourgeois plans and alliances are no sure means of stimulating capitalist development and bringing it up to the level of production and technology attained in other regions of the world. In other words, they can intensify the oppression but cannot solve the problems of hunger, misery and unemployment plaguing millions of Latin Americans.

Obviously, we Communists cannot regard the system of pacts and alliances of the Latin American bourgeoisie as merely the result of the current economic and military policies of US imperialism. There objectively exist certain con-

flicts and disagreements which occasionally manifest themselves among the militarists and, more markedly, in the traditional structures and spheres of social influence of Catholicism. Pinpointing them and utilising them—without reformist illusions—will, without a doubt, further the anti-imperialist struggle. The conviction of the anti-imperialist forces that socialism alone will radically solve our towering economic, social and cultural problems becomes stronger when they realise the weaknesses of the class enemy and succeed in utilising them in the interests of their revolutionary cause.

Some bourgeois and social-reformist governments, finding themselves in difficult straits in consequence of these contradictions and popular pressures, are compelled to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with countries of the socialist camp. In most cases, such steps are taken in open struggle against the diktat of US imperialism, whose agents and periodicals viciously attack the “political implications of such relations” and hold forth on the “menace of international communism”. In this connection we can say that the severance of our country’s diplomatic relations with socialist Cuba and Czechoslovakia a few years ago was imposed on a bourgeois reformist government in conditions of preparation of a counter-revolutionary military coup. It is known, we may add, that such relations do not strengthen the reformist governments but intensify the fight for national sovereignty and contribute to the establishment, consolidation and expansion of state-owned enterprises or a national industry, whose development runs counter to US vested interests. This is why the anti-imperialist forces are pressing for such relations while US strategists are doing their utmost to prevent them.

Comrades, although it is obvious that the struggle of the different Communist and Workers’ Parties has grown considerably in scope and complexity, it is also indisputable that the existence and development of the socialist system and the assistance it is rendering to anti-capitalist and anti-colonialist actions make possible revolutionary successes everywhere in the world. The many revolutionary victories and successes in America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia and elsewhere are eloquent proof of this. Therefore no attempts to undermine the unity of our movement can be tolerated. The Communist Party of Bolivia disagrees with splitting activities, nor will it remain indifferent towards them, whatever their origin and colouration. We consider that this is a highly important problem which has long outgrown the framework of a simple discussion left to the goodwill of some Parties and which can be solved on the basis of certain concessions by one of them. We all know that in recent years many actions have been undertaken to split and undermine Parties, to instigate intrigues against Communist Parties of the socialist camp and, above all, to discredit the Party of Lenin — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Not long ago we witnessed the scandalous events of the “cultural revolution”, and only a couple of months ago were astounded by an alleged political programme which repudiates and renounces Marxism-Leninism. Clearly, this lamentable process, which weakens the very foundations of the Chinese revolution and jeopardises its gains, is not the doing of the Chinese people and its finest sons. We similarly assessed Peking’s insidious plot against our Party, and the facts show that we were right: after five years of a rabid anti-Soviet



campaign the pro-Peking group finds itself lacking all support on the part of the workers and the people. It is incomprehensible to the Bolivian working class that anti-imperialism could go together with anti-Sovietism.

Having decided to break with the world communist movement, the Chinese leaders are known to have gone over, internationally, from anti-Soviet calumny, which they used as a cover, to factionalist activity within each Party. It is perfectly clear now that the aim of the Maoist witches' sabbath is to shake the unity of the socialist states, and in the pursuit of this aim the Maoists do not stop at military provocations.

Our Party shares the anxiety which almost all delegations have expressed here with regard to the seriousness of that matter. It is not our intention to enumerate the facts which by themselves refute the fabrications of Maoism, nor shall we speak about the invaluable material and moral assistance which the Soviet state, its Communist Party and people, the other countries, Parties and peoples of the socialist community are rendering to embattled Vietnam and to the socialist cause of Cuba. Nor is there any need to speak about the decisive importance of this co-operation for the fate of the states which have done away with colonialism in Asia and Africa, for the destinies of the peoples fighting for their liberation in Latin America. All this, and not only this, is remembered by both Communists and the whole of progressive mankind. But we would like to call attention to the need to expose the character of the Maoist concepts and other deviations directed against the unity of the international communist movement. From the moment that Marxism launched its ideological and political battle, the most enlightened leaders of the international communist movement have invariably devoted much of their effort to the struggle against revisionism and falsification of the scientific doctrine of the working people, regarding this as their supreme revolutionary duty. Indeed, Marxism-Leninism emerged and developed under the fire of this battle, and herein lies the source of its creativity. What is the point, then, of hushing up or concealing the real state of things in the international communist movement? What kind of unity can exist and develop in our ranks if we renounce principles?

Always a matter of principle, struggle against anti-Sovietism is now also a matter of revolutionary ethics. That is how our Party understands the need to expose the real nature of Maoism, seeing this as the duty of the entire international communist movement.

By approving the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!", our Meeting has taken a very important step. The appeal is now echoed all over the world and it demonstrates before progressive mankind the spirit of internationalism that reigns at our Meeting. The appeal in defence of the heroic Vietnamese people is founded on positions of principle stated in the Main Document. It develops and implements in practice the main purpose of the unity of action. The same support and constant solidarity are expressed in our Document with regard to the Cuban revolution, outpost of socialism in America. Cuba's consolidation and successes in socialist construction give sincere joy to all the peoples of Latin America. The quicker it excels in developing modern technology and production and new social and cultural structures, the greater the appeal and influence it will exercise on the struggle of the Latin American

peoples. In this respect, too, our Party, like the entire international communist movement, adheres to a position of principle.

The opinion has been expressed here that we could single out the action platform from the Document and unite round it. We must state frankly our disagreement with this way of putting the question. This approach signifies an actual denial of the interconnection between theory and practice, it signifies proclaiming—as has already been said here—a kind of ideological and political pragmatism which is alien to us.

We cannot mutilate the Document like that. We Communists must not avoid a critical analysis of reality and thereby give up the task of drawing conclusions throwing light on the present course of development. The complexity and diversity of this course—precisely its diversity and complexity—place this responsibility on us.

The Central Committee has instructed our delegation to approve and sign the Document.

Comrades, the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party absolutely freely stated the viewpoint of the leadership of his Party regarding a whole number of ideological and political matters and on questions of the unity of the international communist movement. These questions were examined in the course of the preparatory sessions and now they are being discussed at our Meeting. We disagree with the concepts, purport and tone of this contribution, which is devoid of a spirit of fraternity and is meant to create the impression that the Meeting has taken place without providing an opportunity for a thorough discussion of the problems on their merits.

This representative had a right to say what he thinks. All the delegations have done so, as equal Parties, and they encountered neither interference nor obstacles. No one has complained here of a lack of democracy or freedom—or had any reason to do so. On the contrary, everyone found it exceptionally important to emphasise the form in which the Meeting had progressed in all its stages. Therefore we could not help being surprised by the inappropriate allusion to “the narrow framework of the preparatory sessions”, to “compromise agreements by vote”, whereas everyone present here knows perfectly well that there was neither.

We are engaged in an important discussion. The task facing us is of paramount significance for the unity of our movement, of all anti-imperialist forces, and in respect to these long, patient and responsible efforts labels are out of place, for they play into the hands of our imperialist adversary. Naturally—and this actually was the case—many Parties understood the reasons given by other Parties and, consequently, everybody distinguished between what is a matter of principle and what is accessory and accidental. Everyone strove to bring about agreement on a principled basis. How else can we advance along the road of unity? Or should we, because we disagree with some formulation, narrow our views, slip into sectarianism and choose the pernicious road of isolation and division?

For instance, it was said that the Dominican Communists “have to contend daily with five pro-Chinese sects and have been compelled more than once to resort to arms to contain the excesses of their barbarian instincts”. Fine. We Bolivian Communists, wise from our own experience which we have already

spoken about, agree on that point with the Dominican comrades and fully appreciate the principles and practical considerations by which they were apparently guided when they were even compelled to resort to arms to fight the pro-Peking splitters. This shows the degree of acuteness reached in some sectors by the struggle which Maoist ultra-Leftist forces impose upon those who disagree with them and refuse to accept their subversion. The Soviet comrades, too, have had to defend themselves, even with arms in hand, against similar provocations. Did they do this because they wanted it? Why, then, is the international communist movement denied the right to so much as express indignation over Peking's outrages? Why can't we, on this and other questions, adopt a principled position? Really, comrades, it is very difficult to understand the arguments offered by the Dominican representative. Equally conspicuous is the fact that the Dominican delegate permitted himself to speak slightly about "many" Communist Parties of Latin America, to which he referred as "propaganda groups". This contention constitutes one of the main theses of the so-called New Left and some bourgeois ideologists.

Comrades, we already said in the beginning of our speech that the Main Document is, in our opinion, of exceptional value, especially because it contains an objective analysis of present reality and registers the high level of unity which contingents of the international communist movement have reached at the present moment, and because it makes possible to mobilise broad anti-imperialist forces round clear-cut and concrete aims. The Document is a result of collective work, and although the Dominican representative said he was not going to sign it, it will fulfil its mission of uniting Communists and all anti-imperialist forces.

This is all we wanted to say.

Thank you.

## **FELIX OJEDA**

**Secretary, Central Committee,  
Puerto Rican Communist Party**

Comrades,

This International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is the culmination of long months of work by the Preparatory Committee, resulting in the draft Main Document devoted to the unity of the socialist camp and the working-class movement as an effective weapon in the struggle against world imperialism.

We frequently come up against new events with a bearing on the growth and life of the world communist movement. Partly, these events are traceable to the imperialist strategy of softening up and splitting the socialist camp. On the other hand, the absence of internationally co-ordinated actions by the communist and working-class movement, too, enables imperialism to perform its outrages.

We understand that the Document is designed primarily to resolve just these problems and that its content is centred on this particular practical aim. And we know that imperialism is the ulcer that envenoms the life of society, undermines economic and social stability, and robs men of happiness.

Millions of Communists and non-Communists follow the work of our Meeting in the hope that it will produce an antidote to imperialism, that sole culprit of humanity's woes. The riches created by the working people in the capitalist world are appropriated by a handful of families and social parasites. They neither sow nor reap, live in luxury, and know no want. In the meantime, the larger part of mankind lacks the necessities of life: people are denied medical treatment, hospitals and drugs, are denied jobs and education, and cultural and other spiritual blessings. Two thousand million people on earth are continuously undernourished. According to statistics, a hundred thousand die daily from hunger in the "free world".

All these people are sacrificed to imperialism with its unquenchable thirst for profit, which exploits them with cold and heartless indifference, living and carousing at their expense. The only way to end these social crimes, including predacious wars, is to stamp out imperialism, because, as the old proverb says, "when the mad dog dies, madness ends".

Imperialism cannot be smashed by attacking the socialist camp. What has to

be attacked is the imperialist camp. Nor can this aim be attained by individual struggle. The struggle has to be collective, based on the unbreakable *unity* of all the anti-imperialist forces. And though the growling beast will resist, withdrawing to its den, it shall be destroyed.

The Document is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and backed by the experience of many years of anti-imperialist struggle. It offers a realistic picture of the versatile tactics and strategy used by imperialism in the fight against the People's Democracies, indicates the objects of imperialist attacks, and shows what the imperialist forces are aiming at.

Showing respect for each Party, the Document does not prescribe what it must do in its country. Since the fraternal Parties work in different political, social, cultural and economic conditions, the Document merely indicates the need for aligning their struggle with the objective conditions prevailing in the respective countries.

We think that no part of the Document may be severed from the whole. So considerable a reduction in size and content may result in a "mountain breeding a mouse". That is why we stand for approving the Document as a whole.

After the Document is approved—and we hope it will be—each delegation will go back to its country. It will be our duty to step up the anti-imperialist struggle by all the means at the disposal of each Party and by methods it deems fit to employ. But that is not enough. While we are farthest from the thought of interfering in the internal affairs of other Parties, we believe there should be a modest-sized information bureau in contact with all Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, receiving and disseminating information, and briefing the news agencies, radio and television of the socialist countries on events related to the struggle.

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The Latin American continent is one of those regions of the globe where imperialism, especially US imperialism, casts the nets of economic exploitation and political oppression with particular ease. The Main Document says that "US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the *Latin American* countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step leading to economic and genuine political independence."

The riches of our countries are controlled by US monopolies. Only a negligible share goes to the people, while the bulk is pocketed by the exploiters and stowed away in the bottomless safes of the Wall Street banks.

A word about Puerto Rico's place in the American colonial system. Puerto Rico is the smallest island of the Antilles group in the Caribbean and, perhaps, one of the smallest countries represented at this International Meeting. Its area is about 10,000 sq. km. and its population about three million, excluding the nearly 30,000 servicemen in the US naval bases, the 70,000 US civilians and about 30,000 Cuban counter-revolutionaries reluctant to live under the socialist system of social equality and justice established in their homeland, who emigrated

to Puerto Rico, where they are allowed to pursue occupations they had pursued in Cuba before the revolution. Puerto Rico has no law to restrict immigration and the US State Department admits anyone there, so long as he is no Communist. Nearly all Cuban émigrés have by now become naturalised US citizens. The FBI and CIA employ them as a shock force against the Communist Party and other movements for our country's national liberation. Many were trained in the USA in subversion against progressive movements, in breaking down doors, setting fire to or dynamiting the premises of these movements.

That was how the premises of the Independence Movement leadership were set afire and a plastic bomb was placed in the car of Juan Mari Braz, the leader of that organisation. A bomb was also placed in his bookshop. The same men broke into the premises of the Communist Party and destroyed its archives. They act as provocateurs, throwing bottles, stones and the like at meetings, pickets and processions. The FBI and CIA do not arrest these law-breakers, whom they use as spies and informers.

Today, Puerto Rico is an important sphere of investment for US monopoly capital. In 1965-1967 US investments in Puerto Rico amounted to half the total US investments in Latin America. More than 80 per cent of all investments in our industry are US-controlled. During the regime of Luis Munos Marin, the most outrageous traitor in Latin American history, US industrialists setting up branches in Puerto Rico were relieved of paying taxes for 15 years. What is more, the Marin puppet government, and the present-day rulers of the same ilk, are unable to prevent the US industrialists from transferring their enterprises, after the 15-year tax-free term, to the United States, and shipping out the profits they have amassed by virtue of the niggardly cost of labour and tax-free operation.

The average profit on US investments in Puerto Rico is considerably higher than in the United States. In our country, US monopoly capital makes more than \$300 million annually in profits, dividends, and tax exemptions. From the United States, Puerto Rico buys commodities worth more than \$1,400 million annually, and is thus an important market for US goods. The United Kingdom, Canada, West Germany and Japan are the only countries to import more than Puerto Rico from the United States.

More than 13 per cent of Puerto Rican territory is occupied by US naval bases, used to suppress revolutionary movements in Latin America and as a standing threat to revolutionary Cuba. Out of the nine biggest bases, two are atomic: one being a base for atomic B-52 bombers and KC-135 refueling aircraft and accommodating an atomic depot of the US Strategic Air Command, while the other is a base of long-range guided missiles.

Puerto Rico's wage-earners are paid about one third of what workers receive in the United States, while the cost of living in the country is about 25 per cent higher than in North America.

The US conscription law is applied to our youth and young Puerto Ricans are made to take part in the dirty US war against the heroic people of Vietnam, just as they were earlier sent to fight against North Korea. Our youth resists this law, refusing to join the US Army and participate in the predacious US wars.

The repressive anti-communist and anti-labour legislation passed by US Congress is also applied in Puerto Rico. Dr. Pedro Albiza Campos, distinguished patriot, was held in US and Puerto Rican prisons under these laws, being released just a few days before his death. Many patriots are still languishing in jails, with many sentenced to life imprisonment.

Our people fought a bitter battle against the imperialists to retain their language. Repeated attempts were made to introduce English as the official tongue, while our own language was to be but secondary. The matter was taken to a court. The pressure of the people, intellectuals and workers foiled this conspiracy against the language of Miguel Cervantes, willed to us by our ancestors. The people of Puerto Rico came out in defence of our Iberian traditions. Those, in sum, are just a few of the colonial features in the life of Puerto Ricans.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties shoulders a big responsibility before the Communists of the world, before the mass of working people, before the peoples languishing under the colonial yoke. The peoples of the capitalist countries are fighting for economic, political and social emancipation and hope that the Meeting will produce a united front of struggle against imperialist crime.

We might say that the Puerto Rican Communist Party operates on a military basis. We could even say that it functions on Pentagon territory. The close surveillance to which its steeled leaders are subjected is easily imagined. To name oneself a Communist is to doom oneself to hunger, because no one in our country gives employment to Communists. We have to use special tactics to protect our comrades earning their livelihood by manual labour. In a small country where everyone knows each other, where it is impossible to hide, it is hard to carry on revolutionary work on a large scale. All the same, using Marxist-Leninist tactics, we always find a way out. As we see it, Communists exposed to intensive surveillance must change tactics daily to outwit the enemy, just as guerrillas do it in the mountains.

The traitor Luis Munos Marin zealously assured Washington that Communists had been wiped out in Puerto Rico. It was an unpleasant surprise for him and the US punitive agencies that squads of our comrades were working among the masses. Marin had no choice but to state that they were groups of fanatics and madmen who could do no harm, because closely watched. Again we changed tactics, concentrating on the youth. And to our enemies' surprise, an active and courageous Communist youth, unafraid of the government's bloodhounds, joined in the social struggle.

Our newspaper, *Pueblo*, and our literature, are disseminated in considerable numbers in the working-class and student communities. Considerable practical work has been accomplished, the results of which are already visible. But much still has to be done.

In the days of McCarthyism in the United States and the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Law by US Congress, with Communists driven out of labour organisations, our Party suffered considerable losses among the working class, which we are still trying to recoup. When Communist Party leaders were imprisoned in the USA and Communist intellectuals were dismissed from their

jobs in universities, those few intellectuals that we had in our Party went into hiding and never returned to our ranks. Many of them took jobs in government offices. Only the incorruptible, only those who have nothing to lose but the chains of colonial and economic slavery, the upright toilers, stuck by us.

We are working for the unity of the anti-colonialist forces fighting for independence. The independence movement is divided into five factions or groups without any influence among the workers. We are hard at work now to forge unity in the fight against colonialism and imperialism. Some of the above groups want no unity with the Communist Party, while others think real unity is inconceivable without us.

The victory of the glorious Cuban revolution exercised an extremely strong influence on considerable sections of Puerto Ricans, especially the students and intellectuals. That victory stimulated our struggle against the dirty US war in Vietnam, against military conscription and against imperialism. The main burden of the struggle falls on the Independence Movement, with which our Party co-operates closely.

Those are the main features of the Communist Party's struggle in Puerto Rico, a colony of US imperialism.

Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are products of imperialism. Marxism-Leninism shows that the problems facing mankind are a single chain the links of which are interconnected. But there is one principal link, on which the lesser ones depend. Marxism-Leninism shows that to resolve the problems, we must begin by tackling that principal link—imperialism.

World imperialism uses the same dialectics, but in reverse, against the Communist Parties. For the imperialists the most salient link of concern is the Soviet Union, its military, scientific and economic potentials, its socialist internationalism. It is the Soviet Union, the CPSU, the Party founded by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin that blazed the trail to the immense progress achieved by the Soviet Union, that are the objects of imperialism's most ferocious attacks. The proletarian internationalism that highlights the relations of the Soviet Union with the other socialist countries foiled the perfidious intents of the imperialists aimed at weakening the socialist camp.

We frequently meet people who call themselves Communists, but are saturated to the marrow with anti-Sovietism. As we see it, anyone who calls himself a Communist and yet opposes the Soviet Union is only fooling himself and others that he is a real and upright Communist. By his hostility and malice towards the world's first socialist state whose gallant citizens, men and women, did not bend to the capitalist blockade, that Communist in effect renders a service to imperialism and its lackeys. Imperialism is the only anti-Soviet force. This could not be more logical, because the glorious October Revolution broke the backbone of the capitalist system and the capitalists will never forgive this to the Soviet Union.

Comrades, an article in one of the Albanian papers on June 5, the day this Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties opened, compels us to say a few words of regret over the Maoists' contradictions with the Soviet Union.

The Puerto Rican Communist Party has long formulated a firm and clear standpoint on the Maoist attitude towards the Communist Party of the Soviet



Union. The article is an assortment of crude insults, describing the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as a "conference of renegades". The Maoists are so facile at lies and invective that none can compare with them. They have developed a special propaganda jargon. Anyone thinking differently from Mao Tse-tung is for them a "renegade", "revisionist", "running dog of imperialism", "colonialist", etc.

The disrespect and malevolence with which the delegates to this Meeting are called "renegades" and "revisionists" cannot but irritate us. It makes us think that those who disrespect others can hardly respect themselves. We cannot recall any article of the Maoist press against the imperialists or Chiang Kai-shek that was charged with as much invective as those against Communists and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is a sad thing to say, but it is a fact, and it grieves us deeply. How much better they would have done to use the energy and bullets fired at the Soviet frontier-guards for retrieving Formosa, which does really belong to the People's Republic of China, for driving off the US 7th Fleet defending that island and Chiang Kai-shek.

In connection with the coming centennial of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth, the Puerto Rican Communist Party, as represented by its delegation, pays a deep-felt tribute of gratitude, affection and respect to the man who moulded the thinking of so many people, the founder of the Bolshevik Party that sparked the victory of the Great October Revolution.

We Puerto Rican Communists have been raised on the ideas and teaching of Lenin. His thinking roused us to the struggle. The light of the thoughts of the founder of the world's first socialist state illumined the world, creating a new life for the toiling and exploited masses.

From this international rostrum we send our fraternal greetings to the heroic Vietnamese people and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, where courageous, battle-steeled men and women are fighting for the independence of all the peoples languishing under the imperialist yoke, for justice. The people of Puerto Rico are fighting to prevent the US imperialists from sending our youth to kill Vietnamese youth, the people of Vietnam.

I should particularly like to note the excellent coverage of the Meeting by the press, radio and television. The Soviet people and the world public could follow the work of the Meeting daily in every detail. For us this was important, for we know all too well the methods of bourgeois propaganda, which employs every kind of lie, falsification and false rumour to distort anything done by the Communists. The extensive publicity given to the Meeting has knocked that trump out of the hands of anti-Communists, and it will be no exaggeration to say that our ideological foes were dumbfounded. I should like to note yet another aspect of this: the practical organisation of this extensive publicity of the Meeting by the CPSU speaks of its profound and consistent democratism.

In conclusion, we should like to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its fraternal hospitality, and for its invaluable contribution to the materialisation of this Meeting, which will go down in the history of the struggle of the peoples for deliverance from imperialism.

## Head of Delegation, People's Party of Panama

Dear Comrades,

Our work is drawing to a close. Questions of principle have been raised in the discussion with which we fully agree, but also questions with which we cannot possibly agree and on which we wish to state our views.

Our Party regards the present Meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties as an event of historic importance. Its significance will be appreciated only as we translate its decisions into practice.

We consider attempts mechanically to compare this Meeting with earlier ones to be somewhat simplistic and anti-dialectical. The preliminary steps, the preparation and the very convocation of this Meeting have revealed many totally new phenomena in the international communist movement. We cannot, therefore, draw a parallel between this and earlier meetings. This Meeting represents a long step forward.

Its convocation was preceded by an open confrontation of opinions and views on practically all the pressing problems of our time. All Parties stated their positions, publicly or privately. At times the discussion developed into stormy polemics, and no one can deny that there was a real confrontation of views.

On the other hand, 70 Parties shared, at various stages, in the collective preparation of the Meeting; all Parties, big and small, were thus able to put forth, in a democratic and comradely form, their views on all questions and directly contribute to the framing of the Main Document. If we consider the communist movement in its dynamics, this is a fact that can neither be belittled nor underestimated. On the contrary, as Marxists-Leninists fully aware of our responsibility, we must develop the positive aspects of the Meeting and overcome in practice those that are less positive.

The preparation and convocation of this Meeting, we believe, has revealed much that is positive. Looking ahead and aware of our responsibility, we can say that only unity on ideological issues and practical matters will enable us to fulfil our duty of gravediggers of imperialism, that source of brutality and oppression.

Our Party takes a clear stand on whether or not, at the present stage, the communist movement needs one or several directing centres. We cannot agree with

attempts to negate the historical value of all earlier forms of international unity. They accorded with a definite stage of the movement's development. Conferences and meetings at various levels are in keeping with the requirements of the new stage in our movement's growth. We should not negate or underestimate the value of earlier forms of unity; we must retain their positive features and apply them in our work-a-day practice. Any other course will lead us directly to nihilism and anarchism.

Every conference, every meeting of Marxist Parties is of vast importance, especially in the present situation, when our Parties are operating in such widely different and complex conditions while being the vehicles of our common doctrine, which discloses the laws of transition to socialism. And we are convinced that no Party, irrespective of its development, numerical strength or geographic position, can alone appraise all the complexities of the present period and provide a comprehensive picture of the world situation. In our view, every Party, big and small, is the vehicle of the concrete experience necessary for interpretative generalisation, for a full and accurate picture of our movement and its tasks. Attempts by any Party to predicate its work merely on its relative achievements, in disregard of other Parties' experience, are bound to lead to serious mistakes and can do immense damage to it and the movement as a whole.

That is evidenced by the Chinese Communist Party's bitter experience over the past ten years. Its leaders have absolutised their own practice to a point when they regard it as the only absolute and universal truth. And having so flagrantly violated the Marxist method, they have not only placed themselves outside the ranks of the communist movement, but have set themselves up in opposition to that movement and its individual contingents. The armed clashes on the Soviet frontier are the logical outcome of this violation of Marxist principles and methods.

Despite the difficult conditions in which our Party finds itself after the military coup of last October, our Central Committee was able to discuss the draft Document and, as distinct from the stand taken here by some other delegations, it believes that it provides a scientific, Marxist analysis of the pressing problems of our time. Our Central Committee regards the Document as comprehensive and consistent. It brings out the new phenomena in the transition process from capitalism to socialism, and there is no denying that it adequately examines and generalises them.

At the same time, it enumerates the motive forces of the transition process and assesses each of them, which, in our view, is perfectly correct. More, the Document creatively rectifies and develops some formulations inadequately or inaccurately set out in the 1960 Statement. This applies to its emphasis on the importance of the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America, which it does not mechanically separate from the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa.

Attainment of the immediate aims of the anti-imperialist revolution in each country will depend largely on the correlation of forces involved in the struggle. We therefore believe that the minimum programme takes a very wise and very important step forward compared with earlier maximum programmes. For they not only tended to restrict the activities of Marxist Parties, but in many cases set them on a course that led to serious mistakes and isolation. The present

programme, we think, is a good minimum basis. In our judgement, each Party can extend it and make it more radical. That will depend on the Party's ability and influence in concrete situations.

The Document clearly states that the socialist camp is the greatest gain of the international communist movement, and emphasises that the Soviet Union is the chief bulwark of the socialist system. The People's Party of Panama accepts this as irrefutable. That is why we regard anti-Sovietism—no matter from what quarter and how camouflaged—as an attack on the very heart of the socialist system, on the greatest gain of the international communist movement. We Panamanian Communists consider every gain of the communist movement, whether in Europe, Asia or America, to be our own gain, and its defence our internationalist duty.

Comrades, in the fight for the world's radiant future, for communism, we, popular and revolutionary contingents of Latin America operating behind enemy lines, still have to fight major decisive battles. Difficult, but also glorious, times lie ahead. Conscious of its duty to the people, the international communist movement and history, our Party does not intend to be a passive onlooker in these battles. Our Party has never been passive in face of the enemy, and never will be. In common with all other Communist Parties of the Americas, we do not expect the enemy to surrender without resistance. Certainly, our position is difficult, but by no means hopeless, and we shall attain our goals. With full confidence in the courage of our people, inspired by the heroic example of the glorious Vietnamese, and absolutely sure of the solidarity of our Latin American brothers and of the powerful socialist camp, we do not for a moment doubt that the future will belong to us.

The military dictatorship that took over last October is imposing a regime of terror on the Panamanian people. Taking its orders from CIA, it has thrown into prison the finest leaders of our Party, among them the Chairman of the Central Committee, Comrade Ugo Victor, and Central Committee members, Professor Cesar de Leon, the historian; Carlos Francisco Changmarin, our national poet, and Simon Vargas, a veteran of the communist movement. The dictatorship wanted to wipe out our Party, isolate the Communists from the masses. All these attempts have ended in failure, and our Party has not only retained its strength, but continues to grow as it fights the dictatorship. Having recovered from the first blow, the masses are regrouping and preparing to pass to the offensive against the regime.

However, the development of our movement has been marked by certain negative features. And if I mention them here, it is not to criticise anyone, but merely to show that some of our difficulties are due to outside interference, and we want the comrades to realise how harmful and ruinous this interference is. The entire repressive apparatus of the government and imperialism has been hard at work to wipe out our Party, undermine its influence among the masses, deprive the Panamanian revolution of its Marxist vanguard. That is nothing new. But beginning with 1964 the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, thinking, apparently, that they alone possess the absolute truth, have been fighting our Party—in much the same way as the oligarchy—in an attempt to undermine the influence of the Party, which they denounce as "revisionist". In fact, going

urther than their reactionary competitors, they have decided that even physical annihilation of opponents is permissible. Thus, in 1964 Victor Avila, head of the Student Federation and leader of the anti-imperialist movement, was wounded in the head by a shot fired by one of the "hard-liners". Later, an attempt was made on the life of another leader of the Communist youth movement. I do not propose to give an appraisal of these actions, but things are difficult. And worst of all, now, when our Party is the target of brutal persecution, these "hard-liners" are free to walk about the streets, and they even defend the military regime.

Comrades, the Dominican delegation, using the right to exercise its brilliant oratorical eloquence, has put forth several ideas on behalf of its Central Committee. Our delegation declares that it categorically rejects all these ideas. To this I would add that the delegations of fraternal Latin American Parties—Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Costa Rica and others—have authorised us to express their sharp negative attitude to these absolutely unfounded views.

Our movement is going through a period of grim ordeal, but we are confident that we will emerge from it with honour. That is why we repeat our request for wider and more active solidarity with our struggle, so that we can rescue from the clutches of the militarists hundreds of men now held in Panamanian prisons, more than half of them, probably, Communists. In the present situation such solidarity would be of most effective assistance to our cause.

In conclusion, we wish to express our full support for the document on the centenary of the great Lenin and the Appeal in Defence of Peace, and to reaffirm our complete solidarity with the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!"

From the bottom of our hearts we express our gratitude for the hospitality accorded us here in the Soviet capital. We wish to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its efforts to provide such excellent conditions for our work. We wish to make special mention of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which over a long period was responsible for the preparation of this Meeting.

We convey fraternal greetings from our Central Committee to all delegations and thank them for their attention.

## JOHN MARKS

Chairman,  
South African Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

To this great and historic Meeting we bring greetings to our brother Parties from the Communists of South Africa, from all revolutionaries of our country—in the gruesome jails of the fascist Vorster regime; working in perilous underground conditions; or participating in the armed struggle which is now raging in Southern Africa.

As the draft Main Document before this Meeting points out the struggle for the liberation of our region is one 'of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace'.

The world is well aware that the racist leaders of the so-called white minority in South Africa have turned our beautiful and wealthy country into a hell for the great majority of our people, especially for the indigenous Africans who comprise most of the population. Our land has been forcibly usurped; our people turned into a landless, rightless proletariat, the object of fierce and unrestrained exploitation and oppression.

What is perhaps not so fully realised is that the present day Republic of South Africa is an imperialist state itself. It has seized the former mandate of Namibia (South West Africa) and exploits it as its colony. It is the main partner in the Unholy Alliance with Rhodesia and Portugal, who, together, retain a vast area of our continent as one of the last refuges of open and unashamed colonialism. It openly threatens the sovereignty and independence of Zambia and Tanzania—and, ultimately, of every African state.

Against these terrorist, racist regimes the masses of people of our countries have learnt, through many years of bitter experience, there is no way to emancipation except that of revolutionary armed struggle. We did not reach this conclusion as a result of any preconceived notions regarding methods of struggle, any so-called universally-valid dogma. Indeed we fully agree that it is for the revolutionaries of every country to evolve their own methods, according to their own circumstances, of attaining our common goal: the conquest of power for the masses of working people. But in our conditions of total suppression of the people's rights, of constant, daily terror and force exercised against the masses, with tens of thousands of patriots in detention and massacres a com-

monplace, with the great majority of the people in a state of seething revolt against enslavement and intolerable affronts to their human dignity, there could be no other way forward.

Indeed, comrades, a war has already begun and is in progress for the liberation of Southern Africa. In Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea-Bissau, in Namibia and even in the Republic of South Africa itself, fighting has broken out. Brave African guerillas are dealing heavy blows at the fascist and racist regimes. Behind the lines the workers of town and countryside are increasingly defying the fascist terror and raising the banner of resistance. Inevitably the struggle will spread and merge into a single people's war which can only end in the destruction of white minority rule and the establishment of people's power. We shall win!

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) since August 1967, numerous armed clashes have taken place between the 'security forces' of the notorious Smith regime and guerilla units made up of joint forces of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress (ANC)—the mass liberation movement of our country, the Republic of South Africa. These two organisations have concluded a military alliance which is an outstanding and inspiring example of true fraternal unity in action.

It is no secret that the Smith regime relies heavily on massive military and economic aid from the fascist Republic in the South. In fact with the complicity of Britain and its Labour government the Republic of South Africa has sent troops into Rhodesia on a large scale since the outbreak of guerilla activities. Recently the South African Minister of Police, Muller, admitted in the all-white Parliament that the Republic had sent further reinforcements armed and specially-trained police to fight in Zimbabwe, on the border of free Zambia. It cannot be doubted that, but for this aid, the Smith regime would by now have been overthrown, and that it now stands in the same relation to the fascist Republic as does the puppet regime in South Vietnam to the United States.

This armed struggle enjoys the fullest support of our Party. I should like here at this great Meeting to inform you that members of your South African brother Party are fighting in the front lines, side by side with our non-Communist comrades. Their courage and devotion have proved worthy of the highest traditions of our movement; some have laid down their lives in the struggle to liberate our country.

Comrades, we South African revolutionaries are deeply conscious of the international significance of our struggle.

Behind the vicious and disgraceful regimes of Vorster, Smith and Caetano stand the sinister powers of NATO and Japan, of world imperialism. It is no exaggeration to say that, but for this backing—financial, military, political—our people would long ago have won their freedom.

To the imperialists, South Africa is a treasure-chest for the accumulation of super-profits from the fruits of our rich mineral and other natural resources and from the merciless exploitation of African labour power.

It is also a stronghold of reaction and colonialism in Africa and a strategic key-point in the global strategy of the imperialists. It is a hotbed for the breed-

ing of the disgusting theories of racism and neo-nazism. Under the successive Premierships of Verwoerd and Vorster, men who openly espoused the cause and ideas of Hitler during the war, the Republic of South Africa became the refuge of nazi war-criminals and a haven for their capital which was endangered after the collapse of the 'Third Reich'. Ever closer relationships, economic and political, are being forged with the neo-nazis of Bonn. West German imperialism is establishing a firm foothold in our country, challenging the well-entrenched interests of British, US and other well-established investors in the race to extract maximum profits, and concluding secret and sinister agreements regarding the production of fissionable uranium, poison gases and other weapons.

Everywhere the South African racists are seen as among the outstanding supporters of international reaction and imperialism. The Israeli aggression of June 1967 helped the Republic of South Africa by forcing the closure of the Suez Canal, to the great profit of Cape Town and other South African ports. The Republic has reciprocated the favour by rendering important practical support to the Zionist aggressors.

At the same time we are deeply conscious and appreciative of the powerful support for our people's struggles from innumerable friends of freedom throughout the world. In one sphere after another of international relations, ranging from trade and diplomacy to culture and sport, the door is correctly being slammed in the face of the ignominious racists of South Africa.

The independent states of Africa, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the labour and democratic movements in the capitalist countries, have repeatedly denounced apartheid. They have demanded that South Africa implement human rights and dignity. They have demanded the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Mbeki, Fischer and innumerable other heroes of our people now serving life imprisonment and other heavy sentences under atrocious conditions in the fascist jails.

Above all they have rendered and are rendering valuable practical support to our freedom-fighters: money, food, clothing, medicines, assistance in military training and—most precious—arms. We take this opportunity, comrades, in the presence of the leaders of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, Cuba and other socialist countries, to say that our people will never forget the warm comradely solidarity they have shown in providing us with the means for our emancipation.

Many of our brother Parties here represented have carried out many solidarity actions with our people, or taken part in broad anti-apartheid movements in their countries. To all those Parties—those of Britain and other West European and Scandinavian countries, of India and other Asian countries, of North and South America—may we express our deep gratitude; our confidence that they will redouble their efforts in the stormy period now facing our struggle; our hope that all here will follow their example.

The very nature of our struggle has taught our revolutionaries, Communists and non-Communists alike, the fundamental lessons of *internationalism*. We know full well from practical experience that our struggle against imperialism is one with that of our brothers fighting the same enemy in every country of the world.



We are at one with the fighting people of Vietnam. Their implacable and victorious fight against the biggest imperialist power is a shining example, a glorious inspiration, to all the oppressed and exploited of the earth.

We are at one with the brother Arab peoples to our North, in their determined resistance to imperialist-backed Zionist aggression, for the recovery of their lands and the assertion of their rights to self-determination.

We rejoice at every advance of our comrades everywhere. We hail the important step towards people's power in which a big part has been played by the Marxist-Leninist vanguard: the Sudanese Communist Party. We hail every step in the social, economic and ideological progress and cohesion of our class brothers, our close and trusted allies, the leaders and the people of the socialist community.

Our struggle also is not only for our own liberation. It is at the same time our contribution to the common fight, a fulfilment of our internationalist duty.

That is exactly why for a number of years we of the South African Communist Party have been consistently and vigorously appealing for unity within the ranks of the international communist movement, vanguard detachment of the world anti-imperialist forces. Unity of our movement is the key to the rallying of all who fight imperialism, war, colonialism and exploitation. Our Party enthusiastically welcomed the convocation of this conference; we have to the best of our ability contributed to its preparation.

Rarely, if ever, has an international gathering been prepared with such thoroughness, such patience, as this great and historic conference. We should like at this stage to express our very sincere appreciation of the tireless efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—indeed of all whose labours over the past 15 months have cleared the way to the achievement of this wonderful reunion of nearly all the main contingents of our great movement.

We must recognise, comrades, that this has been no easy task. We are all well aware that a number of differences of perspective and interpretation have developed between various Parties. We hope very much that in the course of time, of comradely discussion, and above all, the test of practice, these differences will be resolved. That is a task which still confronts us.

But, during the arduous preparations for this conference, most of us have come to realise that this long-term process could not and must not impede us in the most urgent and imperative duty which history has placed before us. That task is to concentrate at this stage not upon our temporary differences, but upon the immeasurably greater and more important area of our agreement; upon our pressing need to present a common front to the common enemy.

We are faced with a ruthless, vicious and dangerous enemy: imperialism. The enemy, as well defined and described in the Main Document placed before us by the Preparatory Committee, is ceaselessly plotting acts of intervention and subversion against socialist and other non-imperialist countries, acts of provocation and outright lawless aggression. Against patriots, revolutionaries, working-class militants everywhere it wreaks savage reprisals and murder. It constantly menaces the world with the horrors of atomic, chemical and bacterial war which only our combined actions and vigilance hold at bay.

This enemy will not pause in its onslaught on our forces and our allies while we engage our energies in protracted debates.

Therefore it became imperatively incumbent upon us to unite our ranks, and to agree on how to rally all anti-imperialist forces. We had to leave aside for the time being those issues where we differ. History demanded of us that we concentrate on the wide area of common agreement; that we restate our common tasks in contemporary terms in a manner capable of mobilising our whole movement and its allies.

That task has been brilliantly accomplished by our Preparatory Committee and the documents it has placed before this conference.

Comrades, our Central Committee fully supports these documents. Our delegation has been entrusted and empowered, on behalf of our Party, to sign these documents and to pledge our Party's strength and resources to mobilise the working people of South Africa for their translation into reality.

We warmly express our agreement with those constructive speeches which have elaborated and elucidated these documents—speeches such as those of Comrades Brezhnev, Gomulka and Hall—and we feel that to explain exactly why we concur with the contents of the Main Document, the peace appeal, the documents on the preparation of the Lenin centenary and the demand for the ending of imperialist aggression in Vietnam—would merely be to repeat what others have already said most ably.

We have listened carefully also to the addresses of those comrades who expressed differences with the documents, particularly the Main Document.

Frankly, comrades, we find some of their arguments rather difficult to understand. For example, some comrades have gone into lengthy criticisms of the Document, not because of what it says but because of what it does not say. One would logically, perhaps, then expect them to propose some additional material. But surprisingly enough they are recommending that we delete whole sections amounting in some cases to three-quarters of the whole.

We are also surprised at the type of subject-matter which some of these comrades are saying the Document lacks. More than one delegation here has drawn attention to the events in Czechoslovakia, despite the well-grounded appeal of our Czechoslovakian comrades not to make their country's problems, at this complex stage, the subject of international debate.

These comrades must be well aware that their special and rather strange point of view on this question is far from receiving general support in our Communist movement. And this is true of nearly all the other questions which a few Parties insist are so essential to the Document that their omission makes it unacceptable; even though there is nothing actually in the Document which we cannot all subscribe to. But these comrades know that their special view on these questions is one which this conference cannot and will not accept; they have repeatedly enjoyed and they have made full use of the opportunity to advance these views throughout the preparatory stages of this conference. The amendments they proposed which found general support were accepted and are included in the draft. The others were omitted, and properly so.

Surely, comrades, that was precisely what we set out to do in preparing this conference and its documents. It was clear to all of us that there were some

matters on which we could not all reach agreement now. Therefore we decided to devote ourselves to the priority question of formulating our agreement on the urgent tasks of the present stage of the anti-imperialist fight. This is precisely the measure of our achievement in drawing up this wide-ranging Marxist-Leninist Document which is before us; which draws the statement of our immediate tasks out of the analysis of the current situation.

Of course, each Party makes its own assessment of events at home and abroad. We could never hope to draw up a single document which would succeed in combining all the viewpoints of all the Parties. From our point of view, for example, we feel that a rather disproportionately large amount of attention has been devoted to the problems of Europe. We and other people actually engaged in anti-colonialist struggles would surely consider it over-optimistic to imagine the Social Democrats as partners in an anti-imperialist fighting front; we have fresh memories of the betrayal of the French Socialist Party over Algeria; the abject sell-out of the British Labour Party over Zimbabwe; the role of the West German Social Democrats as part of the Bonn imperialist policy of alliance with fascist South Africa.

But we realise that this is a collective document of the movement as a whole, and we fully accept it and support it as such. We are totally opposed to any procedure of allegedly "improving" it by means of amputating its members or mutilating it.

Comrades, our delegation would like here to say a word about the so-called principle of unanimity. It is true that unanimity is a goal towards which we must ever strive. But it would be absurd to elevate this into an absolute principle. We may not like to talk of 'majorities' and 'minorities' in a gathering such as this. But we are not lawyers and we are not a debating society; we are a gathering of practical revolutionaries engaged in a life-and-death struggle whose outcome will decide the future of mankind. We dare not allow ourselves to be placed in a position where a few Parties, or even a single Party can be given a power of veto which would in effect condemn our movement to paralysis. We appeal to all our comrades here, to their Central Committees, to participate in endorsing this unity-building Document. If they will not do it now, immediately, we trust that they will consider their position soon after we have concluded our deliberations and associate themselves. But if nearly all our Parties want to sign this Document now they must be free to do so.

Dear comrades, we are well aware that we have not come here to engage in polemics with the rather puerile "ideological" propositions advanced by the Maoist group. We have no intention of doing so. But when it comes to the external activities of the Chinese government which impinge on our struggle against imperialism, which so far from advancing that struggle positively impede it and are in practice aiding and abetting the enemy, this is something we cannot afford to ignore. Our Party vigorously condemns the border provocations committed against the Soviet Union, the citadel of socialism and mainstay of the anti-imperialist forces everywhere. We were deeply impressed by the speech of the West German Communist Party delegate, when he gave such striking evidence of collusion between the Maoists and the Bonn imperialists.

For a number of years we have seen the sidetracking and disruption of

various international solidarity organisations by Chinese delegations who persisted in dragging into gatherings of non-Communists their alleged 'ideological' campaign against the CPSU and the world communist movement. At one time the People's Republic of China rendered valuable assistance to the African National Congress, the fighting national liberation movement of our country. But for several years, and without reason or explanation, this aid has been withdrawn; instead we find the Maoists subsidising and actually preserving from complete collapse a group of Right-wing renegades from our struggle whom documentary evidence now proves to have been started at the instance, and with the support, of the CIA.

Our movement has not, and should not, shut the door to any Communist Party. We have invited the Communist Party of China to every meeting at every stage of the convocation and preparation of this conference. They have refused even to accept our invitations; they have accused the Communists of all the world of being 'revisionists' and 'renegades'. The world may judge to whom those descriptions more fittingly apply.

Comrades, it is fitting indeed that our notable Meeting takes place on the eve of the centenary of the birth of that great genius of our movement, founder of the Soviet State and leader of the oppressed and working people the world over—Lenin the Liberator. We must congratulate the initiators and the drafters of the fine address on this occasion which has been placed before us.

We believe that our Meeting has been worthy of this momentous occasion, that it will go down as a turning point from which we shall go forward in greater unity than ever to rally our own forces and all fighters against imperialism, for fresh advances, fresh victories for the cause of human liberation.

Comrades, we are a part of the great army of Communists; the greatest army of freedom this earth has ever known. We uphold a glorious and noble cause whose ultimate, world-wide victory is assured. Not one of our Parties here represented is without its heroes and martyrs of the working class struggle. In the name of these honoured dead, comrades, of all we have fought so hard and so long to attain, here in this city whose very name is an inspiration to every revolutionary, let us rededicate ourselves now to our historic mission—the downfall of imperialism, war, oppression and the exploitation of man by man; the triumph of peace, national freedom, democracy and socialism, all over the world!

## MICHAEL O'RIORDAN

General Secretary, Executive Committee,  
Irish Workers' Party

The Irish Workers' Party supported the proposal, when first made, for an International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Such a meeting with its aim of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement is of great importance at the present time expressing as it does the identity of interests of the world's working class and each Party's adherence to the immortal slogan of "Workers of the World, Unite!"

The Irish people have a long and bitter experience of imperialism and we therefore particularly welcome the objective of this conference which sets out the tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and the need for the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces.

The Irish working-class and national revolutionary forces were linked with the work of the First International. We therefore attend the 1969 conference in the best internationalist traditions of our forebears.

We fully appreciate the importance of international unity and solidarity since the first recipient of international help was the Irish revolutionary movement when Marx and Engels organised the First International's campaign for the release of the "Fenian" prisoners after the Irish rebellion of 1867.

Our people have grievously suffered at the hands of British imperialism. Ireland was Britain's first colony. After generations of struggle a degree of political independence was wrested from the British imperialists, who, however, imposed Partition on our small island, thereby creating the first British neo-colony — in the South, the Republic of Ireland, and a semi-colony, the state of Northern Ireland.

In the state in which our Party functions—the Republic of Ireland—monopoly capitalism is more and more undermining what degree of political and economic independence has been won.

In their sell-out of the national interests of the people the national bourgeoisie are identifying their interests with those of the imperialists, and, therefore, on the basis of our own experience we particularly endorse that part of the Main Document which says:

"Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries.

There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and, on the other, imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism".

We consider that the Fianna Fail Government of the Republic of Ireland provides a classic example of the role of such elements.

In his application of Marxism to the interpretation of Ireland's national liberation struggle, the great Irish Socialist leader, James Connolly, showed that the working class, the only "incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland", was the only force that could successfully lead the centuries-long struggle to completion.

In the case of our own country this Marxist analysis by Connolly has been proved true. Since he was executed by the British imperialists in 1916 there have been two great "sellouts" by the native propertied class in Ireland. The first was the connivance with the imposition of the imperialist so-called solution of the Irish question in the form of the partitioning Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921; and 45 years later this inherent characteristic of the propertied class was again demonstrated even by that section of it which was radical enough to oppose the 1921 Treaty by the force of arms, but who in 1966 capitulated completely to imperialism by signing the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which opens up our economy to the British monopolies. The Agreement, furthermore, is a preparation for the further submerging of Ireland in the European Common Market.

Having abandoned the struggle for national independence, the Fianna Fail Government has encouraged, in addition to the British, the penetration of other foreign monopolies such as US, West German, Japanese, etc. Large estates of land are being purchased by wealthy foreigners.

But our people are fighting back against the surrender!

Countering the imperialist strategy of "divide and rule", the people in both parts of the island are finding new forms of united struggle. In the Northern Ireland state there has been established the mass Civil Rights Movement which strives to unite the Catholic and Protestant peoples in the fight for democratic rights. There is also the strengthening of the national role of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions which acts as a single trade union centre for the working class of the two Irish states.

The Republic of Ireland heads the "European League" for man days lost because of strike action. Militant solidarity actions have forced the government to release imprisoned strikers. A firm class reaction has defeated attempts by US firms to deny recognition of any form of trade union organisation in their Irish branches.

In many parts of the countryside, small farmers and landless men have organised themselves into "Land Leagues"; the form of organisation which so effectively fought British landlordism in the last century. On the very eve of our International Meeting, there were militant actions against the West Germans (many of them former nazis) who with their wealth have "grabbed" the land needed by the small farmers and landless men. The agitation of the latter has

been sufficiently sharp enough to evoke a reaction in the Bonn Parliament.

The young married couples denied housing accommodation are in a militant mood; occupying empty houses, and at the same time linking their struggle with opposition to the foreign property speculators who buy up sites, demolish habitable houses and build profit-making office blocks for the external monopolies.

In our State Television Station outstanding producers have recently resigned in protest against the corrupt commercialisation and cosmopolitanism which has accompanied the national sellout.

In the fight for peace and international solidarity there is the increasing action of trade union leaders, intellectuals, priests, legal personalities and many others against the US aggression in Vietnam and in support of the very active anti-apartheid campaign.

The small shopkeepers and traders are actively combining against the foreign monopoly distributive chains.

Irish exporters' associations have called for trade and diplomatic relations (which are at present non-existent) with the socialist countries in order to offset some of the economic consequences of our heavy and increasing dependence on the British market.

The Irish Workers' Party is playing a leading role in many of these agitations. It plays a unique unifying role in the growing unity in action between the national revolutionary Irish Republican Movement and many sections of the Labour Party (Social Democrats), trade unionists and allied organisations.

The struggle for national liberation, for socialism and against imperialism in Ireland is accelerating. A great change is coming about in our people's thinking. This change not only reflects the intensity of the struggles that are being waged, it reflects also the change in the world balance of forces and the influence of the world socialist system.

Our party regards the world socialist system as the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. All developments on a world scale are influenced by the world socialist system and in particular by the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, which is now laying the foundations of a communist society and which is a source of great strength and solidarity for every struggle for national and social liberation.

It is appropriate that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties should take place on the eve of the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin — founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and great leader and teacher of the international revolutionary movement. We are especially pleased with this, because last year we celebrated the 100th anniversary of the birth of James Connolly. Connolly was one of the few who opposed the social-chauvinist betrayal of the leaders of the Second International during the imperialist war of 1914-18. He bequeathed to the Irish working-class movement glorious standards of internationalism and of anti-imperialist struggles which makes our participation in this conference a natural thing.

Again, we would wish to refer to the significance of the timing of the conference with the Lenin centenary. Lenin's teachings will be forever our guide in our revolutionary work for an independent, united and socialist Ireland. We

shall never forget the great debt due, by the Irish working class and national revolutionary movement, to Lenin for his profound theoretical teachings and great revolutionary practice. We particularly will remember that his name is forever linked with Ireland because of his defence of the Irish Rising of 1916—the greatest date yet in our revolutionary history.

On behalf of our party we declare our agreement with the general line of the Main Document of this conference:—"Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces."

We support, and will also sign, the address of the conference on the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin; the Peace Appeal and the conference statements on the US aggression in Vietnam; the just cause of the Arab peoples, and of solidarity with Communists and democrats subjected to repression.

As regards the various propositions advanced at the conference we wish to declare our emphatic support for:

- United actions against imperialism.
- More frequent bilateral and multilateral meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties.
- The holding of frequent international theoretical conferences.
- The organisation of a world anti-imperialist conference.

The application of these decisions will be of tremendous assistance in our common hard and strenuous fight against imperialism.

We regard the holding, and the proceedings, of this conference as a great victory for the international communist movement.

The delegation of the Irish Workers' Party wishes to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the splendid organisation of the conference. It wishes also to record its appreciation of the work of the Hungarian comrades in the preparatory meetings.

(Comrade O'Riordan's speech was submitted to the Secretariat in written form for inclusion in the Minutes.)



## CLOSING SPEECH BY RODNEY ARISMENDI

First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Uruguay

I have been accorded the honour of chairing the concluding session of our Meeting, upon which devolves such tremendous responsibility to our Parties and peoples, the international working class and the world revolutionary movement. I believe brief concluding remarks are therefore in order.

First of all, on behalf of all present I wish to thank the Soviet and Hungarian Parties for their contribution to the sagacious and dedicated work, in a spirit of communist comradeship, which facilitated the success of the Meeting. I also wish to thank the political and technical personnel who efficiently served the Meeting, working devotedly and without rest. Personnel from the CPSU and from the HSWP when we met in Budapest, were enlisted for this task.

It is hard, comrades, to deliver a speech at this closing sitting. First, because despite long years of work in the communist movement, at this moment we feel the same emotions as filled our hearts in the young years when we were only joining its ranks. Second, it is superfluous, I think, to indulge in florid and solemn speeches at this forum of leaders of the international communist movement. The most noble words fade before our responsibility to history, the world revolutionary process, the fight to refashion society, begun at a time when the great Lenin led the Bolsheviks in storming the Winter Palace. Our movement's supreme historic achievements and heroism speak for themselves.

I will not be exaggerating when I say that all of us are fully aware of the significance of the moment. For we are laying the cornerstone of a great edifice: unity of the international communist movement for fulfilment of its historic tasks at this new stage. We are laying the foundation of universal unity of our movement, unity of Communists who, in Lenin's words, represent the mind, honour and conscience of our epoch.

This Meeting has proved that unity is possible, that it accords with our principles and is crucial to the great victories of the future. And I should like to think that as we are concluding it we are asserting the historical continuity of the Leninist doctrine, translating into life the great behests of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He enjoined us unswervingly to abide by Marxism-Leninism and safeguard its purity, but also creatively to approach the new phenomena of our time. He demanded the communist organisation, fraternal unity, courage and

perseverance needed to lay siege to the fortress of imperialism and advance the cause of the international socialist revolution.

Comrades, we are meeting in the land of Leninism, the continuation of Marxism. We are gathered in the Kremlin, where the great Lenin worked, and very close to his Mausoleum.

And this enhances still more our appreciation of his immortal ideas, which fire people's hearts, energise our movement, clarify our thoughts and summon us to a life-and-death struggle, and fortify the will to victory of millions in the Soviet Union and throughout our splendid movement.

Neither difficulties, nor crises, nor sacrifices can dislodge our movement from the decisive place it holds in modern history.

We know that our Parties are capable of continuing Lenin's cause, of giving leadership to the peoples, uniting the whole international revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement, all democratic and progressive forces, in the fight for peace, democracy and national liberation.

In this closing quarter of the 20th century—which since October 1917 has rightly come to be known as the age of communism—mankind's future depends, above all, on the activity of our Parties in expanding and carrying forward the socialist revolution.

We see communist unity in its historical development, enriched here by democratic, constructive, sincere and frank discussion, without diplomacy and unnecessary ritual. It needs communist minds and hearts to accomplish the great task history has entrusted to us. And we are confident that millions look with hope to Moscow, to our Meeting. For the life of the peoples, their opportunity for emancipation, depend to a considerable degree upon our unity. And the peoples have followed with hope the work of our Meeting and will properly assess its results. For they are prepared to shed their blood, give their lives, in the struggle, and because they measure our work in terms of how much nearer it brings them to realisation of their dreams. During the Meeting we received heartening news, for instance, of the Provisional Revolutionary Government formed by the people of South Vietnam, but also news of tragic events, notably of the dastardly murder by the dictatorial regime of many members of the Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists. We received 14,000 letters and telegrams from Soviet people, builders of communism, who have keenly followed our Meeting, in which they see a part of their own great endeavour.

Our work should be assessed not only in its narrow implications, nor even against the historical background of our cause—it should be regarded also from the standpoint of the living and pressing realities that confront millions; from the standpoint of their concerns, their blood, anguish and hopes—but also their confidence in victory. In the socialist countries our work will be appraised in the light of its contribution to building and defending the new society, assistance to the anti-imperialist movement, and the education of the new type of man. Our work will be appreciated in the USSR and the other socialist countries, in countries directly menaced by imperialism (Cuba, Vietnam, GDR), in the heart of Africa, in Asia and in my own Latin America, shaken by crises and held in US imperialist bondage. I think the discussion has enabled us to pro-

duce a Document that reflects the revolutionary dynamism of world development, the achievements and mistakes of our Parties. And we feel sure that, having surmounted the big difficulties before us, and having held this Meeting, we are more united than ever, richer for the ideas expounded in the general debate, and more confident in the triumph of our cause. We are working to make unity the fundamental factor in the success of the anti-imperialist struggle, in thwarting the aggressive plans of imperialism, particularly US imperialism, and in advancing the cause of freedom and socialism. Observance of the coming centenary of the great Lenin—in the inspiring atmosphere of the very building where Lenin worked—is a fitting consummation of our work.

Permit me to salute the final triumph of our cause and our unity, the condition for that triumph; permit me to salute proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism! (*Applause.*)

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